

THE NORTHERN WORLD    BRILL

Families, Friends and Allies

*Boulogne and Politics in
Northern France and England,*

c.879-1160



Heather J. Tanner



THE NORTHERN WORLD    BRILL

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

FAMILIES, FRIENDS AND ALLIES

THE NORTHERN WORLD

North Europe and the Baltic c. 400-1700 AD
Peoples, Economies and Cultures

EDITORS

BARBARA CRAWFORD (St. Andrews)

DAVID KIRBY (London)

JON-VIDAR SIGURDSSON (Oslo)

INGVILD ØYE (Bergen)

PRZEMYSŁAW URBANCZYK (Warsaw)

VOLUME 6



FAMILIES, FRIENDS AND ALLIES

*Boulogne and Politics in Northern France
and England, c. 879–1160*

BY

HEATHER J. TANNER



BRILL
LEIDEN • BOSTON
2004

Illustration on the cover: Detail from the Bayeux tapestry - 11th Century. By special permission of the City of Bayeux.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Tanner, Heather J.

Families, friends and allies : Boulogne and politics in northern France and England, c. 879-1160 / by Heather J. Tanner.

p. cm. — (The northern world ; v. 6)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 90-04-13243-0

1. Nobility—France—Boulogne-sur-Mer—History. 2. Boulogne-sur-Mer (France)—History—To 1500. 3. Boulogne-sur-Mer (France)—Politics and government—To 1500. 4. France—Politics and government—987-1328. 5. France-Relations—Great Britain. 6. Great Britain-Relations-France. DC801.B76 T36 2003

2003061035

ISSN 1569-1462
ISBN 90 04 13243 0

© Copyright 2004 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

In memory of those who set my feet on the path of history

Michael Tanner
and
C. Warren Hollister

This page intentionally left blank

CONTENTS

Abbreviations	ix
List of Illustrations	xiii
Maps	xiv
Preface	xxi
Acknowledgments	xxiii
 Chapter One Introduction	 1
Chapter Two The Early Counts of Boulogne	20
Chapter Three The Eleventh-Century Counts	69
Chapter Four Eustace III and his gradual amalgamation into the Anglo-Norman polity	129
Chapter Five The Apex of Boulonnais Power and the Fickleness of Fate	181
Chapter Six Noble by birth, more noble by their deeds and virtues	244
Chapter Seven Conclusion	286
 Genealogies	
Comital Family of Boulogne	290
Comital Family of Flanders	292
Comital Family of St Pol	294
Comital Family of Ponthieu	295
Comital Family of Amiens, Valois & Vexin	296
Comital Family of Guines	298
Comital Families of West Frisia and Hamaland	299
Ducal Family of Ardenne-Verdun	300
Ducal Family of Ardenne-Luxembourg	301
Mandeville & Tingry Families	302
de Tosny Family	303

Fitz Osbern Family	304
Unrochings	305
Ducal Family of Normandy	306
Comital Families of Hainaut & Louvain	307
Comital Family of Vermandois	308
Comital Family of Blois-Chartres	309
Royal Families of France	310
Royal Families of England	312
Comital Family of Beaumont	314
Comital Family of Warenne	315
Clare Family	316
de Lucy Family	317
de Sackville Family	318
Appendices	
1. Acta of the Boulonnais Comital Family	
Charters & References to Lost Acta	
(late 9th–mid 12th c.)	319
Boulonnais Acta issued by King Stephen and	
Queen Matilda	326
Non-Boulonnais Acta Issued by Stephen & William	331
2. Honour of Boulogne	335
3. Tenants of the Honour of Boulogne 1135–54	340
4. The Epitaphs of Eustace III, Countess Mary, and	
Queen Matilda III	343
5. Comital Coins from the Mints Boulogne and Lens	345
Bibliography	347
Index	383

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Annales Altahenses maiores</i> . eds. William de Giesebrecht and Edmund L.B. ab Oefele. MGH SS. Hanover, 1868. Rpt. Stuttgart, 1963. 20:772–824.
AB	<i>The Annals of St Bertin</i> . trans. Janet Nelson. Manchester, 1991.
AF	<i>The Annals of Fulda</i> . trans. Timothy Reuter. <i>Ninth Century Histories. Volume 2</i> . Manchester, 1992.
AD	Archives départementales
AM	Archives municipales
AMB	“Annales monasterii de Bermundeseia.” <i>Annales monastici</i> . ed. Henry Luard. Roll Series. London, 1866.
AN	Archives nationales (Paris)
ASC	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> . trans. & ed. D. Whitelock, D.C. Douglas, and S.I. Tucker. London, 1961.
AV	<i>Annales Vedastini</i> . ed. G.H. Pertz. MGH SS. Hanover, 1826. Rpt. Stuttgart, 1963. 1:516–31.
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale (Paris)
BL	British Library
Cal. Ch. Rolls	<i>Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> . 6 vols. PRO, 1903–27.
CDF	<i>Calendar of Documents Preserved in France</i> . ed. J.H. Round. 2 vols. London 1899.
Chron. St Bavo	“Chronicon S. Bavonis,” <i>Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae</i> . ed. J.J. de Smet. Bruxelles, 1837.
Expug.	“Gesta Francorum expugnantium Iherusalem.” <i>Recueil des Historiens des croisades, Occidentaux</i> . 5 vols. Paris, 1844–95. 3:487–544.
Flodoard	<i>Les Annales de Flodoard</i> . ed. Philip Lauer. Paris, 1905.
GND	<i>The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni</i> . ed. & trans. Elisabeth M.C. van Houts. 2 vols. Oxford, 1992.
Gesta ep. Cam.	<i>Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium</i> . MGH SS. Hanover, 1846. Rpt. Stuttgart, 1963. 7:393–525.

- GF *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*. ed. & trans. Rosalind Hill. London, 1962.
- GS *Gesta Stephani*. ed. & trans. K.R. Potter. 2nd edn. Oxford, 1976.
- GTP “Gesta triumphalia Pisanorum in captione Ierusalitimane.” *Recueil des Historiens des croisades, Occidentaux*. 5 vols. Paris, 1844–95. 5:368–70.
- HH Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*. ed. & trans. Diana Greenway. Oxford, 1996.
- HN William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*. ed. Edmund King & trans. K.R. Potter. Oxford, 1998.
- JH John of Hexham. *Continuatio Historia regum de Symeonis*. ed. Thomas Arnold. 2 vols. London, 1885.
- MP *Mathei Parisiensis Chronica Majora*. ed. H.R. Luard. Roll Series. London, 1872–84.
- OV *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*. ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall. 6 vols. Oxford, 1969–1980.
- PRO Public Record Office
- Regino Regino of Prüm. *Chronicon*. ed. Frideric Kurze. Hannover, 1890.
- RH Richard of Hexham. “De gestis regis Stephani.” *The Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*. ed. Richard Howlett. 4 vols. Roll Series. London, 1886. Rpt. 1964.
- Richer Richer. *Histoire de France*. ed. Robert Latouche. Paris, 1937.
- RRAN 1/Bates *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, The Acta of William I (1066–1087)*. ed. David Bates. Oxford, 1998.
- RRAN1 *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066–1100*. eds. H.W.C. Davis and R.J. Whitwell. Oxford, 1913.
- RRAN2 *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1100–1135*. eds. Ch. Johnson & H.A. Cronne. Oxford, 1956.
- RRAN3 *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1135–1154*. eds. H.A. Cronne & R.H.C. Davis. Oxford, 1967.
- RT “Chronica.” *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*. ed. Richard Howlett. Roll Series. London, 1889.
- Versus “Versus de viris illustribus diocesis Tarvanensis qui in sacra fuere expeditione.” *Veterum scripturum* . . .

- amplissimo collectio*. eds. E. Martene & U. Durand. Paris, 1729. 5:539–40.
- Vita S. Balderic *Vita Balderici episcopi Leodiensis*. MGH SS. Hanover, 1841. Rpt. Stuttgart, 1963. 4:724–38.
- Vita S. Bernardi “Vita S. Bernardi,” *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*. ed. M. Bouquet. Paris, 1738–1876.
- Vita S. Bertulf “Ex miraculis et translatione S. Bertae.” ed. L. de Heinemann. MGH SS. Hanover, 1887. Rpt. Stuttgart, 1963.
- WA Westminister Abbey Archives
- WM/GR William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*. ed. & trans. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thompson and M. Winterbottom. Oxford, 1998.
- WN William of Newburgh. *The History of English Affairs*. ed. & trans. P.G. Walsh & M.J. Kennedy. Warminster, 1988.
- WP/GG *The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*. ed. & trans. R.H.C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall. Oxford, 1998.

This page intentionally left blank

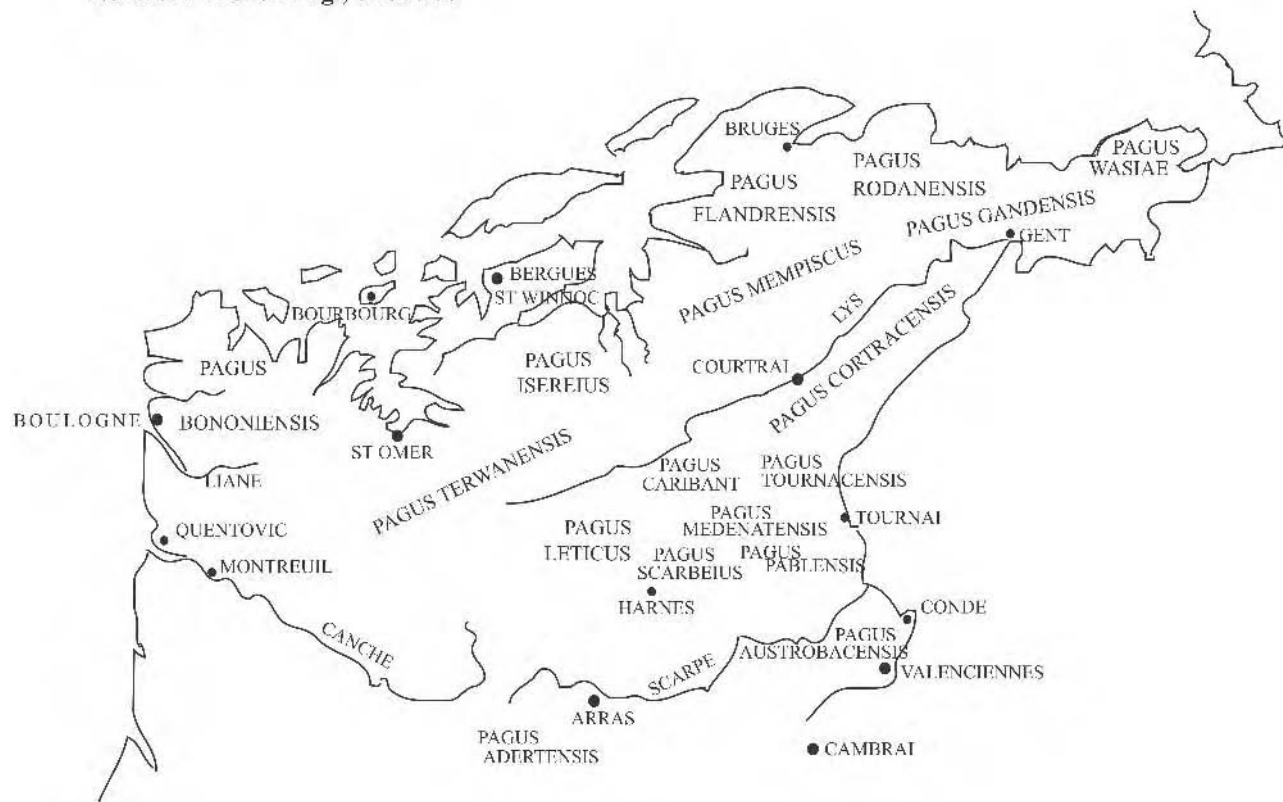
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Northern French Pagi, circa 900	xiv
Castles in northern France, circa 1000	xv
Boulogne and Boulonnais Lands in the Artois (late 9th to mid-12th century)	xvi
Honour of Boulogne	xvii
Ida's Dowry Properties	xviii
France, early 12th century	xix

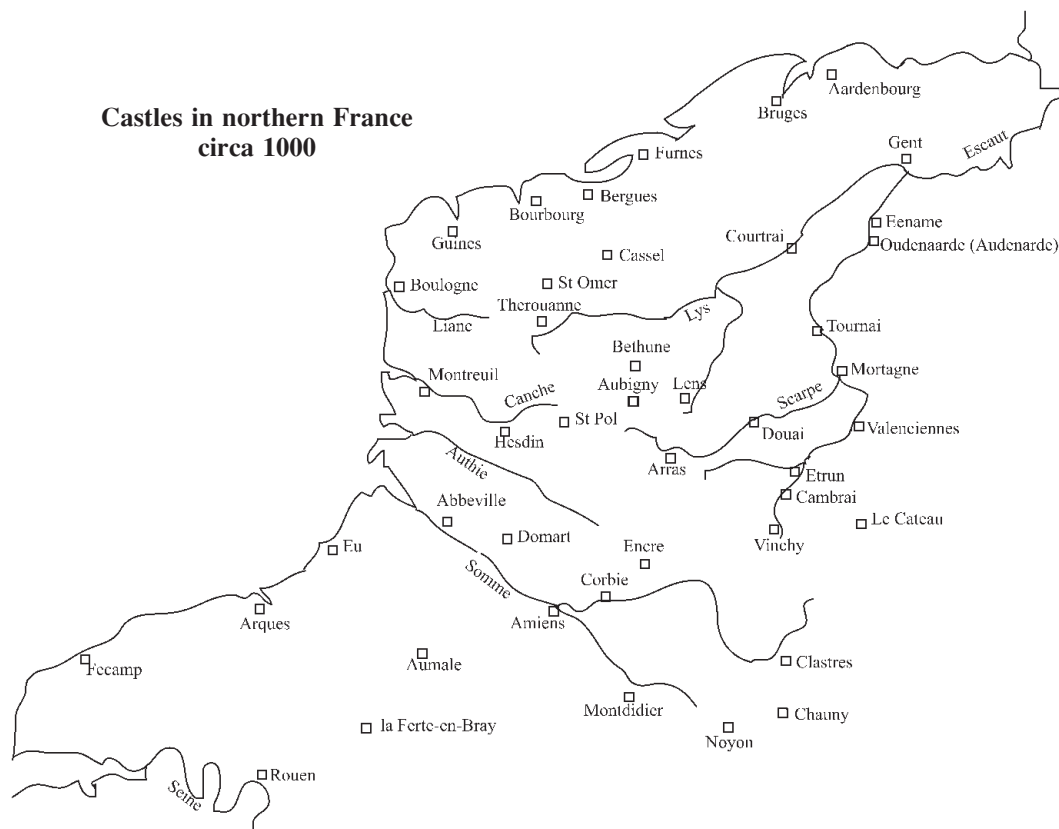
Northern French Pagi, circa 900

xiv

MAPS



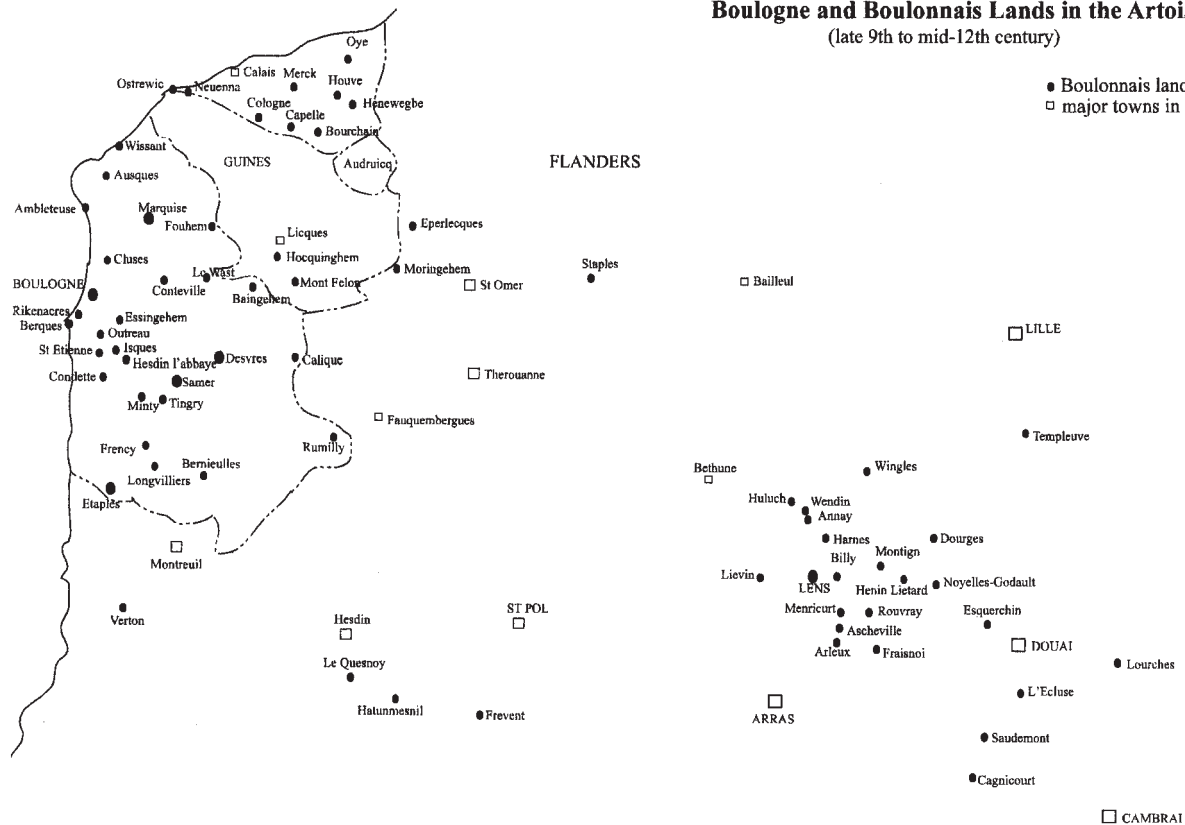
Castles in northern France circa 1000



Boulogne and Boulonnais Lands in the Artois

(late 9th to mid-12th century)

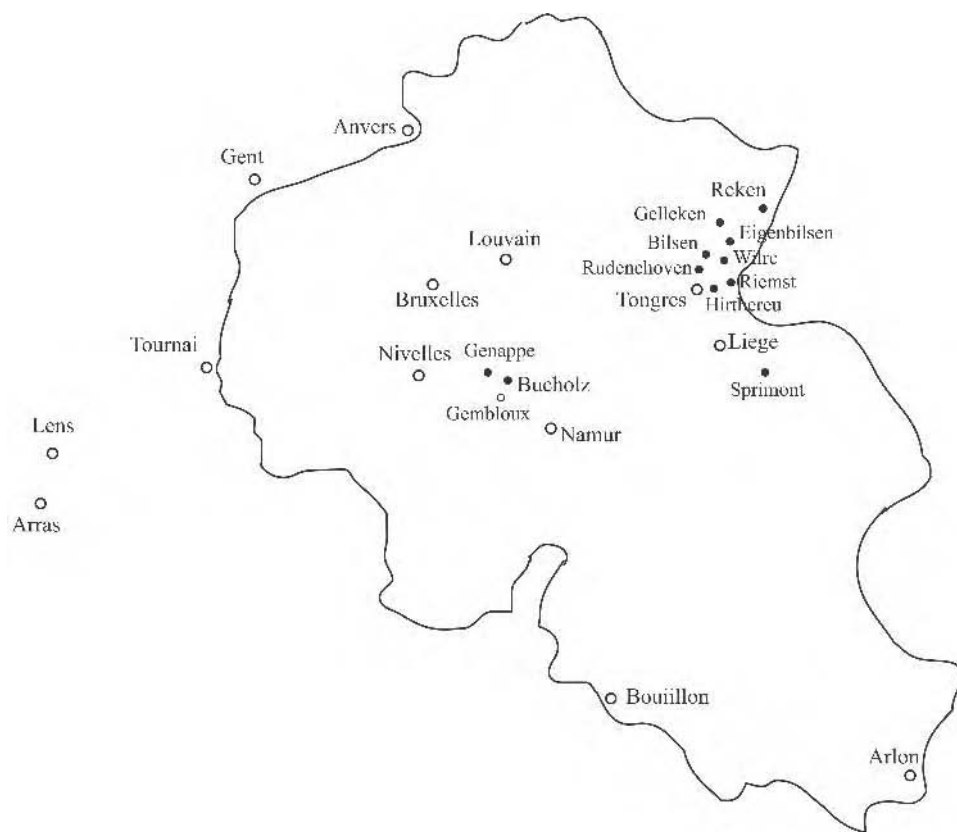
- Boulonnais lands
- major towns in the Artois





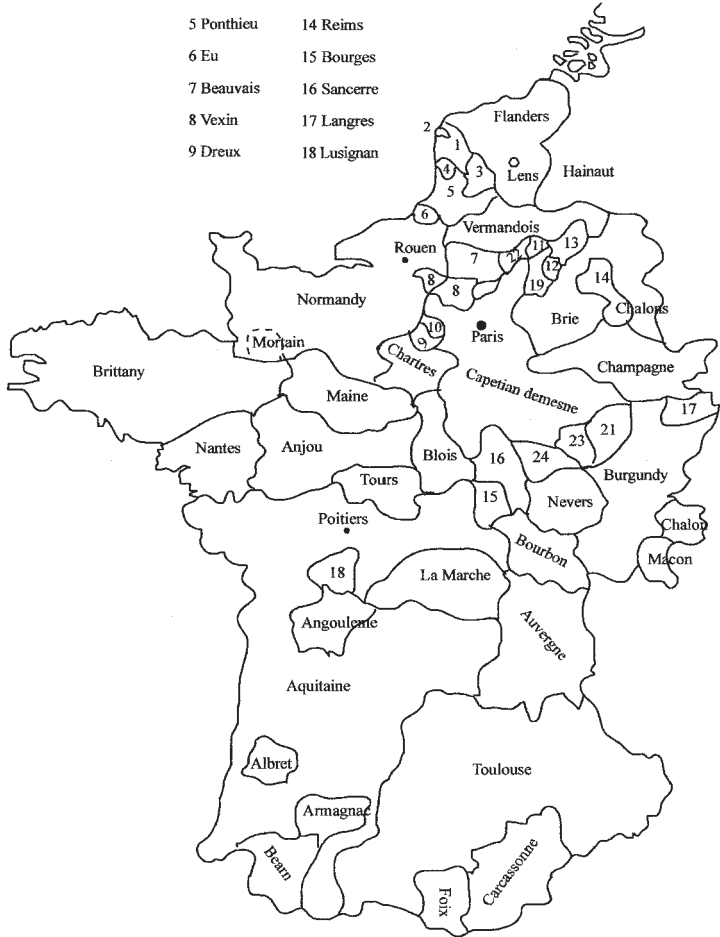
Ida's Dowry Properties

- Ida's lands
- major towns in Lower Lorraine



France, early 12th century

- | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 1 Boulogne | 10 Montfort | 19 Valois | 22 Clermont |
| 2 Guines | 11 Noyons | 20 Beaumont | 23 Auxerre |
| 3 St Pol | 12 Soissons | 21 Tonnerre | 24 Bishopric Auxerre |
| 4 Montreuil | 13 Laon | | |
| 5 Ponthieu | 14 Reims | | |
| 6 Eu | 15 Bourges | | |
| 7 Beauvais | 16 Sancerre | | |
| 8 Vexin | 17 Langres | | |
| 9 Dreux | 18 Lusignan | | |



This page intentionally left blank

PREFACE

Medieval political history has become a contentious battleground lately. Was there a feudal revolution or evolution? Was there feudalism in the early middle ages or just the local exercise of lordship? How much anarchy existed with the decline of Carolingian institutions and how effective were these institutions in the eighth and ninth centuries? Did the year 1000 witness a shift from violence as a tool of public order to one that was ‘personal, affective, but inhumane; militant, aggressive, but unconstructive’.¹ Does the absence of formal governmental institutions necessarily connote anarchy? Should west Francia be the model by which all other medieval polities should be measured? And if so, which region of west Francia? My goal is to offer a new model of the development of medieval government from the later ninth century in northern France, which draws upon the insights developed by social historians and historians of what I will loosely call “the anthropological school”, as these historians draw upon anthropological models in order to discuss political and social constructions within early medieval society. My aim is to use the model to illuminate one of the methods used to conduct politics and govern in the period of the later ninth through mid-twelfth centuries.

The model is based upon an analysis of the interrelationships among counts, in particular the counts of Boulogne and the neighboring counts, rather than the more traditional method of focusing on the relations between the king and counts. The choice of Boulogne may seem surprising, but it offers several advantages for examining the development of medieval governance in northern France. First, Jan Dhondt used Flanders and the Pays-Bas as his case study for the development of territorial principalities and the devolution of royal power. Second, the established interpretation has been that the counts of Boulogne, St Pol and Guines were vassals of the Flemish counts, and thus, that the early development of feudalism can be seen

¹ (Bisson 1994): 18.

here. And third, Picardy (the region just south of Boulogne) is considered a classic example of a region of multiple (and thus anarchic) lordship. Picardy is also seen as a region where the Norman dukes, Flemish counts, and French kings exercised spheres of influence. These factors thus make it ideal for re-examining established theories and testing the explanatory value of my own model.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book began life many years ago in a graduate seminar when I was asked, “What do we know about the family of Queen Matilda III of England (1136–52)?” The more I delved into the question the more fascinated I became, not only about the family itself, but also what their experiences revealed about the workings of politics and governance. In the process of working on the dissertation and book, I have benefitted immensely from the generous sharing of wisdom, references, and morale support from many individuals. I am grateful for the caring support and guidance of my mentors: the late Warren Hollister and Jeff Russell. I am deeply indebted for the stimulating discussions of the evidence and theories to the following friends and colleagues (in alphabetical order, as there is no way to weigh their contributions): Penny Adair, Rob Babcock, Rick Barton, David Bates, David Crouch, Gena DeAragon, Lois Huneycutt, Paul Kershaw, Edmund King, Godfrey Croenen, Simon MacLean, John Meddings, Brigitte Meijns, Alan Murray, Jean-François Nieuws, Julie Potter, Elisabeth van Houts, and Nick Vincent. I want to thank David Crouch and David Bates especially for their cheerful willingness to read and comment on the first draft of the book.

My time in the archives of Belgium, France, and England were made much easier by the friendly and knowledgeable archivists and staffs at Westminster Abbey, Canterbury Cathedral, the departmental archives in Lille, Amiens, Arras, Rouen, Beauvais, the municipal archives of Boulogne, Abbeville, and St Omer, the state archives in Gent, Bruxelles, Tournai, Bruges, Mons, the county record offices of Essex, Oxford, (and the other eight counties I visited), the Archives nationales (Paris), Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), the British Library, Public Record Office, and St John’s College, Cambridge. I would also like to thank for their warm hospitality Steven Church, Thérèse de Hemptinne, Elisabeth van Houts, and conferees of the Battle Conference. My archival research would not have been possible without the generous financial support of the National Endowment for the Humanities, the U.C. Santa Barbara Humanities Social Science Research Grant, and U.C. Santa Barbara Interdisciplinary Humanities Center Pre-doctoral Dissertation Grant, and the gift from my grandparents, Jean and Hayes Johnson.

Finally, I'd like to express my profound gratitude to my wonderful family—especially my parents, sister, Holly, and husband, Lee—who have never wavered in their encouragement nor balked at a request for assistance. They generously offered their time and their skills in photocopying, verifying references, and proofing, and have never begrudged me the time away from them while I pursued my dreams. I wish my father had lived to see this book in print; he was my first teacher in the art of research and my favorite research assistant. This book would not have been possible without them.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The demise of the Carolingian empire under the concerted attacks of the Vikings, Magyars, and Muslims, and the subsequent fragmentation of political power into both large principalities and regions of multiple lordship has long been the subject of scholarly inquiry. The construct of territorial principalities was first formulated by Jan Dhondt in 1948, and remained until the early 1980s as the accepted model for the political structure in France from the ninth through twelfth centuries.¹ Territorial princes were counts who controlled two or more counties, exercised royal power with their territories, and recognized only a titular overlordship of the king.² The counts' assumption (usurpation) of royal power began at the peripheries of the empire in the ninth century and spread inwards during the tenth century. Certain counts, despite the efforts of ambitious local lords, were not molded into cohesive principalities. The decline of royal, centralized institutions prompted the development of feudalism—the grant of land and the promise of justice and protection in return for military service, counsel, and loyalty—as a means of governing.³

¹ (Dhondt 1948); (Lemarignier 1951); (Lemarignier 1955); (Boussard 1968); (Werner 1978); (Hallam 1980).

² The territorial princes carried the title of either count or duke, therefore counts who ruled over a single county have been distinguished by the term 'second rank' by Barthélemy. Fossier argues that a successful territorial prince first assumes the royal duties of defense and justice and then extends his rights, domain, and control over men. The geographical coherence of his territories is a necessary but not sufficient cause for this extension of power. The consent of the local strong men and communities to the count's authority is the decisive step. This consent is the result of comital control of the seigneuries and the establishment of comital castles. The significant signs of the functioning of a principality are an administration capable of issuing charters in the royal style, the support of the church hierarchy which encourages the prince to found monasteries and colleges of canons, and the support of the warrior on the comital demesne and the castral network. (Fossier 1973).

³ The definition given is drawn from the works of F.L. Ganshof and Joseph Strayer. '... a body of institutions creating and regulating the obligations of obedience and service—mainly military service—on the part of a free man (the vassal)

Since the 1980s, four broad trends have developed in the study of late Carolingian and early Capetian governance. Two of these schools of thought build upon Dhondt's thesis. The first of these continue to study individual counties in order to discuss the success or failure of a count to establish a cohesive polity, and in the process discuss the continuity (or discontinuity) of Carolingian governance.⁴ One prominent explanation for understanding the failure of certain regions to develop centralized governance is the competing spheres of influence of territorial princes.⁵ The second school of thought has argued for more anarchic conditions with the further devolution of power with the castellans' usurpation of comital powers around the year 1000—a 'feudal revolution'—and the imposition of servile obligations upon the non-elite.⁶ The other two trends challenge Dhondt's model. Some scholars have rejected feudalism, attacking the model from two angles. The first wave of criticism was rooted in the elasticity and often imprecision of the definitions of feudalism, which made the model of little use analytically.⁷ Other scholars, notably Susan Reynolds, have argued that feudalism did not exist prior to the later twelfth century, and thus, it was not the means by which territorial princes governed their lands.⁸ The fourth school, drawing

towards another free man (the lord), and the obligations of protection and maintenance on the part of the lord with regard to his vassal. The obligation of maintenance had usually as one of its effects the grant by the lord to his vassal of a unit of real property known as a fief.' (Ganshof 1952): xvi. 'The combination of personal and tenurial dependence brings us close to feudalism, but something is still lacking. It is only when rights of government (not merely political influence) are attached to lordship and fiefs that we can speak of fully developed feudalism in Western Europe.' (Strayer 1975): 12.

⁴ To name a few: (Feuchère 1954); (Barthélemy 1990); (Duby 1955); (Vercauteren 1968); (Magnou-Nortier 1996).

⁵ (Dunbabin 1985): 91–3; (Barthélemy 1990): 15–16, 22, 38.

⁶ Representative of this school of thought are (Bournazel 1980); (Bisson 1994, 1995); (Barthélemy 1992); (Wickham 1991); (Bournazel 1994).

⁷ In the vanguard of this movement was E.A.R. Brown (Brown 1974).

⁸ Susan Reynolds produced the most coherent attack on feudalism in western Europe in *Fiefs and Vassals* (Oxford, 1994). Reynolds argues that feudalism, as a system of political relations, government and property law was a framework created by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century lawyers through their analysis of property law developed by thirteenth-century professional lawyers in the context of increasingly centralized governments. The book has stimulated a vigorous debate. Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier offers a representative example of those strongly critical of Reynolds' thesis; (Magnou-Nortier 1996). Stephen Lane's review in *The Medieval Review* offers a positive, but not uncritical, review of Reynolds' arguments; www.hti.umich.edu/b/bmr/tmr.html, record no. 95.12.01

upon anthropological models, question the statist assumptions underlying the constructs of both territorial principalities and feudal revolution, and demonstrate that the lack of formal institutions does not necessarily indicate anarchy.⁹ For example, Stephen White and Frederic Cheyette have demonstrated that counts and other lords often successfully resolved conflicts through judicial mediation. Thus, the lack of a legal code and comital power to enforce a decision based on such a code did not produce anarchy. Other scholars have examined the exercise of power through gift-giving, feuds, ceremonies (reconciliations, coronations, processions), and manipulation of kinship (godparentage, primogeniture, monogamy). Like those works, this study of politics and governance in northern France, using the county of Boulogne as a focus, draws upon anthropological models of political development and kinship.¹⁰

The choice of Boulogne stemmed from several factors. First, it is one of the counties of a region traditionally considered politically fragmented, anarchic, and a vassal state of the principality of Flanders.¹¹ Second, the contemporary prominence of several members of the family—Eustace II (r. 1047–c. 1088) noted participant of the Battle of Hastings; Godfrey bishop of Paris (r. 1065–1095) and chancellor of King Philip I of France; Ida countess of Boulogne (r. 1049–1113), saint and correspondent of St Anselm of Canterbury; Godfrey (r. 1099–1100) and Baldwin (r. 1100–1118) the first two kings of the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem; and Matilda III queen of England (r. 1136–1152)—suggested a level of success at odds with the ‘anarchy’

⁹ (White 1978); (Cheyette 1970); (Koziol 1992); (Davies 1986); (Nelson 1986); (Searle 1988); (Le Jan 1995).

¹⁰ Anthropological models are used but this is not a work of anthropology and therefore does not claim to use the methods, terminology, and presentation style of that discipline.

¹¹ Picardy is the region which lies between Normandy and Flanders and extends to the east to the county of Vermandois, but does not include the county of Cambrai; see (Fossier 1968): 1:178–79. Fossier includes Boulogne in his definition of Picardy as does Dunbabin. In the *Histoire des provinces* series, however, Picardy includes the region around Montreuil, southern Artois, Ponthieu, Amiens, Vermandois, Beauvaisis, and Soissonnais. The Pays-Bas in this series contains French speaking Flanders, Artois, Boulogne, Cambrai, and Hainaut. Hallam argues that Berry and Picardy were the most politically fragmented regions in France and that ‘political power devolved straight to the castellans, and despite various attempts by various nobles to form principalities in the region, these always floundered on the opposition of the kings whose lands lay directly south.’ (Hallam 1980): 27, 51. See also (Dunbabin 1985); (Ganshof 1957–1962); (Fossier 1968): 2:477–78, 481.

theory. Third, the number of counts in the region lent itself to focusing on the relationship among counts as a new means of elucidating the workings of politics and governance. As I delved into the evidence and began constructing a narrative of the political activities of the counts of Boulogne, the absence of feudo-vassalic ties and anarchy led me to develop a new model.

Building upon Robert Fossier's social history of Picardy which posits the importance of kinship and the lack of feudalism in the region before the early twelfth century, I argue that politics were conducted primarily by means of kindred-based action groups. These ad hoc coalitions diminished the need for centralized institutions of government or feudo-vassalic ties. The counts of Boulogne avoided absorption into Flanders and Normandy, as well as the arrogation of their power by local castellans, through the skillful creation of kinship ties and the mobilization of kindred-based action groups. The convergence of several societal changes by the late eleventh century—in the economy, family organization, the Church, and intellectual life—encouraged the process of governmental centralization and bureaucratization, which lessened the utility of kin-based actions groups and favored the survival of larger and wealthier polities.

Historiography

Although there is a rich historiography on the French nobility, individual principalities, and the relations between kings and territorial princes, relatively little work has been done on the comital family of Boulogne. There are only three scholarly articles devoted to the counts of Boulogne, published in 1894, 1901, and 1941.¹² Edmund Rigaux (1894) and J.H. Round (1901) provide detailed discussions, but little analysis, of the evidence for the activities and lands of the

¹² In addition to these more focused studies, there are more general surveys. Paublan's and Heliot's accounts only briefly survey pre-thirteenth-century Boulonnais history, and Lottin's and Popoff's works are textbooks for the region; (Heliot 1937); (Paublan 1939); (Lottin 1983); (Popoff 1981). Recently, several works examining specific members of the late eleventh-century comital family have been published, but these works do not address their political role in northern France; (Aube 1985); (Huyghebaert 1981); (Brown 1990); (Odend'hal 1923); (Wimet 1981). Odend'hal's thesis has been lost; only an abstract is available.

early counts in Boulogne and in England respectively.¹³ Jan Dhondt's analysis (1941) of the ninth- and tenth-century counts of Boulogne and Artois meticulously details the evidence for the earliest counts of these regions and the fragmentation of political power.¹⁴ However, he makes no explicit argument linking the region's history into a larger theory or thesis of political transformation.

In general, Boulonnais political history is discussed within the context of Flemish history. The inclusion of Boulogne into the Flemish polity is based on the scholarly consensus that after the establishment of the Flemish principality under Baldwin II (879–918), the counties of Boulogne, St Pol, Guines, and Hesdin were held by their counts in fief of the Flemish count, while the counties of Ponthieu and Amiens were held directly of the French king.¹⁵ Although the existence of a lord-vassal relationship between the counts of Boulogne and Flanders is common to all accounts of the region, scholars have differed over the strength of the bonds between the two counts.¹⁶ In the first half of the twentieth century, the Boulonnais counts and their southern neighbors were depicted as loyal vassals of the Flemish counts.¹⁷ For example, Pierre Feuchère describes the unity of the Flemish principality as consisting of four elements: a southwestern feudal bloc of the counties of Boulogne, Guines, Saint-Pol, and Hesdin; an eastern flank of the seigneuries of Artois; a central mass

¹³ (Rigaux 1891–99); (Round 1901). Both works are extremely thorough and accurate, but neither author places his results into a larger context, and only occasionally do they tackle small historiographical debates. Examples of this would be Rigaux's argument that the 1049 excommunication of Eustace II for incest was for his marriage to Ida of Lorraine rather than to his first wife Goda; (Rigaux 1891–99).

¹⁴ (Dhondt 1941–2).

¹⁵ (Dunbabin 1985): 73, 98; (Fossier 1968): 1:174–176, 2:476–8.

¹⁶ For the counts of Boulogne as vassals of the Flemish count see: (Ganshof 1949): 29–30; (Ganshof 1957–1962): 348–9; (Dunbabin 1985): 73, 97–8; (Dhondt 1941–2): 184; (Feuchère 1957): 130; (Nicholas 1992): 42; (Vanderkindere 1902): 1:103; (Grierson 1941): 72; (Verberckmoes 1988): 726.

¹⁷ Other examples include: in Philip Grierson's analysis of the relations between Flanders and England prior to 1066, he included in his definition of Flanders 'the vassal counties of Boulogne, Saint-Pol and Guines, as well as the regions of Artois and Saint-Omer,' and by this definition presumes that these vassal counts followed the lead of their lord, the Flemish count. (Grierson 1941): 72. Jan Dhondt, in addition to positing a feudal tie between the Boulonnais and Flemish counts, maintained that the eleventh-century Boulonnais counts were on good terms with the Flemish counts, but makes no statement about the tenth-century relationship. (Dhondt 1941–2): 64; (Dhondt 1946): 184.

of the comital domain, and a northern bloc of seigneuries and vassal counties.¹⁸ F.L. Ganshof and others, after c. 1950, argued for the *de facto* independence of the Boulonnais counts and their southern neighbors from Flemish comital authority, but maintained that these counts held their lands in fief from the counts of Flanders.¹⁹ Detached from the Flemish polity, Robert Fossier placed Boulogne into the familial and political ties uniting Picardy, but maintained that the Boulonnais counts' preoccupation with their interests in England made them a negligible factor in Picard politics.²⁰ Although individual incidents concerning the counts of Boulogne in England have been analyzed, the impact of Boulonnais ties to England in the later Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods has not been considered.²¹

Contrary to the established consensus, I can find no evidence that the counts of Boulogne held their county in fief from the Flemish counts. Although the Flemish counts directly ruled Boulogne between 898 and 918 and again between 933 and 962, the Boulonnais counts held Boulogne freely and with the sanction of the French king throughout the period between 879 and 1159, excluding the periods of Flemish occupation. The Flemish counts granted the fisc of Harnes to the Boulonnais counts *ex beneficia* and therefore exercised a superior legal jurisdiction over it and the county of Lens (in the Artois). However, they did not interfere in the governance of Lens nor issue charters which confirmed transfers of land within the county.²²

¹⁸ (Feuchère 1957): 88–9.

¹⁹ (Ganshof 1949): 29–30; (Dunbabin 1985): 73, 209; (Fossier 1968): 2:482–3; (Nicholas 1992): 42 and 44: 'By the time Arnulf died in 988 he had no effective control over the Boulonnais, Ternois, Cambrai, Ghent and Waas.'

²⁰ (Fossier 1968): 2:482–3. 'Il est peu de comtes [Boulogne and Guines] présentant autant d'unité géographique, peu dont on connaisse aussi mal l'histoire, peu dont le sort ait paru à ce point étranger au destin des régions voisines: on sait les ambitions des comtes en Angleterre et en Orient, tout au cours du XI^e siècle.'

²¹ (Round 1901); (Round 1885); (Wilkinson 1938); (Barlow 1979): 104–114, 307–8; (George 1926); (Brown 1990); (Wimet 1981).

²² In a 1047 charter of Baldwin V it states that Lambert count of Lens held the ville of Harnes (comitatus Scirbiu) 'nobis in beneficium tenebat;' (Gysseling 1950): 201. His brother Eustace II of Boulogne and Lens also held the ville of Harnes as a benefice from the Flemish count; see 1056 judicial decision in (Teulet 1863): 1:21. Although the Flemish counts did not issue charters pertaining to lands or rights within Lens, a 1070 charter issued by Eustace II and his wife Ida records a fine 'Philippo rege Francorum et Comite Flandrensium imperatum' for anyone who diminished the canons of Lens' property; (Miraeus 1723–1748): 159–161 and AN (Paris) L964, pièce 46, pp. i–v. Merck is not referred to as a benefice or fief but

The lack of feudo-vassalic ties between the Flemish and Boulonnais counts also undermines the spheres of influence model postulated by Jean Dunbabin and Dominique Barthélemy to explain the political dynamics among the Norman and Flemish princes and the Picard counts who ruled between these two principalities. Dunbabin defines a principality as a collection of counties or territorial units controlled by a count/duke, whose power depended on the personal bond or fidelity of the counts, bishops, and viscounts whom he appointed to help administer his lands.²³ Those regions which failed to form principalities are separated into five categories. Picardy, including Boulogne, is considered representative of regions de-centralized through the pressures exerted by overlapping spheres of influence of two territorial princes.²⁴ Dominique Barthélemy, in his reformulation of the theoretical relationship between the territorial princes and the counts and lords of regions of multiple lordship, has also placed Boulogne into the count of Flanders' 'external zone'.²⁵ Barthélemy argues that tenth-century Francia was dominated by the counts of the first and second level (counts who governed several *pagi* as distinguished from those who only governed one), who gradually assumed control over public powers.²⁶ Within the principalities, the counts of the first rank

Baldwin VII and his mother Countess Clemence gave their consent 'annuente' to Eustace III's gift of a sheepfold in Merck to St Wulmer abbey; (Haigneré 1880–1892): 2:27. This stems from their position as the supreme advocate of all abbeys within Flanders. St Bertin had held extensive properties in Merck during the ninth century before the Boulonnais counts' usurped control of the territory.

²³ (Dunbabin 1985): 91.

²⁴ (Dunbabin 1985): 93. Dunbabin's categories for areas not administered by a feudal prince as follows: '(i) an episcopal principality, (ii) an independent county, (iii) an ephemeral principality, (iv) an area deprived of strong government by pressure from powerful neighbours; and (v) two areas in which political disintegration was in some sense self-inflicted.' (Dunbabin 1985): 98, '... the area was divided between the Flemish counts' sphere of influence—only temporarily weakened by the minority of Baldwin IV—and that of the Capetian kings, which was more extensive, but far less forceful;' and (Dunbabin 1985): 217, 'Though Baldwin IV and his son Baldwin V relaxed the relentless pressure which their ancestors had exerted in Picardy, they kept intact their rights in Artois and much of the Ternois. . . . Elsewhere, they operated by feudal ties with the local aristocracy, the counts of Guines and Boulogne, of St Pol (emerged 1031) and Hesdin (emerged 1065), the lords of Lens, Bethune, or Lillers. Enjoying a considerable degree of independence, these lords paid the count of Flanders the compliment of imitating him to a large extent.'

²⁵ (Barthélemy 1990): 22, 38.

²⁶ These powers included defense of the territory, ability to call together the nobles of the region to resolve their conflicts, leadership of military enterprises outside the county, protection of the unarmed and the Church, and the imposition of

exercised direct control over an 'internal zone' or a collection of *pagi* which the prince visited regularly and wherein the viscounts (or castellans) were his agents.²⁷ The prince also exercised a significant degree of influence over areas adjacent to his internal zone which were either nominally independent or subject to the authority of an ecclesiastic; these areas Barthélemy calls the prince's 'external zone'. The prince's influence in the external zone derived from his position as feudal lord of the counts of the second rank.²⁸

The spheres of influence model is flawed for two main reasons. First, both Dunbabin and Barthélemy argue that it is through feudal bonds that the princes exerted their influence over counts of the second rank. However, as indicated above, the counts of Boulogne were not vassals of the Flemish counts, and per Fossier, feudalism did not play a role in Picardy until the early twelfth century. Second, in the construct of spheres of influence or hegemony, the prince, although not exercising direct control, exerts a pervasive influence upon the neighboring lords and counts in matters of 'foreign policy'.²⁹ Thus, a hegemonic state must be able to prevent its client states from creating alliances that would mitigate the effect of their influence within the client state, as well as from acting with confederates outside the hegemony to thwart the core state's interests. The creation and recreation of a series of alliances in Lorraine, Picardy, England, and Normandy by the counts of Boulogne reveal the inability of the

banal authority. The ban was the royal right to call up and command an army and to impose justice upon the nobility; the Carolingian monopoly over these rights was lost and came to be exercised first by the counts, certain ecclesiastics, and then castellans.

²⁷ (Barthélemy 1990): 15–16.

²⁸ Barthélemy also argues that the power of the princes did not reside in the exercise of public authority, although there was a great deal of competition to collect the profits of justice and taxes (known as honors), but rather in their ability to concentrate their allodial holdings, to create clients, and to erect castles. By the eleventh century, honors were heritable, and this transformation helped establish the predominance of princely lineages, which were maintained by marriage and homage, and later primogeniture.

²⁹ Charles Doran, in his analysis of the Spanish hegemony of 1250 to c. 1500, defines hegemony as follows: 'Hegemony tends to create vassal states or international political "courtiers" of surrounding political entities in a rather apparent hierarchic, perpetuated fashion. . . . The radiation of hegemonic influence immediately within the ambience of the core state depresses all forms of diplomatic initiative, especially attempts at new alignment. On the periphery of the area of hegemonic control, however, realignment may be aggravated—indeed given added stimulus—by the expansionism of the core state.' (Doran 1971): 16.

Flemish counts to influence Boulonnais external policies. The Norman dukes were also unsuccessful hegemonies in Boulogne and Picardy, and only achieved an ephemeral incorporation of Boulogne within the Anglo-Norman polity during the rule of Countess Matilda and her husband Stephen of Boulogne (1125–Christmas 1146) and their sons Eustace IV (Christmas 1146–August 1153) and William (August 1153–October 1159). The brief success in transforming the Boulonnais count into a client was the result of a failure of male heirs, the effects of the increasing centralization of authority under King Louis VI (1108–1137) and the twelfth-century Norman and Flemish princes, not inherent hegemonic power.

Kindred-based Action Groups

The importance of kinship in medieval society has long been recognized. Much work in the last twenty years or so has been devoted to examining concepts of kinship, changes in kinship organization, and the influence of kinship on other structures in society. Georges Duby's seminal work on the development of patrilineage and primogeniture in the Maconnais has spawned corresponding studies for other regions in France, of which Robert Fossier's *La Terre et Les Hommes en Picardie* is one example.³⁰ The main thrust of this work was social rather than political history. For example, Fossier has noted the importance of kinship in Picardy, but does not discuss how lineages wielded power.³¹ Very few studies of kinship fully explore

³⁰ (Duby 1955); (Bur 1971); (Chedeville 1973); (Bonnassie 1976). Some examples of kinship studies are: (Bouchard 1979); (Bullough 1969); (Bur 1983); (Duby 1977); (Herlihy 1991); (Wheaton 1975); (Flax 1982); (Bisson 1990); (Bouchard 2001).

³¹ He argues that six lineages dominated the positions of power within Picardy (countships, viscountships, advocacies, castellanies, etc.) and that feudal ties did not develop until the beginning of the twelfth century; (Fossier 1968): 2:542–46. However, he does not demonstrate that these lineages were consciously defined or maintained. The six lineages are: one, counts of Flanders, Guines, Boulogne, lords of Fauquembergues, and castellans of St Omer, Ardres and Fiennes; two, lords of Lens, Douai, Aubigny, and Bethune; three, lords of St Aubert and advocates of Cambrai; four, lords of Ribemont, Guise and Avesnes; five, lords of Nesle, Ham, Peronne, Honnencourt, and advocates of Encre; six, counts of St Pol and Ponthieu, lords of Poix, viscounts of Conchy, advocates of St Valery, castellans of Amiens, and lords of Airaines-Fontaine-sur-Somme. Fossier also states that the family in Picardy was seen to consist of the spouse, children, brothers, and cousins; however, the portrayal of kindred in the acta of the region is prominent only in the first half of the eleventh

the means of wielding power through family.³² Utilizing Freeman's anthropological model of kin-based action groups allows one to understand how kinship functioned as an organizational principle of political action, and to mitigate the need for more formalized or permanent institutions of governance.

The ability of the Boulonnais counts and other counts of second rank to escape the authority of the territorial princes came primarily from alliances created with other lords and princes. Kinship and alliance, often sealed by a marriage, were the organizing principles of Boulonnais and Picard governance and politics. The key mechanism in my model is what J.D. Freeman calls kindred-based action groups. Freeman argues that kindred is a category, not a social group, which includes cognates (blood relatives traced through paternal and maternal lines) but not affines (in-laws).³³ The reckoning of kinship is usually limited to third cousins and only continues if communication between kin is maintained. The members of the kindred know who their blood relatives are, but do not routinely act as a unit. Kin-based action groups function as ad hoc coalitions brought together by unity or complementarity of interests and contain only a portion of the kindred as well as affines and friends.

century and during the twelfth century; in the tenth, second half of eleventh century and the thirteenth century it is the individual who issues an act, without the specified consent of his kin. (Fossier 1968): 1:262–65. Fossier attributes the lack of feudalism in Picardy to the importance of family ties, the persistence of extensive allodial holdings, and the continuance of public courts.

³² One exception to this trend is the work of Eleanor Searle. Searle has argued that the Norman dukes manipulated kinship to advance ducal power from a base around Rouen to the surrounding countryside through the marriage of female kin to neighboring nobles and Norman warriors, and by rendering certain sons 'non-inheriting'. (Searle 1988): 89, 106, 146, 171. Girls of high status marriages were married to neighboring lords; girls of low status marriages/concubinage were married to Norman warlords. Searle also stresses the differentiation among ducal sons dedicated to a religious life. She argues that although Frankish nobles also used marriage of female kin to create kinship networks, but the lack of these families' disposable land led these relationships to be sources of dissension and violence, and that there was little loyalty among brothers or cousins. The Normans, on the other hand, had more land 'free' and the presence of implacable enemies on their borders promoted increased cooperation within the ducal family and internal policing under the charismatic leadership of the duke.

³³ (Freeman 1961). Cognates are believed to share one's substance and therefore have both jural and moral claims upon each other. Affines are figurative kin to whom one has moral but not jural duties. Affines are the springboard for the next generation; the key is the children of the marriage who are cognates (Pitt-Rivers 1973): 91–95.

Freeman's definition of a kindred, with one modification, fits well with historical studies of medieval French kinship. Constance Bouchard, D.A. Bullough, and John Freed, among others, have argued that medieval kinship was bilateral.³⁴ Fossier's analysis of Picard kinship patterns, as revealed in the surviving acta, also shows the bilateral characteristic of medieval conceptions of kinship and the participation of brothers and cousins as well as spouses and children in decisions to alienate property.³⁵ Affines, however, were not excluded from the medieval definition of relative.³⁶ Thus, each individual chose from cognates and affines when defining who constituted his/her kin, and changed circumstances could alter who was or was not included. The same is true with successive generations within what a modern historian would define as a single kindred. Bouchard has even argued that family in this period was 'defined operationally.'³⁷ While there is a great deal to recommend this thesis—for example, with the evidence of gift-giving to monasteries, naming patterns, burial, and inheritance—it is a bit too sweeping. I know of no evidence that two brothers ceased to be family in each other's eyes even when they were at war with each other or in different political factions.³⁸ The determining factor in these cases was not who an individual considered a relative, but rather shared territorial interests.

A kin-based action group was formed by an individual to defend or extend his own and, by extension, his family's status through the protection and extension of lands and honors. Since land holdings and offices were dispersed and therefore faced different challenges and opportunities, not all kin, affines, or friends were called upon in every situation. The core members of an action group were those tied to the initiator by bonds of amity. The jural and moral obligations of kin, affines, clients, friends and allies vary.³⁹ An individual

³⁴ (Bouchard 1979): 34; (Freed 1984); (Duby 1977).

³⁵ (Fossier 1968): 1:262–3.

³⁶ (Bouchard 2001): 5.

³⁷ (Bouchard 2001): 3.

³⁸ For example, Waleran of Meulan and Robert earl of Leicester during the civil war of King Stephen of England's reign, or the uncle-nephew relationship between Robert count of Flanders and Baldwin II of Hainaut despite Robert's usurpation of his nephews' inheritance of the county of Flanders.

³⁹ (Pitt-Rivers 1973): 98–101. The rights and duties within kinship are distributed differently since kinship is not a series of dyadic relations but a network. Within kinship, the rules of succession and inheritance and marital status (unmarried, married or widowed) shape one's claims and relations to other kin. Expectations for

turned first to kin and allies because they had a jural responsibility to offer aid and the appeal was focused on those whose own interests are at stake. The action group then expanded to include clients and friends and they in turn might bring with them others who were tied to them by bonds of kinship or affect. While conceptually one can distinguish friends, clients, and allies, it is more difficult to do so with the surviving documentary evidence since records of gifts or alliances between non-ecclesiastics are rare. A few chroniclers note formal friendships, or *amicitia*, and occasionally clientage. But most alliances can only be inferred by common action, through the witness lists of charters and *notitiae*, and in some cases through a marriage.

The strength of affective bonds and the potential gains in territory, wealth, or status were the primary factors influencing individuals to join the action group.⁴⁰ However, those appealed to might be occupied with other matters or face competing claims of alliance, kinship, or interest. These variables strengthen the ad hoc nature of the kin-based action group. While kin-based action groups are not necessarily political, within the context of politics with few institutions they function as ad hoc political coalitions. The inter-mixing of kindred, affines, and friends in the action groups promotes ties between kindred groups, thereby creating overlapping networks of kindred. These networks could and did work together without the individual who had originally brought them together, and thus, obviated the need for large-scale, non-kindred corporate groups such as feudalism or centralized bureaucracy. These ad hoc coalitions, however, can also lead to more permanent institutions. Persistent threats or opportunities promote the transformation of an ad hoc group to a more permanent coalition and from there into institutions where the core members dominate, as well as transform definitions of kinship within 'a family'. Within bureaucracies, members do not have to be kin or affines and therefore kinship fades as the primary organizational principle as the institutions develop.

affines seem to be similar to kin but without the jural aspect, for example they are not required to pursue a feud. Allies, although they can be friends, have engaged to carry out specific duties of defense, either shared military activity or omission of aid to one's enemies.

⁴⁰ (Pitt-Rivers 1973). The ties of friendship assume a reciprocity of altruistic acts and gifts, but not a time table. Friendship also assumes a moral equivalency of the two parties but not economic or status parity. Friendship can blend into clientage when the exchanges hinge on protection and influence for service and prestige.

The ability of the counts of Boulogne to maintain their independence was based primarily on their skillful use of marriage alliances to create kin and affines, and the adroit employment of kin-based action groups. Yet they supplemented this primary method with other means of exercising power.⁴¹ In the context of this study, the nature of the sources do not allow an exploration of the decision making processes, the potential but unaddressed issues in interior and exterior relations among nobles, or latent conflict. They do permit an analysis of the foundations of power and authority, or *potestas et auctoritas* in medieval parlance. The main source of power in this period was wealth, or control of lands, revenues, and offices. Counts and other nobles sought to acquire land through inheritance, gift, marriage, warfare, seizure, and purchase. In order to augment their resources, nobles pursued a variety of strategies: manipulation of marriage and inheritance patterns to limit access/claims to property; control of ecclesiastical properties through monastic advocacy, episcopal selection, and foundation of religious houses; military campaigning; and collection of customary taxes on agriculture, trade, transportation, coinage, and transfers of property rights (wardship, marriage, inheritance). From this base, counts carried out the political duties of defense, internal peace, justice, and protection of the Church. Through gift-giving, patronage, and appeals to political and religious ideology, counts secured the support of lesser nobles and

⁴¹ Steven Lukes, a sociologist, has argued that power must be analyzed three dimensionally, i.e. without too narrowly focusing on individual decision-makers. He advocates a focus on '(a) decision-making and control over political agenda (not necessarily through decisions), (b) issues and potential issues, (c) observable (overt and covert) and latent conflict, (d) subjective and real interests.' (Lukes 1974): 25. Although many definitions of power have been offered, I will be using the following drawn from political anthropology: 'Power is the capacity to take autonomous action in the face of resistance from persons, groups, rules or material conditions. It is the capacity to pursue one's will effectively, if necessary, by imposing it on others. . . . If it is regularly effective, though latent and indirectly applied, it may gradually assume the character of authority by habituation and general acceptance . . . However, until it does represent authority, power, however preponderant, is always labile and relative, and its effectiveness, being instrumental and conditional, is unstable. In contrast, authority being institutionalized, is fixed in its scope, character, and distribution; the observance it enjoins is obligatory on normative rather than instrumental grounds.' Definition from Michael G. Smith, 'Political Organization, quoted in Walter W. Tiffany, 'New Directions in Political Anthropology,' (Tiffany 1979): 73. For a definition of authority see n. 43. Smith's definition correlates strongly with medieval distinctions between potestas and auctoritas and therefore seemed highly useful.

the sanction of legitimacy. Their authority was rooted in the belief that 'le roi et les grands ayant en commun leur destinée héréditaire vouée au gouvernement et à la conduite des autres hommes, avec cette nuance important que le roi a mission de gouverner aussi ceux qui guident, puisqu'il es, lui, le chef des chefs.'⁴² The nobles' inherent duty and right to govern was validated by royal sanction of their public powers, practice of the ideals of political rule (providers of peace, protectors of the church, fount of patronage), and the use of ceremony and religious symbolism.⁴³

Kinship, both in kin-based action groups and in the acquisition and preservation of wealth and power, was one of the most important organizational principles of politics in northern France. This principle was complemented by the ideals and methods of rule developed during the early Carolingian period. The utility of kinship as the primary means of rule diminished as the ruling class adjusted to a series of far-reaching and interacting changes in the economy, population, technology and knowledge. The process, utilizing a model developed by H.J.M. Claessen and Pieter van de Velde, appears as follows.⁴⁴ During the late ninth century, governance was organized

⁴² (Werner 1992): 36.

⁴³ (Werner 1992): 49. 'Authority is the right to take certain kinds of action, including decisions to issue commands in certain circumstances. It represents and applies a set of rules, procedures, traditions and norms which are regarded as appropriate and binding within a given social unit. The rules which establish and allocate authority also serve to limit the authority that they institutionalize. . . . A person "in authority" holds a special position which entitles him to take certain types of action not open to everyone. The right to act in this way may be in fact an obligation; or it may be discretionary; but if authoritative, the act carries an obligation which imposes conformity or obedience directly or indirectly on others in the social group. Thus the person holding authority enjoys an immunity which extends at least as far as the right to take these actions.' (Tiffany 1979): 73. For the role of ritual see (Lukes 1970): 52-73, notes 34 and 35.

⁴⁴ (Claessen 1985). In the Complex Interaction Model, an early state evolves through a process of qualitative change in at least one of three inter-related sets of factors: one, changes in societal format (societal size, population distribution, and infrastructure); two, economic factors (resources, technology, including magic and applied science, relations of production which generally include the kinship system); and three, ideological factors (myths, religion and science, laws and norms including kinship ideology. There is no historical order or relative importance of these factors. An early state is 'a centralized socio-political organization for the regulation of social relations in a complex, stratified society divided into at least two basic strata, or emergent social classes—viz. the rulers and the ruled—whose relations are characterized by political dominance of the former and tributary relations of the latter, legitimized by a common ideology of which reciprocity is the basic prin-

under two general principles. One, kings shared through delegation political, military, and legal jurisdiction with counts. And two, property ownership, particularly for noble owners, brought with it jurisdiction (of a variety of types) over those who lived on that land. The more centralized state fashioned by Charlemagne and carried on by his successors Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald, began to unravel in the wake of the Viking invasions and a series of minorities and contested successions in the French royal house. Public courts, minting, and the calling out of military levies continued at the local and regional level, but became increasingly under the control of the local counts. At the kingdom-wide level, there was the sharp decline in attendance at the annual secular councils, the dispatching of *missi dominici*, and royal tax collection. In the tenth century, there continued to be an ideology of shared royal and comital jurisdiction. This ideology and elements of the traditional means of exercising public power and authority combined with a reliance on force/violence. Some counts succeeded in controlling large territories (or multiple counties), while other regions experienced more divided political authority (by *pagi* or single counties).

In northern France, the Viking invasions prompted the French kings to delegate the defense of the regions to the counts of Flanders, Ternois, Artois, and Vermandois. The Flemish and Vermandois counts used the invasions and the establishment of the Viking county of Normandy to pursue a policy of aggressive expansion at the expense of their comital neighbors who looked in vain for royal aid against these attacks. The counts of Flanders, Vermandois, and Normandy achieved their goals through warfare, assassination, marriage, usurpation of ecclesiastical lands, and the customary exercise of the public powers. They legitimized their *potestas* through gift-giving, religious patronage, royal recognition of their authority, and manipulation of customary symbols and notions of legitimate rule.

After a century of political reconfiguration, the late tenth-century counts of Boulogne and Picardy began to form alliances and to mobilize kin-based action groups to secure their independence and later to extend their power. They also utilized the methods of their powerful neighbors to re-acquire land and allies. Counts of the first and

ciple.' (Claessen 1978): 640. A mature state is characterized by an administration by appointed officials, limited influence of kinship on government, a developing market economy, and incidents of overt class antagonism; (Claessen 1978): 23.

second rank expanded the use of castles, itineration, the collection of economic resources (tolls, taxes, markets, offices, and coinage), and the extension of justice through mediation. In addition, there was a slow transformation of inheritance practices to primogeniture and patrilineage; for counts it began c. 950 and traveled down the noble hierarchy to the knightly class c. 1100.⁴⁵ This shift preserved the family's land and wealth and thereby their status. Throughout the tenth and eleventh century, any change in relative power, for example during the minority of an heir or loss of an ally, led to the deployment of kin-based action groups in order to extend comital power. In some regions of France, political power was localized even further into the hands of individual castellans; however, in Flanders and Normandy, the counts succeeded in consolidating their power within their counties. In Boulogne, Ponthieu, and St Pol, the castellans did not arrogate comital power; however they were more successful in south-eastern Picardy (Amiens, Valois, Vexin, Beauvais, Vermandois).

In the late eleventh-century, there were several changes in all three sets of factors identified by Claessen and van de Velde which contributed to the transformation of political structures and behaviors—demographic and economic expansion, ecclesiastical reform movements, re-discovery of classical law, literature, and science, and the establishment of bureaucratic administration within counties and kingdoms. These changes led to a diminished reliance on kin-based action groups, and a greater reliance on institutions and agents of delegated power (some permanent, others intermittent). Larger polities expanded their legal jurisdiction and improved their collection of revenues. This allowed them to gather larger armies and create permanent administrative staffs, and thereby absorb smaller polities. Counts of second rank were unable to attain the economic resources to forestall incorporation into larger polities, especially as a result of ecclesiastical reforms whereby the Church's resources were much more difficult to coopt and kin-based action groups did not provide sufficiently large armies to defeat the mercenary reinforced armies of princes and kings. The success of the Norman and Flemish counts in the late eleventh century combined with the failure of their two

⁴⁵ (Duby 1977): 59–80 and (Duby 1977): 134–148. Provision was often made for younger sons by grants of newly acquired lands or an ecclesiastical career and daughters were given a dowry of moveable wealth or established in a nunnery.

main alliance systems led the Boulonnais comital family to ally with the Normans. Although Boulogne was small, the comital family did possess several significant resources—the port of Wissant, the Roman road which linked Boulogne to Paris, and a distinguished lineage—which made the counts valuable allies. For the counts of Boulogne, their alliance with the Normans initially produced a significant increase in wealth and power. However, two factors led to their loss of independence, first by their incorporation into the Anglo-Norman polity and then into the Flemish. The first factor was the lack of a male heir in 1125 and 1159. Second, the marriage of the heiresses, Matilda of Boulogne (1125–52) and Mary (1159–62), entangled the Boulonnais polity with their husbands' lands (Anglo-Norman realm and Flanders respectively) and political failures. The fate of Boulogne was that of the smaller counties in the late twelfth century and of the great principalities in the thirteenth, as the French kings slowly extended centralized authority over all of what we now call France.

The Sources

One of the greatest challenges in studying Boulogne and Picardy in this period is the limitations imposed by the survival of documents. Many of the abbeys of northern France and southern Belgium lost their archives during the French Revolution when the school of artillery at St Omer requisitioned paper to manufacture cartridges. The two world wars hit the region hard, and in the inter-war period, a couple of the archives also had trouble with fires (often in the wings which contained medieval documents). Therefore, only a limited number of charters issued for the comital family of Boulogne are known prior to 1160.⁴⁶ Many of these have been preserved by the work of local and national antiquaries who copied individual charters as well as ecclesiastical cartularies beginning in the seventeenth century. These copies rarely indicate emendations or later additions to the documents nor do they always include the full witness list. Charters may seem an unusual basis for political history as they were generally produced by monastic communities and reflect their interests. Also, as Barbara Rosenwein has observed 'Charters

⁴⁶ See Appendix 1.

do not necessarily tell us what happened; they tell us how people wanted themselves and their actions to be recorded and perhaps remembered. They present us with a “public face”.⁴⁷ The charters, however, give us a glimpse of specific properties owned by a family, and can be especially useful in identifying lands brought into a family through dowries. The witness lists provide evidence for members of the counts’ and countesses’ entourage and the development of administrative offices. The use of titles and descriptors also illustrate elements of reputation and identity as well as indicate types of relationships among the parties involved in the transaction (e.g. kinship, lordship, alliance, friendship).

In addition to the information furnished by Boulonnais comital charters, I analyzed published and unpublished *acta* issued in the name of the counts of Ponthieu (sixty-two), St Pol (thirty-one), Hesdin (six), Guines (twelve), Amiens-Valois (thirteen), Flanders (447), and Normandy (225) to ascertain who routinely worked with these counts in local matters and external politics and the territories with which they were concerned.⁴⁸ The data from all the comital *acta*—date, grantor(s), place of issuance, beneficiaries, lands, and witnesses—were entered into a database in order to discover patterns of interaction among the counts and local nobles. In order to discover the frequency with which the northern French counts attended the royal court, as well as the Boulonnais counts’ presence at the English court, I examined the French and English printed royal charters and writs. In addition to royal and comital *acta*, episcopal letters and ecclesiastical *acta* provided evidence of the activities of the Boulonnais comital family and their associates.

Although there is no Boulonnais chronicler or panegyrist, the activities of the comital family of Boulogne were recorded in contemporary chronicles, such as those of Richer, Flodoard, Hariulf of St Riquier, Folcuin of St Omer, William of Poitiers, William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, Guibert of Nogent, and Lambert of Ardres. Most of these chroniclers were primarily interested in local affairs, and therefore they only noted the actions of the Boulonnais counts and

⁴⁷ (Rosenwein 1989): 33.

⁴⁸ (Guerard 1840); (Guerard 1841); (Haigneré 1880–1892); (de Hemptinne 1988); (Gysseling 1950); (Nieus 2001); (Miraëus 1723–1748); (Brunel 1930); (Faroux 1961); (Feuchère 1957); (Teulet 1863); (Van Lokeren 1868); (Vercauteren 1938); (Duchesne 1631).

their family as they touched upon their region. The martial deeds of Eustace II were commemorated in the *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio* and the Bayeux tapestry, and those of his sons in the works, fiction and non-fiction, about the First Crusade. There are several contemporary works that specifically deal with members of the Boulonnais comital family: the epitaphs of Countess Mary, Eustace III, and Matilda, a late eleventh-century genealogy, and the vita of Ida of Boulogne. Non-written sources, particularly coins, seals, and the archeological remains of castles and monasteries also provide valuable evidence for how individual Boulonnais counts portrayed themselves and their power to contemporaries.

Conclusion

The absence of a previously established political narrative for the ruling family of Boulogne has necessitated a primarily narrative framework for my analysis. In developing this narrative, I have drawn upon the previously mentioned works of Rigaux, Dhondt, and Round on Boulonnais lands, as well as the works of Jan Dhondt and Francois Ganshof on Flanders, David Bates and Eleanor Searle on Normandy, Pierre Feuchère and Philip Grierson on Picardy, and Leopold Genicot and Michel Parisse on Lorraine to provide the context and some of the data for the activities of the Boulonnais comital family.⁴⁹ The chapter divisions reflect the successive phases of the family's power and associations: the struggle for independence in the late ninth and tenth centuries; the expansion of power and influence in the eleventh century; the maintenance of independence and power within the context of the early twelfth-century struggles of the Anglo-Norman rulers; and the mid-twelfth-century integration into the Anglo-Norman polity.

⁴⁹ (Dhondt 1948); (Dhondt 1941–2); (Dhondt 1946); (Ganshof 1957–1962); (Ganshof 1949); (Bates 1982); (Searle 1988); (Feuchère 1953); (Feuchère 1954); (Grierson 1939); (Genicot 1975); (Parisse 1971); (Parisse 1975); and (Parisse 1981).

CHAPTER TWO

THE EARLY COUNTS OF BOULOGNE

The counts of Boulogne and politics

The political maneuverings among the east and west Frankish kings for control of Lotharingia and the renewed Northmen attacks are the fundamental factors in the transformation of the relatively centralized administration inherited by Charles the Bald. Charles carefully used the appointment of lay abbots on the frontiers of Lotharingia in order to defend the northern portion of his kingdom and to acquire control of Lotharingia.¹ His policy was continued by his successors. The exact date of the grant of Boulogne to Erkengar is unknown, but it is likely that he was appointed by Louis the Stammerer in 877, who at the news of his father's death, won the allegiance of 'as many men as he could, granting them abbacies, countships and *villae* according to what each demanded.'² The *vita* of St Bertulf, Renty indicates that Erkengar was count of Boulogne during the 879 Northmen raids when he fortified the walls of Boulogne and transferred the saint's relics to the city for safety.³ Although there is no direct evidence of who Erkengar was, it is probable that he was the brother of Richgard, wife of Charles the Fat.⁴ Richgard's uncle Bernard had

¹ (Helvétius 1998): 290–3.

² AB, 203. It may have been in 877, before Charles the Bald's departure to Italy, but this seems unlikely, as Charles choose well-known and faithful men to defend his interests in the north.

³ *Vita Bertulfi*, 9:133. The *vita* of St Bertulf was written by a monk of St Peter's Gent in the eleventh century. Erkengar also brought some relics of St Wandrille to Boulogne; Ex sermone, 15.2:629; (Huyghebaert 1980): 92.

⁴ Richgard's father was a count in Alsace and a patron of Schwarzach abbey; (Bruckner 1949): no. 470 (dated 4 March 828) and (Büttner 1991): 296–8. The grant in Bruckner refers to Erkengar's mother as Rotrud and his brothers Worad, Bernald and Bernard. Richgard's *acta* issuing statues for Andlau abbey refers to Erkengar as 'genitor noster' and the property from Bruckner, no. 470 is confirmed in Bruckner, no. 656 (dated 888–906). Two other charters, one issued by Louis the Pious and the other by Lothar I indicate that Count Erkengar was still living in 840 and 843. The first reference to Count Erkengar's son, and Richgard's brother, is in a charter of 22 January 869 in which Lothar II grants two benefices held by

been a supporter of Charles the Bald, and the young Erkengar had been dispossessed of his father's lands in Alsace as a result. If this identification is correct, Erkengar would have been eager to see the west Frankish king succeed in taking Lotharingia and Louis could hope for support in Lotharingia from Erkengar's kin. The other counts of this region—Baldwin II of Flanders and possibly the Ternois, Ecf rid of Artois, Hucbald of Ostrevant (includes Melantois pagus)—had also only recently acquired their honors and were probably contemporaries of the young princes, who were in their late teens.⁵

The renewed Northmen attacks of 879–883 ravaged much of Flanders and northern France. The depredations began in July 879 when both St Bertin and Théroutanne were burned, and progressed into the *pagi* of Menapes and Brabant.⁶ After wintering in Gent at

'Ercengarius puer' in Alsace pagus; Brucker, no. 580. In August 869, young Erkengar's uncle Bernard threw his support behind Charles the Bald in response to Lothar's granting away of the family patrimony. Charles' failure to acquire Lotharingia led to the confiscation of the family's properties in Alsace. Emil Kimpen has suggested that Erkengar of Boulogne might be the son of Richgard's brother Erkengar and his wife, sister of Herbert I count of Vermandois; however, this does not seem likely given that a child of this union would be too young to be count of Boulogne by 879 (Kimpen 1953): 56–7. Edmund Rigaux offers another possible origin, that of kinship of Duke Erkengar of Bavaria; (Rigaux 1891–99): 152. However, I have found no corroborating evidence to support this hypothesis. A third possible origin is in Swabia. There is an Erkengar count palatine and then duke of Swabia (915–17); he and his brother Berthold fought against Burchard duke of Swabia; (Maurer 1978): 36–46 and (Zotz 1974): 68ff. There is no evidence that this Erkengar had any relatives named Erkengar, and his own career is contemporaneous to Erkengar of Boulogne's. Finally Erkengar may have come from Franconia; he brought the relics of St Kilian of Ireland from the church at Wurzburg (eastern Franconia) and Bishop Gauzlin requested that he persuade Henry of Babenburg, a leading Franconian noble and duke of Austrasia, to aid the besieged Parisians in 885; for the St Kilian relics see (Laporte 1960): 30, 146.

⁵ Baldwin I and Judith married in 862; AB, 97. So the earliest date for Baldwin II's birth would be 863 and thus, Baldwin would have been 16 years old at his father's death in 879. Erkengar may have been slightly older, but since he lived until 921 and perhaps longer, it seems likely that he was a contemporary of Baldwin II who died in 918. Hucbald's age is unknown, but as he was married to Evrard's daughter Heiliwich, it suggests that he was a contemporary of Baldwin II; (Grierson 1938): 258. For a discussion of the children of Evrard and Gisele see (Hirsch 1910): 72–88. The first reference to Ecf rid is in 892, but it seems likely that he was appointed count between 877 and 879. Odelric, son of Bernard of Gothia and Evrard of Friuli's daughter, was count of Artois and Ostrevant until c. 877; (Grierson 1938): 258–9. Ecf rid was probably one of the Nibelungian family, son of Ecf rid II of Amiens (d. 844); (Grierson 1939): 85. Evrard and Gisele had two other daughters, Engeltru and Judith to whom Erkengar may have been married.

⁶ AV, 1:518. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle indicates that the Danish army landed at Boulogne in 892; ASC, 54.

St Bavo Abbey, the Northmen sacked Tournai and continued pilaging in the Scheldt region.⁷ Their appearance was triggered by the news of the succession crisis following the untimely death of Louis the Stammerer (877–10 April 879).⁸ On his deathbed, Louis had revoked an earlier designation of both his sons as his heirs, guaranteed by his cousin Louis the Younger, and gave the regalia and realm to his eldest son Louis III. Louis III had the support of Abbot Hugh and Count Bernard of Auvergne. Fearing political oblivion, Abbot Gauzlin of St Amand and Count Conrad of Paris sought Louis the German's support in re-instituting the joint succession of Louis III and Carloman.⁹ Hugh the Abbot first gathered support by calling an assembly at Meaux to discuss the succession. He then sent delegates to the east Frankish king at Verdun to circumvent Gauzlin's plan with an offer to return Charles the Bald's portion of Lotharingia.¹⁰ The German king recognized his cousins Louis III's and Carloman II's succession in the treaty of Ribemont (February 880). Once the treaty was signed Louis and Carloman and their *fideles* gathered at Amiens and formally divided the kingdom; Louis III received part of Francia and all of Neustria.¹¹ The division prompted a change of each faction's allegiance; Gauzlin and Conrad, dominant figures in the north, threw their support behind Louis III, while Abbot Hugh and his faction aligned with Carloman.

The role of Erkengar and the northern counts in these events are unknown. During the machinations surrounding the succession, it seems likely that the northern counts attended at least the assembly at Amiens in early 880, if not the Meaux assembly in 879, although the Northmen's presence may have prevented it. However, given the location of their honors, they probably supported Louis III's succession throughout the dispute. The whirlwind of destruction unleashed by the Northmen began anew in October 880 and continued until the Feast of St Peter in 881. They began by attacking Courtrai, Arras, Cambrai, and the monasteries of the Scarpe valley. Then

⁷ AV 1:518; (Pierrard 1978): 56–7 and (Dunbabin 1985): 69.

⁸ AV 1:517–8. The Northmen were well informed on political matters and frequently acted upon news of political disunity to attack.

⁹ AV 1:518; AB, 215.

¹⁰ Regino, 115.

¹¹ AB, 220; AV 1:518; AF, 88.

marching via Théroutanne, they pillaged St Riquier, St Valery, Amiens and Corbie abbey before returning to Arras.¹² Erkengar, Baldwin II, Ecfrið, and Hucbald were unable to stem the tide, and Abbot Gauzlin was appointed the commander of the royal forces to fight the Danes in the Scheldt and Somme river region in 880.¹³ Louis III himself gathered an army in July 882 which defeated the Danes at Saucourt.¹⁴ The king followed up on this victory by negotiating a peace with Alstingus, the Northmen leader. His reign ended with his accidental death in August 882. The Danish attacks in 882–3 were concentrated in the Beauvaisis and northwards into Hainaut; the Franks, under Carloman and Hugh the Abbot had a little success against the raiders.¹⁵

Royally led military aid was rare in the Pays Bas, and Erkengar and his neighboring counts had to rely upon themselves to defend the region. Baldwin appears to have used the Northmen's raids as a cover for his incorporation of Aardenburg pagus to his territories in this period.¹⁶ The shift in the Danish raids to southern Picardy suggests that the northern counts were working together in defense of the region. This unity would have been fostered not only by their territorial interests but also by the bonds of kinship. In 883, Raoul, Evrard de Friuli's son (Baldwin II's cousin and Hucbald's brother-in-law), became abbot of St Vaast and St Bertin, and was designated by Carloman to coordinate the region's defenses.¹⁷ Raoul fortified his abbeys in response to the renewed Danish aggression in 883–4.¹⁸

¹² AV 1:519; AF, 90.

¹³ AV 1:519; AB, 221. The St Bertin annals indicate Gauzlin was left in charge of a force at Gent.

¹⁴ AV 1:520; AF, 90; Regino, 120.

¹⁵ AV 1:521; AB, 225. The St Bertin annals indicate the Carloman lacked the resources to defend the north and that some of the magnates withdrew their support; Nelson suggests that Hincmar, the annals' author, is referring to Count Conrad and Bishop Gauzlin (n. 17).

¹⁶ (Dunbabin 1985): 70. Throughout the fierce Northmen attacks, Baldwin II of Flanders managed to retain his hold on the *pagus* of Flanders and to gain authority over the *pagus* of Aardenburg; (Ganshof 1957–1962): 2:344. Insofar as the sources reveal, Baldwin's success was achieved on his own, without the help of his southern neighbors.

¹⁷ (Grierson 1938): 251–55. Grierson convincingly argues that Raoul was not a lay abbot nor the count of Ternois or Artois, which is the traditional interpretation of his position; see (Dhondt 1941–2): 179–80.

¹⁸ (Bautier 1967): nos. 20, 85–98.

From their base in Condé, the Northmen continued to ravage Picardy, the coast, and Flanders.¹⁹ Stymied, ‘*omnes principes*’ met at Compiègne in 884 where they decided to negotiate with the Danish leader, Sigefrid.²⁰ The negotiations led to their agreement to pay a staggering tribute of 12,000 lbs. of silver in October 884. The payments began the following Easter and with them a slow exodus of the Danes. Some left Francia via Boulogne and others moved to Louvain. Erkengar and the northern counts enjoyed a brief respite from campaigning, and at the end of the year probably attended the assembly at St Denis which followed the burial of Carloman (December 884).

The Boulonnais count and his neighbors appear to have supported the election of Charles the Fat, which occurred at the St Denis *placitum*. Erkengar’s decision would not be a surprising one, if Queen Richgard was indeed his sister. Charles’ established kingship in Alsace and Alemannia would have made him a welcome choice to the northern counts. The first order of business for Charles and the counts was to dislodge the Northmen from Louvain.²¹ Although this encounter was not a Frankish victory, the northern region was secure enough for Erkengar to agree to Bishop Gauzlin’s request to bring Henry of Babenburg, duke of Austrasia to Paris to aid the Frankish forces under siege in Paris in 885.²² The choice of Erkengar seems to further substantiate the relationship to Queen Richgard, who was a powerful lord in Henry’s region. Erkengar was successful in his mission, but Henry’s aid did not dislodge the Danish besiegers. Charles the Fat was no more fortunate in his attempts to relieve the siege in early September 886 and he negotiated a tribute. Once it was paid, some of the Danes withdrew and burned the city of Beauvais and then St Vaast (October 886) while the majority went to harass Burgundy.²³ Charles’ failures prompted the Frankish nobility to depose him in 887. As Louis the Stammerer’s posthumous son, Charles the Simple, was too young to be king, two factions formed

¹⁹ AV 1:520–1; Condé is just north and east of Valenciennes.

²⁰ AV 1:521–22.

²¹ AV 1:522. The annalist notes that only Hugh the Abbot was not in attendance because of an injury to his foot.

²² AV 1:523. The siege of Paris is recounted by Abbon, whose poem focuses primarily on Abbot Ebalus and Count Odo of Paris. Abbon mentions Gauzlin’s appeal to Henry but doesn’t refer to Erkengar; (Abbon 1964): 67. For Henry’s actions see AF, 97 and 100; Regino, 125.

²³ (Abbon 1964): 82–91; AV 1:524.

around the candidates of Count Odo of Paris and Guy of Spoleto, led by Count Theudebert of Vermandois and Archbishop Fulk of Reims respectively. Guy had the support of Baldwin II and Raoul of St Vaast, while Hucbald joined Odo's faction.²⁴ Erkengar's position on the succession is unknown. Odo successfully appealed to King Arnulf of east Francia at Worms (August 888), and had won over Baldwin and his '*relictis sociis*' prior to the *placitum* at Worms.²⁵

After the 892, the struggle for control of Boulogne, Artois, and Picardy shifted from one of the Franks versus the Northmen, to the local counts versus Baldwin II. The increased reliance on local counts for defense, the decline in royal power which resulted from this dependence, and the rivalry between the later Carolingian kings and the dukes of Francia, allowed ambitious men, like Baldwin II of Flanders and Herbert I of Vermandois (889–902), to extend their authority at the expense of the neighboring counts and the king.²⁶ The death of Abbot Raoul of St Bertin and St Vaast (January 892) presented Baldwin with an opportunity to extend his power. Baldwin claimed Raoul's abbacies with the support of his cousin Waltger count of Laon and lay abbot of St Peter's Gent and Evrebert, a powerful noble of the Arras region. He was opposed by Count Ecfrit of Artois, King Odo, Archbishop Fulk of Reims and the monks of St Bertin.²⁷ It seems likely that Erkengar would have opposed Baldwin's assumption of the lay abbacy of St Bertin which would infringe upon his power in Boulogne. Odo refused to recognize Baldwin's claims

²⁴ AV 1:525; AF, 116; Regino, 129. Hucbald count of Ostrevant seems to have supported Odo from 887; (Bautier 1967): nos. 38 and 48; no. 38, dates to 894–5, Hucbald is referred to as 'in omnibus fidelis noster'. There are no references to the counts of Boulogne, Flanders, Ponthieu or Laon in Odo's charters.

²⁵ AV 1:525.

²⁶ (Dhondt 1944): 31. Baldwin added the *pagi* of Mempisc, Courtrai, and Yser to his land holdings between 883 and 887. While Baldwin II was establishing his control in the *pagi* surrounding Flanders, neither Abbot Raoul nor Erkengar took any known steps to limit this aggression.

²⁷ AV 1:527–528; (Guerard 1841): 134; (Grierson 1937): 15, 148; (Dehaisnes 1871): 34–5. The castellani originally seem to have supported Ecfrit's succession and Odo appears to have preferred Ecfrit to Baldwin. It was Evrebert who convinced the castellani to send for Baldwin. Archbishop Fulk excommunicated Baldwin after Easter. Waltger is the son of Adelelm count of Laon and lay abbot of St Bavo, Gent; Adelelm's half brother or brother-in-law was Robert the Strong, grandfather of Odo. It is unknown when Waltger became the lay abbot; (Grierson 1939): 306–314. The canons of St Bavo moved to Laon c. 851 in response to Northmen raids and returned to Gent in 893; (Grierson 1937): 55.

and marched on Arras, but the Flemish count successfully held the Arras road against him. Baldwin's ally was not as fortunate despite his initial victory in seizing the castle of Laon. The king re-took the city then tried and executed Waltger for treason.²⁸ Odo's brother Robert, lay abbot of St Amand, negotiated a truce between Baldwin and Odo, in which Baldwin kept St Vaast and de facto control of St Bertin.²⁹

The growing power of Duke Robert and the renewed Northmen attacks in 891 on Arras, Noyon, and Brabant seems to have contributed to the Frankish magnates' disenchantment with Odo's rule.³⁰ At a council in Reims (January 893), the magnates proclaimed Charles the Simple king.³¹ He was crowned 28 January 893, and Archbishop Fulk secured the recognition of King Arnulf of east Francia and Pope Formosus. The leaders of the anti-Odo faction were Archbishop Fulk, Baldwin II of Flanders and '*omnes Belgicae principes*'.³² The only exception to Richer's comment was Hucbald of Ostrevant and Odo's brother Duke Robert, lay abbot of St Amand and count of Ponthieu.³³ The first year and a half of the struggle between Charles and Odo was taken up with the maneuvering for allies, especially to win the support of King Arnulf of east Francia and his son Zwentibold who became king of Lotharingia in May 895.³⁴ Although Charles initially appeared to have won the advantage in his acquisition of powerful allies, Odo prevailed in the campaigning during 895.³⁵ At this point, Baldwin and his brother Raoul

²⁸ AV 1:527; Regino, 139.

²⁹ (McKitterick 1983): 250.

³⁰ AV 1:526–7; AF, 121. Odo gave his brother Ramnulf II count of Poitiers' lands and honors at Ramnulf's death in late 892, at the expense of his bastard son Ebalus Manzer. This grant led to warfare in Aquitaine, which is where Odo was when the council at Reims was held; (Abbon 1964): 106, 108.

³¹ AV 1:528 and (Flodoard 1871): 13:560. For King Arnulf's recognition see AF, 128; Regino, 140–141.

³² Richer, 1:32. '*Ei ergo omnes Belgicae principes et aliquot Celtiquae summopere favebant.*'

³³ Grierson posits that the Nibelungen family fell into disgrace after 893 and that King Odo confiscated their counties and granted them to Ermenfroi. Ermenfroi, although Odo's appointee, gained Charles the Simple's recognition after 898 and remained loyal to Charles for the remainder of his career. (Grierson 1939): 93–4; for Odo's allies see (McKitterick 1983): 271.

³⁴ AV 1:528. For the Worms assembly and its consequences, AF, 130, 137; Regino, 141–3.

³⁵ AV 1:529; Regino 142–3; (McKitterick 1983): 272. In 895, Odo marched on Reims and Charles fled. In May, Odo met with Arnulf at Worms and received his

distanced themselves from Charles by allying with Zwentibold. Although Zwentibold took Laon shortly thereafter, he retreated to Lotharingia upon the news of Odo's approach. Charles' position was now so untenable that he sent Erkengar of Boulogne, Herbert I of Vermandois, and Ecf rid of Artois to negotiate with Odo at Corbie.³⁶

Their mission was unsuccessful. Odo took Arras, and Baldwin altered his allegiance in return for Odo's recognition of him as lay abbot of St Vaast and St Bertin.³⁷ Baldwin then annexed Artois (late 895) and Boulogne (896), and began to nibble at the edges of Vermandois.³⁸ Baldwin's brother Raoul held the castles at St Quentin and Peronne, which fostered hostilities with Herbert of Vermandois. Frustrated by Charles' inability to aid them, Erkengar, Ecf rid and Herbert joined King Odo's coalition in 896.³⁹ Northmen raids in the region during 896 and the continued warfare between Herbert and Raoul added to the turmoil. With Raoul's death later that year, Herbert, with the king's help, preserved his power in Vermandois.⁴⁰ Erkengar and Ecf rid were not so fortunate; neither they nor Odo were able to wrest Boulogne and Artois from Baldwin's hands. In 897, Charles and Odo negotiated a peace settlement. Charles was made Odo's heir to the kingship, and Odo reconciled with the remaining Carolingian supporters at a *placitum* which followed.⁴¹ Charles' succession proceeded smoothly following Odo's death in 898.

The political dynamics of northern France in the tenth century revolved around rivalry between the Robertians and Carolingians for control of Neustria, combined with the continued difficulties with Scandinavian raiders in the first half of the century. The terms of Charles' succession included Duke Robert's succession to his brother Odo's honors and lands, as well as the lay abbacies of St Germain-des-Près, St Martin of Tours, St Denis, St Amand, St Aignan of

support. In response Charles allied with Zwentibold, who had become king of Lotharingia at the May 895 *placitum*.

³⁶ AV 1:530.

³⁷ AV 1:529–30.

³⁸ (Dhondt 1944): 35. Erkengar continued to function as count of Boulogne until 896. (Dehaisnes 1871): 324. Ecf rid controlled the Artois from 892 to 895; Ibid., 351 and (Dhondt 1941–2): 180; (Dunbabin 1985): 70. See Map 1 which is a copy of the map found in (Sinclair 1985): 46.

³⁹ AV 1:530; AV only mentions Herbert and Erkengar. Dhondt adds that Ecf rid also joined Odo; (Dhondt 1944): 35.

⁴⁰ AV 1:530.

⁴¹ AV 1:530.

Orléans, and Marmoutier. Charles' resources were thus limited to the territory between the Seine and the Lotharingian border. Consequently he was unsympathetic to the counts of Flanders' and Vermandois' desire to control Artois. Therefore, when the conflict between Baldwin and Herbert of Vermandois erupted once more, Charles intervened quickly. He took Arras and Artois from Baldwin in 899 and appointed Altmar, lay abbot of St Medard, Soissons, as count of Artois and gave St Vaast to Archbishop Fulk. The two men exchanged abbeys shortly thereafter.⁴² In 900, Charles recognized the Flemish conquest of Boulogne and Baldwin's position as lay abbot of St Bertin. After this Baldwin of Flanders and Charles seemed to have remained on good terms, however, Baldwin eliminated his rivals Archbishop Fulk and Herbert by having them assassinated in 900 and c. 902.

Although Erkengar did not regain control of Boulogne, he remained an influential member of Charles' court. In 901, Erkengar and the dowager Queen Adelaide requested the foundation of the abbey of Meulan and the grant of the abbacy to Tedric.⁴³ Dhondt has suggested that Erkengar was compensated for the loss of Boulogne by the grant of the county of Melun, and this seems plausible (if unproven) in light of his known activities after 900.⁴⁴ In the second act, Erkengar and several other counts and countesses intervened on behalf of Anchery bishop of Paris, to secure the perpetual title of Notre Dame in Paris and the benefice of the abbey of St Pierre de Rebais in 907.

Relations among the northern counts and with Charles appear to have been friendly, and the incursions of Northmen into Francia and Neustria were limited after Charles' grant of Normandy to Rollo in 911. The king felt secure enough in his authority within the west Frankish kingdom to attempt to turn the contested royal succession

⁴² AV 1:531. See Regino, 146 for conflict between Zwentibold and Charles. For the conflict between Baldwin and Herbert and its consequences see (Jean 1738–1876): 9:74; (Lauer 1940): 28–9; (Dhondt 1944): 36; (Pirenne 1929): 60. Baldwin also had Herbert I of Vermandois killed in 902; Herbert was succeeded by his son Herbert II; (McKitterick 1983): 311; (Lauer 1940): 76–77. Baldwin had tried persuading Charles to restore Artois and St Vaast to his control, but Fulk of Reims convinced Charles to refuse his request. Baldwin had Fulk assassinated in 900; Richer, 1:42–47. Charles had Baldwin's chamberlain, who had committed the murder, excommunicated, but no action was taken against Baldwin himself. Altmar's fate is unknown, the last known reference for him is dated 907; (Dhondt 1941–2): 181, based on RHF 9:505.

⁴³ (Lauer 1940): 83, 124 and 230.

⁴⁴ (Dhondt 1941–2): 99.

in Germany in 911 to advance his own claims on Lotharingia.⁴⁵ If successful, it was a move which would significantly increase the extent of the royal estates and royal power vis à vis the northern counts. The Frankish nobility initially supported Charles' goals in Lotharingia. Baldwin of Flanders and Boulogne does not seem to have been active in Charles' efforts to secure Lotharingia, however, Ermenfroi of Amiens and Raoul of Ostrevant (son of Count Hucbald of Ostrevant, d. 915) were close allies of Charles and each other.⁴⁶ Count Erkengar also seems to have been involved; he acted as a witness to a 919 judgment in favor of Archbishop Roger of Trier which restored the abbey of St Servais, Maestricht after it had been ruined by Count Regnier and his son Gilbert.

Charles' favoritism towards Hagano, a Lotharingian noble, led to a series of revolts between 919 and 922 and increased Norman raiding.⁴⁷ Charles' reliance on Hagano alienated the Frankish magnates who expected to play a greater role in advising the king. Arnulf (918–965) and Adalulf (918–933), Count Baldwin II's sons, inherited their father's lands without contest in 918; Arnulf received Flanders and Adalulf, Boulogne and the lay abbacy of St Bertin.⁴⁸ They, like their father, spent little time at the royal court; neither brother appears in the surviving records between 918 and 925. Arnulf may have spent the period between 918 and 925 bringing under his authority the *pagi* of Leticus, Scarbeius, Caribant, Medantens, and

⁴⁵ (McKitterick 1983): 307; (Dunbabin 1999): 3:378–79.

⁴⁶ (Grierson 1939): 110. Raoul and Count Ebert intervened in a royal diploma (July 915) establishing a chapel to St Clement at Compiègne; in 916, Raoul was present at Charles' *placitum* at Herstal, and he and Hagano obtained the donation of Maroilles abbey to the church of Cambrai; RHF 9:522, 526–7, and 549–50. Ermenfroi, in conjunction with Queen Adelaide and his brother Abbot Francon of Corbie obtained a diploma giving the castellum of Corbie the same immunities as the abbey; (Levillain 1902): no. 37 and (Grierson 1939): 94. Ermenfroi was also present at the Herstal assembly in 919; RHF 9:142. Raoul married Eldegarde, niece or daughter of Ermenfroi, and through this marriage he governed Ermenfroi's counties; their sons inherited the counties from their mother; (Grierson 1939): 104. Ermenfroi died between 919 and 923.

⁴⁷ These revolts progressively whittled away Charles' Frankish and Lotharingian support; (McKitterick 1983): 309–10. The Normans took advantage of the deteriorating situation and raided throughout the region. In 921, Robert duke of Francia's failed campaign against Normandy led to his creation of vicomtes of Angers, Tours and Blois, which lie between Normandy and his own lands in Neustria; (Dunbabin 1985): 66. For the raids to the north see, (Jean 1738–1876): 75–76.

⁴⁸ For Raoul's succession see: (Grierson 1939): 111–112. For the succession of Baldwin II's sons see n. 141.

Pabulens which form a corridor from Flanders to Arras.⁴⁹ Adalulf probably focused his energies on repelling Northmen attacks on Boulogne. With growing problems at home, Charles made peace with Henry I at Bonn in 921, which recognized Henry's authority in Lotharingia.⁵⁰ Erkengar witnessed the Peace at Bonn, as did Count Adelelm. Erkengar then disappears from the records. As a contemporary of Baldwin II it is likely that he died shortly thereafter, leaving no known heirs.

Frustrated by their lack of influence and increasingly accustomed to 'making' kings, Duke Robert led the northern counts in the ultimate uprising against Charles in 922. Robert, whose authority had been enhanced by Charles' preoccupation with Lotharingia, had the land base and network of allies and clients to be elected king. His kingship, and that of his son-in-law Raoul (within a month of Robert's death in June 923), split the Frankish aristocracy with the southern nobles remaining aloof from the struggle between Charles' and Robert's factions, especially after Herbert II of Vermandois incarcerated Charles at Peronne in 923.⁵¹ Charles' imprisonment ushered in a period of intense struggle within northern France.⁵² Herbert II of Vermandois (902–943), Hugh the Great, duke of Francia (923–956), and Arnulf I of Flanders (918–965) were the three most powerful contenders in this scramble for power.

The dynastic change intensified Northmen attacks. The king's imprisonment provoked an immediate attack in the Beauvaisis and

⁴⁹ See Map 1. The first definite conquest of Arnulf was in 931 when he seized Mortagne from Count Roger II of Laon; Flodoard, 48. For Raoul's career see (Grierson 1939): 109–111.

⁵⁰ RHF, 9:323. Erkengar was the second of Charles' witnesses. Matfred [IV count of Metz], Erkengar [former count of Boulogne], Hagan [Lotharingian favorite of Charles], Boso [son of Richard the Justiciar, duke of Burgundy], Waltker [son of Count Gerulf of Frisia], Isaac [count of Cambrai], Regenber, Theodric [Waltker's brother], Adalard, and Adelelmus [?count of Arras]. For a discussion of the treaty see: (Parisot 1898): 644–45.

⁵¹ Charles relied on Robert, duke of Francia to watch over Frankish affairs while Charles worked to secure control of Lotharingia; (McKitterick 1983): 308. Hugh's father, Robert, had died at the Battle of Soissons (15 June 923). Robert's successor as king was his son-in-law Raoul, son of Richard the Justiciar, duke of Burgundy (elected 13 July 923). Hugh the Great had to struggle to maintain his inheritance against Raoul, and later in his career he fought to prevent either King Louis IV or Herbert II of Vermandois from diminishing his power or influence; (Dunbabin 1985): 67. See *Genealogy Royal Families of France*.

⁵² This summary is based upon: (Riche 1983): 236–244, 263; (Pirenne 1929): 1:42–86; (McKitterick 1983): 258–277 and 306–319; and (Dunbabin 1985): 30–43.

Amienois by his remaining ally, Count William Longsword of Normandy.⁵³ Raoul of Amiens-Valois-Vexin and Ostrevant, Ingobran count of Beauvais, and Herbert of Vermandois repulsed a Northmen attack in 923 which was aimed at Vermandois. The Northmen band next assaulted Artois and Count Adehelm, where they also suffered a loss.⁵⁴ The Normans struck in the following year at Hugh the Great, another of Charles' enemies, in Blois and Angers. After receiving concessions in the south from King Raoul, the Normans once again invaded Picardy.⁵⁵ In 925, King Raoul issued a public edict to assemble an army in order to campaign against the Normans. His army, which included Herbert II of Vermandois, Arnulf I of Flanders and the 'other maritime Franks,' defeated the Normans at the siege of Eu.⁵⁶ While not named, Adalulf of Boulogne and Helgaud of Ponthieu are probably among the leaders of the 'maritime Franks'. It also seems likely that Raoul de Gouy, count of Amiens-Valois-Vexin and Ostrevant fought at Eu.

Following this victory, Hugh the Great negotiated a truce with the Normans which specifically excluded the lands of Adalulf, Arnulf, Raoul de Gouy, and Helgaud of Ponthieu.⁵⁷ The effect of the truce on the relationship between Hugh the Great and those excluded is difficult to assess. As Grierson has argued, Hugh was probably acting on behalf of King Raoul, since this truce, like the concession of Bayeux and surrounding region in 924, came at Hugh's territorial expense.⁵⁸ Adalulf remained on cordial terms with the duke of Francia,

⁵³ (Grierson 1939): 113–115.

⁵⁴ Flodoard, 15–16.

⁵⁵ Bessin and Maine were ceded to the Seine Northmen and between 924 and 927, Nantes was granted to the Loire Northmen; (McKitterick 1983): 313 Richer also reports, in the same year, that the Normans were given tribute to stop raiding; Richer, 1:96–97.

⁵⁶ In 925, Raoul lost the battle of Chalmont (canton Meulan) to Normans, which led to the calling of the ban. In addition to the attack on Chalmont, there was a concurrent Norman attack in Artois; Richer, 1:98–9; Flodoard, 31–2. Dhondt has also argued for the existence of the maritime marches since c. 800; (Dhondt 1948): 277–284.

⁵⁷ Flodoard, 32. 'Hugo, filius Rotberti, [Hugh the Great] pactum securitatis accepit a Nordmannis, terra filiorum Balduini [Arnulf and Adalulf], Rodulfi quoque de Gaugeio [Raoul of Amiens & Ostrevant] atque Hilgaudi [of Ponthieu] extra securitatem relicta.' (Hugh, the son of Robert, accepted a treaty of safety from the Northmen; the land of the sons of Baldwin, Raoul de Gouy, and Helgaud remained outside this treaty.)

⁵⁸ (Grierson 1939): 111, n. 168. In 925, King Raoul was quite beleaguered: in addition to his problems with the Normans, he lost Lotharingia to King Henry I

for, in 926, he led Hugh's embassy to the court of Adalulf's cousin, King Athelstan, and negotiated Hugh's marriage to Athelstan's sister, Eadchild.⁵⁹ Nor is there any known conflict between Arnulf and Hugh prior to 929. The truce did not remain in effect for long; the Normans attacked Arras at Christmas and Fauquembergues in January 926. Raoul and the Franks won a resounding victory, although Raoul was wounded and Count Helgaud was killed.⁶⁰

Raoul's success against the Northmen attacks bolstered his authority, however, he had another acquisitive rival to contend with, Herbert of Vermandois. Herbert sought to attain what his neighbors and peers had already achieved. His lands lay in between the Carolingian fisc and the Robertian principality, and therefore, it was not in the interest of either family to allow Herbert to establish a principality. Furthermore, the east Frankish king's interests in Lotharingia prompted him to become involved in the struggles of Herbert and his adversaries. The long and drawn out struggle was set off by the minority succession of Raoul de Gouy's sons, Gautier and Raoul, in 926. Comital succession in the tenth century was in the process of shifting from partible inheritance to primogeniture, and this change as well as minorities provided the kings (Carolingian and Robertian) with an opportunity to exercise patronage. It also stimulated competition among the magnates, who rarely waited to press their claim militarily. The counts fought for the land, and used marriage to forge alliances which would help secure their territories. They legitimized their conquests through the ritual use of abbeys and relics, as well as royal confirmation.

Raoul de Gouy's heirs were minors and Herbert sought Amiens and Valois, and Arnulf of Flanders wanted Artois and Ostrevant. Adalulf count of Boulogne's role in the struggle over Picardy between 925 and 934 is unknown. It seems unlikely that Adalulf was actively involved in the various conflicts among Hugh the Great, Herbert II

of Germany and Herbert II of Vermandois seized control of Reims; (McKitterick 1983): 311. P. Lauer, editor of Flodoard's annals, has argued that Hugh was acting on his own and that his abandonment of Helgaud, his own vassal, is surprising, but that it was quite understandable for Hugh to leave Arnulf, Adalulf, and Raoul, as rivals, to fend for themselves; Flodoard, 32, n. 7.

⁵⁹ For Adalulf's role in the marriage arrangements see, WM/GR, 1:149–51. Flodoard reports Hugh's marriage in 926; Hugh's first wife died 22 March 925; Flodoard, 36.

⁶⁰ Flodoard, 33, 36.

of Vermandois, Roger II of Laon, Herluin of Ponthieu, and King Raoul, because he had no direct access to Amiens, Valois, or Ostrevant. His brother Arnulf's decision to ally with Herbert in 929 stems from the Flemish count's desire to pursue their father's claim on the lay abbacy of St Vaast and Artois. In 931, Arnulf successfully seized Mortagne from Arnold of Douai, and then Artois and the lay abbacy of St Vaast, when Count Adelem was killed in the machinations over the bishopric of Noyon.⁶¹ However, Roger II continued to hold northern Ostrevant. Neither Flodoard or Richer indicate whether Adalulf fought with his brother in any of these campaigns. *The Chronicle and Cartulary of St Bertin* gives very little information about political affairs, but it does reveal Adalulf's actions as lay abbot. He was present at the elevation of St Fulk in 928 and gave several costly gifts to St Bertin.⁶² It also records that in 933 he ordered the burial of his cousin King Edwin of England, who died in a shipwreck near Boulogne, in the abbey's cemetery. At Adalulf's death later in the year, his brother Arnulf took control of Boulogne and Ternois, probably as a guardian for his nephews, who were in all likelihood quite young.⁶³ Whatever his initial intent was, he later changed his

⁶¹ Flodoard, 52.

⁶² (Guerard 1841): 140, 145.

⁶³ (Guerard 1841): 141: 'Post cujus luctuosum obitum, Arnulfus, frater ejus, abbatiam cum reliquo ejus comitatu recepit (After this one's sorrowful death, Arnulf, his brother, received the abbey with his remaining county).' For the existence of Adalulf's sons see Flodoard, 152 and (Dhondt 1941-2): 100-103. The ages of Adalulf's sons are impossible to determine, for we do not know when or to whom Adalulf was married. Adalulf had one illegitimate son, Baldwin Balzo. The whereabouts of Adalulf's legitimate heirs during their uncle's tenure as count of Boulogne is unknown. They may have been held at Arnulf's court. Dudo of St Quentin reports that Arnulf I advised Louis IV to keep the young Richard I of Normandy at his court; (Dudo 1865): 229. Dudo, sent from the Vermandois court, may have based this incident on Arnulf's previous actions. Adalulf's son Baldwin Balzo certainly became a courtier of the Flemish count, for he was chosen by Arnulf to be the guardian and regent of his grandson Arnulf II in 965. There is one piece of evidence which may support the suggestion that Adalulf's legitimate sons resided at the Flemish court. In a grant issued in 960 by Roger to St Peter's Gent, there are an Arnulf and an Adalulf among the attestors; (Gysseling 1950): no. 58. The act is signed by Roger [the grantor], Marquis Arnulf, Count Thierry, Arnulf*, Count Arnulf*, Odo, Hugh, Arnulf*, Rainer, brother Robert, Werin, Hecbert, Eilbodon, Sigard, Bernard, Heregaud, Ascric, Gerulf, Goter, Ingelbert, Adalard, Folcard, Geldulf, Wilhelm, Dudolin, Eric, Clarbold, Adalulf*, Stephen, Stephen calvi, Everard, Hugh, Gunter and Gunter.* There are four other Arnulfs in this region during Arnulf I of Flanders' rule: Arnulf, son of Count Isaac of Cambrai, Arnulf son of Hilduin and the Flemish count's daughter, Arnulf, son of Count Thierry, and Adalulf's son Arnulf. Hilduin's

mind and appointed his son Baldwin III as count of Boulogne and Ternois (c. 955–962). Arnulf himself acted as count of Boulogne from 933–c. 955.

The new count of Boulogne (Ternois, Flanders and Artois) was much more successful than his ally, Herbert, in acquiring territory in Picardy. Chased from his strongholds, Herbert appealed to Henry I of Germany, who in 934 led a delegation to negotiate a peace between King Raoul and Herbert.⁶⁴ Through a series of *placita* Raoul then reconciled Hugh and Herbert. Arnulf, who was formally betrothed Herbert's daughter in 929, married Adele following the peace settlement. The region remained peaceful for the next several years. At King Raoul's death (January 936), Hugh the Great negotiated the return of Charles the Simple's son, Louis IV.⁶⁵ Louis was met at Boulogne by Arnulf, Herbert II, and Hugh the Great and crowned at Laon in June. Chaffing at Hugh's power, the young king sought his independence by allying with Arnulf and Hugh the Black, duke of Burgundy in 938. The Burgundian alliance threatened both Herbert and Hugh the Great, who often joined forces in this period to protect their land and power. They also sought east Frankish allies, like Duke Gilbert of Lotharingia and Otto I, to put pressure on the eastern borders of Louis IV and the Burgundian duke.

The Flemish count's marriage to Herbert II's daughter in 934 transformed the two from allies to kin and aided both in their territorial expansion. Between 937 and 943, Herbert focused his attention on cities and counties of Laon and Reims.⁶⁶ Arnulf used Boulogne and Ternois as a base to expand southwards into Ponthieu which

son was never called count and Adalulf's son does not become count of Boulogne until 962 or 965. Therefore, the attestor, Count Arnulf, is probably Arnulf of Valenciennes, who was made count in 958; see (Dhondt 1945): 134. The Arnulf following Count Thierry is probably his son Arnulf. The remaining Arnulf could be either Hilduin's son or Adalulf's son. The only other Adalulf known in this period is a monk of St Bertin. It seems unlikely that he would attest a charter for St Peter's, Gent. Flodoard's account of the events of 962 does not include the name of Adalulf's son who was killed by his uncle, but it may have been Adalulf, since his surviving son was named Arnulf, and Adalulf's known illegitimate son was named Baldwin.

⁶⁴ Flodoard, 37–61; (Flodoard 1871): 579–80; Richer, 1:110, 112, 116; (McKitterick 1983): 312; (Dunbabin 1985): 96.

⁶⁵ Flodoard, 63; (Guerard 1841): 138. Folcuin states that Adalulf was there to greet Louis; however, since Adalulf had died in 933 and Folcuin uses the title *marquis*, this seems to be a simple error and it was Arnulf who was present.

⁶⁶ (Flodoard 1871): 581–3; (Bur 1971): 95.

threatened Hugh the Great's *fidelis*, Herluin of Ponthieu.⁶⁷ Arnulf's success encouraged Herluin to call upon the aid of William Longsword, count of Normandy, in part because he knew that Arnulf enjoyed the support of Louis IV (936–54).⁶⁸ Arnulf attacked in 939, but only held the city of Ponthieu briefly before Herluin re-took it with the aid of Norman troops. However, the campaign had cost Herluin dearly; Arnulf had seized his treasury and captured his wife and sons, sending them to King Athelstan as hostages.⁶⁹ Arnulf then sent soldiers to harry Ponthieu but did not immediately renew his attempts to annex territory in Ponthieu.

In 938, Otto was facing a revolt in Saxony and Lotharingia. Louis saw the conflict as an opportunity to reestablish west Frankish authority in Lotharingia, and a potential means of regaining authority in Vermandois and Artois. He therefore encouraged the rebels and when Duke Gilbert, Isaac of Cambrai, and Thierry of Holland offered Louis their fidelity. Otto struck back swiftly.⁷⁰ The German king won the allegiance of Arnulf of Boulogne and Flanders, Hugh the Great, Herbert II, and William Longsword, and then proceeded to devastate Lotharingia. Abandoned by his northern magnates, Louis sought his cousin Athelstan's aid, who sent ships to ravage the Flemish coast later in 939.⁷¹ Even Roger II defected from Louis' camp and allied himself to Hugh and Herbert in the hopes of regaining Laon. Duke Gilbert was killed at Andernach (939), and Otto was able to end the revolt by making his brother duke in Lotharingia. Duke Gilbert's

⁶⁷ For Arnulf's career see (Dhondt 1944): 41–50 and (McKitterick 1983): 251–8. Much of the evidence for Arnulf I of Flanders' activities comes from the following sources: Flodoard, 31, 32, 48, 71, 73, 74, 83, 86, 89, 91, 95, 96, 102, 105, 109, 121, 124, 127, 131, 147, 152–3, 156; Richer, 1:140, 142–146, 172, 174–178, 188, 190, 194, 198, 228 and 2:28; (Guerard 1841): 140–149, 153–154.

⁶⁸ In 938, William attacked parts of Flanders; Flodoard, 71.

⁶⁹ (MacDonald 1985). For the struggle over Amiens see Richer, 1:144–150; (Grierson 1939): 118.

⁷⁰ Flodoard, 71–74; (Reuter 1991): 151.

⁷¹ Flodoard, 73. Arnulf's decision is puzzling. Arnulf's allegiance to Louis allowed him to expand into Ponthieu with impunity, and his own kinsmen were supporting Louis in this conflict—his sons-in-law Isaac of Cambrai and Thierry of Holland, and his cousin King Athelstan. In addition, he himself had negotiated a truce between Louis and Otto prior to his campaign to take Montreuil. Freeman posited that Athelstan carried out a preemptive strike to discourage Arnulf from joining the rebels against Louis IV, but this seems unlikely; (Freeman 1873–76): 1:203, n. 3. Grierson has suggested that it was an unauthorized attack carried out by the English sailors; (Grierson 1941): 89.

son Regnier was exiled and his widow, Otto's sister Gerberga, wed Louis IV.

Although the fighting had ended in Lotharingia, Louis still faced attacks in the Remois by Otto's west Frankish allies. Louis won back William Longsword's allegiance in early 940, and most likely Arnulf of Boulogne and Flanders'. In early 941, Louis captured Roger II. Keeping Roger close throughout the year, the two joined forces. Roger was granted Douai and county of Laon, which had been held by his father, and he may have married one of Louis' half sisters.⁷² Louis' alliance with Roger and his nephew Raoul II of Valois allowed him to put pressure on Hugh's ally in Soissons. In late 941, Arnulf and William Longsword met with Hugh and Herbert to try to negotiate a peace, but nothing was concluded.⁷³ Count Roger's last act was to secure William of Normandy's military support for Louis in the spring of 942; a peace was finally agreed upon in December.

Although the motive is unknown, after a meeting with William Longsword at Picquigny (17 Dec 942), Arnulf's men killed the Norman count.⁷⁴ Succession in Normandy, Vermandois, and Valois once more offered Louis the opportunity to add to the royal estates and distribute patronage. His efforts to do so were constrained by the initiative of the counts to help themselves. Louis immediately entered Normandy and placed the young heir, Richard, under his guardianship and put Herluin of Ponthieu in charge of Rouen. Shortly after this Herbert II died. Raoul of Valois promptly attacked Amiens, held by Herbert's son Odo, in an effort to regain his father's county, but died in the campaign.⁷⁵ Arnulf acted swiftly at the news of this conflict and seized Amiens. Arnulf's motive was probably to limit Herluin's growing power. The cross Channel traffic of goods and travelers from the port of Boulogne and down the Roman road that connected the port to Amiens and Paris was potentially hostage to Herluin with his control of Montreuil and Amiens. In addition, the division of his ally Herbert's lands among his sons significantly weak-

⁷² (Lauer 1900): 66–76; for Lothar's charter and family tie between Roger and Louis IV see RHF 9:624, no. xi.

⁷³ Flodoard, 83.

⁷⁴ Flodoard, 86.

⁷⁵ Flodoard, 87; Richer, 1:186–90; (Bur 1971): 97. Odo disappears from the records in 946; his younger brothers became the wards of their maternal uncle Hugh the Great.

ened Arnulf's hand against Duke Hugh and Herluin. Arnulf's victory was ephemeral; Herluin chased Arnulf from Amiens and the king recognized Herluin's authority over the county. Arnulf was not the only loser; Raoul II's brother, Gautier count of Amiens, was passed over as well.

Louis' disposition of the Norman count's guardianship and the county of Amiens bolstered royal authority. In addition, his patronage to Herluin attenuated Duke Hugh's claims on the Ponthevin count's fidelity. In 944, Louis IV reconciled Arnulf and Herluin—Herluin kept Amiens and Arnulf kept lands he had taken in northern Ponthieu. The three campaigned in Normandy in 944 against the new pagan settlers; and in spring 945, they campaigned unsuccessfully against Hugh and Herbert III le Vieux count of Omois at Reims.⁷⁶ Louis and Herluin returned to Normandy, where Herluin was killed at Bayeux and Louis was taken hostage a few days later in Rouen. Louis' captivity and Herluin's death undermined the increase in royal power that Louis had built since Herbert II's death, and allowed Duke Hugh to regain lost status.

Although Duke Hugh negotiated an exchange of hostages with the Normans, he kept Louis a prisoner until July 946 and secured Roger of Ponthieu's fidelity.⁷⁷ Arnulf's role in the negotiations to free Louis are unknown. Louis' reversals created an opportunity for Arnulf to regain lost ground in Ponthieu and against Duke Hugh. At first he concentrated on the efforts to punish Hugh for Louis' captivity. He was with Otto I's army at the siege of Senlis and may have persuaded Otto and Louis to attack Normandy. In retaliation, Hugh conducted a short campaign in Flanders in early 947.⁷⁸

Arnulf then turned his attention to his longstanding goal of controlling Montreuil, which would protect Boulogne and Ternois and the economic benefits of Boulogne's port. In late spring 948, Louis and Arnulf met at Arras and then attacked Montreuil, but failed to take it from Roger of Ponthieu. Arnulf seized Amiens in 949 with the support of Louis IV who sought to oust its bishop, an appointee of Hugh's. Hugh retaliated in 950 by besieging Arnulf in his fortress in Amiens, but Arnulf prevailed. In response, Hugh and Roger

⁷⁶ Richer, 1:194, 196.

⁷⁷ Flodoard, 99–103.

⁷⁸ Flodoard, 104.

attacked Arnulf in Ponthieu in the spring of 951. Arnulf held onto his territories in Ponthieu, in part through the control of the abbeys of St Valery and St Riquier, where Hugh had been the lay abbot. Arnulf seized the relics of St Valery and St Riquier, and translated them to St Bertin.⁷⁹ The acquisition was seen as a sign of divine favor and bolstered the legitimacy of his power, particularly in light of his monastic reform program. He renounced the lay abbacy of St Riquier, and made Gerard of Brogne the abbot. Shortly thereafter, Arnulf acquired Ostrevant from Roger II's heir Otger, count and lay abbot of St Amand.⁸⁰ By late 952, Arnulf had secured his control of the major cities and their castles along the Roman roads in the north—Boulogne, Théroutanne, Cassel, Tournai, Arras, and Amiens—and thereby secured his counties of Boulogne, Ternois, Artois, Ostrevant, and Flanders.

At Louis' death, Queen Gerberga worked quickly to secure her son Lothar's succession. Gerberga, sure of Marquis Arnulf's and his son Baldwin's fidelity, sent envoys to Duke Hugh and her brother Bruno of Cologne.⁸¹ Hugh the Great's support was rewarded by the grant of the title duke of Burgundy and Aquitaine. With Arnulf's and Hugh's support established, the remaining ecclesiastical and lay magnates of Francia, Burgundy, and Aquitaine recognized Lothar as king.⁸² It may be at this time that Arnulf delegated Boulogne and Ternois to his son, Baldwin.⁸³ Flemish-Boulonnais fidelity to Lothar allowed Arnulf and his son to consolidate their hold on northern Ponthieu, Artois and Ostrevant, and to hold their own against Hugh the Great, Arnulf's longstanding adversary. In addition, Arnulf's sons-in-law, Thierry of Gent and Isaac of Cambrai, had strong ties to the Ottonian court and its representative in Lotharingia, Bruno of Cologne, who was the new king's maternal uncle.

⁷⁹ (Hariulf 1894): 150–152.

⁸⁰ (Platelle 1962): 112. After Arnulf's acquisition of Ostrevant in 952, Otger/Roger may have been made count of Porcien; (Bur 1971): 132–33.

⁸¹ Flodoard, 139; Richer, 2:8–10. Lothar was twelve years old in September 954.

⁸² (Halphen 1908): no. 1. Lothar confirmed the restoration of St Bavo's, Gent at the request of Count Arnulf and his son Baldwin; the diploma is dated 11 December 954 at St Jean, Laon.

⁸³ In a charter of Countess Adela of Flanders for St Peter's Gent, dated to 8 September 954, her son Baldwin signs as a witness using the title count; (Van Lokeren 1868): no. 23. While not conclusive since the title could be solely a sign of his status as heir, it is suggestive.

Arnulf's ties to the royal court, however, were balanced by Hugh the Great's. Familial bonds between Bruno, Lothar, Queen Gerberga, and Hugh the Great worked in conjunction with their territorial interests. It also allowed Bruno to peacefully intervene and resolve conflicts between his nephews, Hugh the Great's sons, and Lothar. At Hugh the Great's death (June 956), he left three sons; only his eldest Hugh Capet was of age. Hugh succeeded to his father's lands but not to his authority as duke of Burgundy or Aquitaine. Although there were a few clashes between Lothar and the sons of Hugh the Great and Herbert II of Vermandois, by 960, the king had won the allegiance of all six men.⁸⁴ Arnulf of Flanders and his son Baldwin, while they remained faithful to Lothar, were not particularly active at the royal court. Baldwin also followed in his father's expansionist footsteps. He fought Roger of Ponthieu for control of Amiens in 957, and in 961 campaigned against the Normans, in support of his uncle Geoffrey Greymantle, count of Anjou.⁸⁵

The death of Baldwin of Boulogne in 962 was a serious blow to his father.⁸⁶ For Lothar, it was a wonderful opportunity to reestablish more direct authority over the region and thereby provide a stronger foundation to govern over the northern counts. Lothar was aided by the Norman duke's focus on internal affairs and the uprising of Baldwin's cousins who sought to regain their patrimony of Boulogne and Ternois. Although Arnulf captured and killed one of his 'rebellious' nephews, the extent of the disturbances and the ravages from Duke Richard's retaliatory campaign, led him to negotiate a settlement of the Flemish succession with King Lothar.⁸⁷ The settlement

⁸⁴ In 957, Adalbert of Vermandois and brother Robert count of Troyes-Meaux-Châlons commended themselves to Lothar. In 958, Bruno sent troops to help Lothar in Burgundy against Odo, Hugh the Great's son, and in 959 Robert of Troyes in Dijon. In 960, Bruno convinced Hugh Capet and his brother Odo of Burgundy to become Lothar's *fideles* and in return they were granted the titles duke of Aquitaine and Burgundy respectively. (McKitterick 1983): 320–1.

⁸⁵ (Dudo 1865): 271. Count Geoffrey was married to Baldwin's mother's sister; both were daughters of Herbert II of Vermandois.

⁸⁶ (Guerard 1841): 154. Baldwin died of small pox. He had recently married Matilda of Saxony and their son Arnulf was probably under four years of age. Folcuin, in 959, writes, 'Balduinus, juventutis flore honestissimus, cum conjuge nuperime desponsata, nomine Matilda, Saxonici generis, equali nobilitate conspicua. (Baldwin, in the flower of youth most distinguished, with [his] recently betrothed wife named Matilda, of Saxon descent, distinguished equally by nobility.)' Thus at Baldwin's death, he had been married for only three or four years.

⁸⁷ Flodoard, 152. 'Rex Lotharius cum Arnulfo principe locutus, pacem fecit inter

preserved Flanders and some of Arnulf's acquired territory for his grandson and heir, while restoring to the king the territories of Boulogne, Ternois, Montreuil, northern Ponthieu, and Amiens. After Arnulf's death, Lothar took Artois and Ostrevant/Douai under his direct authority and reestablished the heirs of the counts of Boulogne-Ternois and Amiens-Valois-Vexin.⁸⁸

Neither Arnulf of Boulogne nor Gautier of Amiens-Valois-Vexin established themselves as major figures of the reign and therefore it is difficult to assess their political ties. It does appear that the Boulonnais count allied himself more closely with the king, and Gautier with Hugh Capet. Arnulf of Boulogne's allegiance to Lothar grew from the king's presence in Artois and Ostrevant; while Lothar hoped to regain control of Lotharingia, the Boulonnais count sought to secure his newly restored territories and perhaps acquire more. Gautier's ties to Hugh Capet stem from his proximity to the count of Vermandois.

Although Hugh Capet inherited Ponthieu at his father's death in 956, the northern portion including Montreuil does not appear to have been restored to him in 965.⁸⁹ Hugh strengthened his position in Ponthieu by cultivating good relations with Gautier I of Amiens-Valois-Vexin (d. 998). Both sought to limit the power of Albert of Vermandois and his brother, Herbert le Vieux of Omois. Gautier witnessed Richard I's 968 charter restoring property to St Denis which was done in Hugh Capet's presence and attested to two of Hugh's charters, one written during the siege of Orleans (975) and the other in 988.⁹⁰ His son's advancement to the bishopric of Soissons

ipsum et nepotem ipsius nominum eius; quem infensum [hic comes] habebat ob necem fratris eiusdem, quem de infidelitate sua deprehensum idem comes interim fecerat. Tunc ipse princeps omnem terram suam in manu regis dedit, ita tamen ut ipse in vita sua inde honoratus existeret. (King Lothar with the aforesaid prince Arnulf made peace between that man and his nephew called by his name; who was hostile to the count on account of the death of his brother, who that same count had captured and killed on account of his unfaithfulness.)'

⁸⁸ (Dunbabin 1989): 55. Artois up to the Lys, Douai, and Ostrevant were seized by Lothar after Arnulf I's death.

⁸⁹ Hugh controlled St Riquier by 974; (Hariulf 1894): 104–106; (MacDonald 1985): 40, 51.

⁹⁰ RHF 9:731–2, 733 and (Levillain 1899): 65ff. In 985, Gautier resolved a dispute between Corbie abbey, viscounts Roricon and Saswalo, and himself; and in 977 he confirmed a gift of his grandfather to Corbie abbey; (Levillain 1902): nos. 40 and 44. Gautier also appears as a witness in two charters for St Père de Chartres. Gautier and Duke Hugh witnessed his mother Countess Eldegard's gift to St Père

may also have been a product of Gautier's alliance with the duke of Francia. In Normandy, Richard I worked to more fully establish his internal command, and although allied with Hugh he rarely intervened in Frankish affairs.⁹¹

The fragmentary evidence which has survived concerning the activities of Arnulf of Boulogne (962–c. 987) suggests that he remained friendly towards the French king and was independent of the Flemish count, who had strong ties to the German imperial court. With the exception of the 962 restoration of his patrimony and the attestation of the 972 grant of Harnes, there is no direct evidence for Arnulf of Boulogne's activities.⁹² The Boulonnais count probably remained in contact with the dowager Queen Gerberga and Queen Emma who remained in Artois in 965–66 to help reestablish royal authority in the region.⁹³ Arnulf's acquisition of territory in Lens suggests royal favor. The increasing imperial influence in Flanders and Hainaut worried Lothar, and this grant to the Boulonnais count may have been a means to offset this trend.⁹⁴ Arnulf of Boulogne's role in the warfare that engulfed Lorraine upon the death of Otto I in 973 is unknown.⁹⁵ Lothar's ambition to regain control of Lotharingia inspired his support of the rebellion of Regnier III, former count of Hainaut

de Chartres (before 987); he also witnessed a grant of Abbot Gisbert with Count Odo (986); (Guerard 1840): 1:87–88, 169–70.

⁹¹ (Bates 1982): 25. In 966, Lothar recognized Richard as a *marquis*; in 968 Richard recognized Hugh as his lord/ally. Dudo indicates that it was Richard who reconciled Arnulf II and Lothar in 978; (Dudo 1865): 294.

⁹² (Miraeus 1723–1748): 2:941–2.

⁹³ There are three additional references to a Count Arnulf in the surviving acts of the period in this region which may refer to Arnulf of Boulogne. See previous note for the first one. The second reference is in a charter of Lothar's mother, Queen Gerberga (968) which returns the vill of Meersen to St Remi of Reims '*per manus fidelis advocati nostri Comitum Arnulfi*'; (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:48 and (Bernard 1958): 222. Bernard argues that the most likely candidate for Gerberga's advocate is Arnulf count of Cambrai since he was a Lotharingian noble; (Bernard 1958): 211, n. 2 and n. 3. Given Meersen's location, slightly north and west of Aachen, Arnulf of Cambrai or Arnulf, son of Count Thierry of West Frisia are more likely candidates than Arnulf of Boulogne. Gerberga also made a grant to St Bavo's Gent which her brother Otto confirmed in 966; (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:261.

⁹⁴ (Dhondt 1945): 132–6. Isaac of Cambrai and his son Arnulf were loyal to the German king, as was Isaac of Cambrai's son-in-law, Amaury count of Valenciennes. Isaac's son Arnulf was created a count in 958, inheriting both Cambrai and Valenciennes. Godfrey of Verdun controlled land in Hainaut and later the march of Eename in the Brabant. Godfrey's alliance with Flanders and Thierry of Gent, gave the German king a significant presence in the region. See Map 1.

⁹⁵ (Dhondt 1945): 139.

and Brabant (exiled 959). Otto II responded by creating Godfrey of Verdun and Arnulf of Valenciennes marquises of the region in order to suppress the uprising. Arnulf II of Flanders supported Otto II's commanders (who were his step-father and cousin respectively), as did his uncle, Thierry count of West Frisia. In 976, Godfrey and Arnulf II of Flanders attacked Hainaut, and after a difficult campaign, won the siege of Castrilocus (Mons).⁹⁶ The following year Otto won Regnier's allegiance by restoring to him the county of Hainaut. He also appointed Lothar's exiled brother Charles as duke of Lower Lorraine. Otto's appointments and Arnulf's support of the imperial cause led to Lothar's invasion of the Artois in 978.⁹⁷ Although the Boulonnais count's role in the campaigns is unknown, the erection of the castle of Lens at this time may reflect Boulonnais support of Lothar's cause.⁹⁸ Lothar's campaign convinced Arnulf II of Flanders to adopt a policy of neutrality in exchange for the restoration of Arras and Artois.⁹⁹

The Flemish count suffered two further setbacks between 981 and 985. Neither Lothar nor Arnulf of Boulogne intervened to aid Arnulf II when Hugh Capet took Montreuil and demanded the return of the relics of St Riquier and St Valery in spring 981. Nor did Arnulf II's neutrality aid him much during Lothar's 985 invasion of Lotharingia—Verdun was sacked and his step-father Count Godfrey and his half-brother, Frederick, were captured.¹⁰⁰ There is no indication of whether the Boulonnais count fought with Lothar.

Nothing is known of the relationship between the new king, Louis V (986–7) and Arnulf II of Boulogne or the Flemish count. It is likely that the Boulonnais count, if not Arnulf II of Flanders, rendered homage to Louis V. In a letter to her mother the dowager Empress Adelaide, Queen Emma states that she and her son received

⁹⁶ Chron. St Bavo, 529–30.

⁹⁷ For Otto's actions see, (McKitterick 1983): 325. For Lothar's retaliation see, *Gesta ep. Cam.*, 7:446. Dudo of St Quentin relates Richard I's reconciliation of Arnulf and Lothar; (Dudo 1865): 294.

⁹⁸ The first reference to Lens is between 972 and 979, which suggests that the castle may have been erected in defense against imperial forces in Cambrai and Valenciennes; *Gesta ep. Cam.*, 7:438 and (Feuchère 1952): 99–100.

⁹⁹ (Dunbabin 1989): 61. Dunbabin notes Arnulf's 'conspicuous absence from the West Frankish court.'

¹⁰⁰ (Gerbert 1961): nos. 24, 45–9, 51, 53–60; (McKitterick 1983): 326–7; (Reuter 1991): 184–85. Adalbero wrote to Arnulf II's mother, wife of Count Godfrey, about the situation; (Gerbert 1961): no. 57.

oaths of fidelity from the west Frankish nobles and does not note any exceptions.¹⁰¹ Louis V's brief reign was dominated by his quarrel with Queen Emma. He sought to act independently of her and rejected her proposal to renounce his claim on Lotharingia. He revived the charges of her sexual misconduct with the bishop of Laon and against Archbishop Adalbero. Louis died on the way to Compiègne, and Adalbero, after being unanimously acquitted, worked for the election of Hugh Capet.¹⁰² Lothar's brother Charles and Albert of Vermandois contested Hugh's election, and although not actively opposed, neither the Boulonnais or Flemish count appear to have championed his election.¹⁰³ Gautier of Amiens-Valois-Vexin remained a loyal ally to the new king and appears to have established cordial relations with Richard of Normandy, who also recognized Hugh's kingship.¹⁰⁴ In Ponthieu, Hugh Capet appointed an advocate of St Riquier named Hugh, who was the *de facto* count, and married his daughter Gisele to him.¹⁰⁵

The mixed success of the west Frankish kings in the production of heirs and against the Northmen provided the nobility with opportunities to acquire more honors, but increased the chance that they would suffer a swift collapse if their patron lost in the struggle for control. Erkengar count of Boulogne's lack of kin in the region severely hampered him in his efforts to resist the machinations of Baldwin II of Flanders, although he managed to retain the patronage of Charles the Simple. Baldwin II's sons, Adalulf of Boulogne and Arnulf of Flanders, were much more successful in their quest

¹⁰¹ (Gerbert 1961): no. 81.

¹⁰² Richer 2:162–4; there is no specific list of those who supported Hugh; Richer calls him king of the Franks, Bretons, Normans, Aquitainians, Goths, Spanish and Gascons.

¹⁰³ (Dunbabin 1989): 63.

¹⁰⁴ (Grierson 1939): 97–98.

¹⁰⁵ The date for Hugh's appointment is unknown. Hugh Capet may have delegated his authority in Ponthieu after Charles of Lorraine's surrender in 989. Gérard Bacquet suggests that Hugh was not designated lay abbot of St Riquier until c. 996; (Bacquet 1992): 60. There are no surviving charters of Hugh of Ponthieu. Hariulf reports that Hugh Capet granted the castle of Abbeville to a knight Hugh (later the advocate) and gave him perpetual control of Forestmontiers, which he had seized, at his marriage to Gisele, Hugh Capet's daughter; (Hariulf 1894): 205–6. Forestmontiers had been a cell of St Riquier but had been militarized under advocate Hugh. However, Hugh later re-established monks there and his son Guy became its abbot. The marriage to Gisele may have occurred before Hugh Capet became king since Hariulf describes Gisele as '*ducis filiam*' rather than *regis filiam*.

to maintain their lands and status. In the scramble for honor, the tenth century is characterized by an increased willingness of the counts to use force to seize counties from minor heirs and legitimize their acquisitions through a *post facto* recognition of the king or religious rituals associated with the protection of the Church and its saints. Adalulf's sons were dispossessed by their uncle, and Arnulf used Boulogne and Ternois as a base to expand into Ponthieu and Amiens. He skillfully used kinship ties to secure his lands and optimize his chances of adding to his honors. Arnulf of Flanders and Boulogne faced a formidable rival in Hugh the Great and his *fidelis* Herluin of Ponthieu, but was aided by his father-in-law Herbert II of Vermandois' efforts to expand into Laon and Amiens. The untimely death of Arnulf I's son, Baldwin III, allowed King Lothar to restore Boulogne and Ternois to his nephew, Arnulf I of Boulogne. The Boulonnais count used Lothar's patronage and the minority of his cousin Arnulf II of Flanders to solidify his authority in Boulogne.

Transformation of Royal Governance

The Northmen invasions and royal succession crises between 879 and 898 only slightly modified the system of Carolingian governance practiced by Charles the Bald.¹⁰⁶ Defense of the kingdom was still under royal leadership but comital responsibility and independent initiative were growing. Louis III (or his advisors) appointed Abbot Gauzlin to defend Picardy and the Pays Bas in 880 and Carloman designated Abbot Raoul in 893 as the region's military commander. Louis III and Charles the Fat personally led armies against the invaders at Saucourt (882) and Louvain (886).¹⁰⁷ However, the number of independent bands of Northmen and their practice of striking during times of political transition and instability meant that the counts assumed more responsibility for defense. Erkengar, Baldwin II of Flanders, and their northern neighbors bore the brunt of the region's defense. Between 879 and 900, only two kings fought in the

¹⁰⁶ (Nelson 1992): 41–74; (Werner 1992): 35–8.

¹⁰⁷ Carloman was at Beauvais in 883 and again in 884 (Scheldt region); Odo was at Meaux (887), south of Paris (888), Beauvaisis (890), Amienois (891), to fight in Arras (892) and to fight at Laon (895); Charles the Simple was at Viemu pagus (898) and Beauvaisis (900). AV (a. 883, 884, 887, 888, 890, 891, 892, 895, 898, 900).

region and each at only one battle. In their message to Carloman II (August 884), the magnates encouraged him to join them as quickly as possible, 'since they had made all their military preparations for a campaign against the Northmen. . . .'¹⁰⁸

One result of this growing responsibility was that the cost of defense also shifted to the counts who probably kept more of the royal revenues (from taxes and the fisc) to defray their costs. While impossible to quantify, the Scandinavian incursions diminished the resources of the kings and nobles through the disruption of economic exchange, the costs for fortifying and defending *civitates* and *pagi*, the payment of tribute, and a decline in population (and thus rents). Erkengar of Boulogne built up the walls of the city of Boulogne and provided refuge for the monks of St Wandrille and Blangy. Abbot Raoul fortified St Bertin and St Vaast abbeys, as did Baldwin II.¹⁰⁹ Between 879 and 883, there were continuous raids and counter-attacks in the region, which would have necessitated the maintenance of military levies and household armies. Northmen raids in northern France in 891 and 896, as well as the civil war between Odo and Charles the Simple (893–897), would have raised similar costs. Carloman's ability to raise 12,000 lbs. of silver tribute in 884 and the tribute of 700 lbs. of silver negotiated by Charles the Fat (886–7) suggests that the king, through his counts, was still able to collect taxes.¹¹⁰ It is unknown how much revenue went to the royal treasury and how much remained in comital coffers. Erkengar appears to have maintained the mint at Boulogne. Baldwin II also continued to mint coins in the king's name in Bruges and Arras, albeit at a decreased rate, but the mint at Gent closed after 875.¹¹¹ These mints would have allowed them to pay the tributes and perhaps sustain commercial exchange.

¹⁰⁸ AB, 224.

¹⁰⁹ (Guerard 1841): 139. Archbishop Fulk rebuilt walls and defenses of Reims in 883; Bishop Geilo did the same in Langres in 885; the ramparts at Tournai and Noyon were rebuilt in 898 by the bishop with Charles the Simple's permission. Fortifications against the Northmen had begun in the early 860s and were regulated by Charles the Bald at Pîtres in 864; (McKitterick 1983): 233–4.

¹¹⁰ (McKitterick 1983): 233. 'Tribute was paid in 845, 853, 860/1, 862, 866, 877, 884, 889, 897, 923/4, and 926.' Janet Nelson argues that 'Scandinavian demands for tribute meant that Charles [the Bald] was able to impose generalised taxation in town and countryside: a striking manifestation of royal authority.' (Nelson 1995): 2:129.

¹¹¹ (Metcalf 1979): 5–6.

A second consequence of the kings' increasing reliance on the counts to defend the realm was a greater sense of independence among the counts and their active role in determining the royal succession.¹¹² Louis the Stammerer used lavish patronage to secure his succession, and his liberality prompted his mother and some of the nobles to briefly rebel against him.¹¹³ Louis III's and Carloman II's succession was decided by an assembly of nobles at Meaux and Amiens and appeals to the east Frankish king. Carloman's succession to his brother Louis' kingdom was at the request of the magnates, and Charles the Fat's election and deposition in both west and east Francia was determined by the nobles. Odo's election was decided by the west Frankish nobles and ecclesiastics, and it was necessary to defuse the opposition of the Robertian family's rivals, such as Archbishop Fulk and Count Baldwin. Once they had chosen a king, the magnates continued to swear oaths of fidelity to him. Dynastic troubles had put them in the position of selecting kings, but had not undermined the nobility's conceptions of the legitimate bonds which constituted the framework of government. As Stuart Airlie has argued the nobles wanted a strong king who could give and secure honors.¹¹⁴ The failure to secure honors led the nobles to search for a viable patron. The loss of an honor opened one to the attacks of one's rivals and a sharp decline in status through the loss of the income of lordship which was felt acutely in an age of partible inheritance. The counts were true to these oaths through the short reigns of Louis the Stammerer, Louis III, and Carloman II. Military difficulties and competition for honors strained the bonds of fidelity after 887. The counts broke their oath and deposed Charles the Fat, and some reneged on their oaths to Odo in 893. In 898, Charles the Simple received oaths from all the magnates, but was removed from office by the Vermandois count in 923.¹¹⁵

¹¹² See (Werner 1992): 38–9 for a general discussion and (Sot 1990): 145–50.

¹¹³ AB, 203.

¹¹⁴ (Airlie 1995): 2:445–9.

¹¹⁵ AV 1:518 refers to 'suis fidelibus' of Louis III and Carloman—but does not identify who qualified and AB 220; 'Each of the magnates commended himself to one of the two kings—namely the one in whose share of the kingdom the magnate in question held *honores*.' AV 1:524; Charles the Fat appears to have received these oaths at the St Medard assembly where he 'terram inter Francos dispartii.' AV 1:528; The magnates also swore oaths of fidelity to Odo, as evidenced by Odo's request in 893 that 'memores essent sacramenti quod sibi iuraverant.' Baldwin II's

A similar picture of continuity of practices and the stresses upon them emerges when examining royal control of minting, the royal chancery, *missi dominici*, and *placita*.¹¹⁶ Coins from eighteen different mints have survived from the reign of Louis II and Louis III, ten for Carloman II, twenty-eight for Odo, thirty-one for Charles the Simple, compared to 101 for Charles the Bald.¹¹⁷ The royal chancery continued to issue *acta* but at a declining rate and with more variable forms after 879: thirty-seven *acta* survive from Louis the Stammerer's eighteen month reign, two from Louis III in twenty-three months, forty-three from Carloman II's in sixty-three months, and fifty-four in Odo's ten year reign.¹¹⁸ The geographic distribution of royal charters between 877 and 898 reveals the strength of royal authority in Burgundy, Neustria (between the Loire and Seine), the province of Reims (excluding north of the Somme), and to a lesser extent in the Midi.¹¹⁹ Although there is no evidence for the west Frankish king sending *missi* out into the kingdom after the reigns of Louis III and Carloman II, *placita* were held on an almost annual basis.¹²⁰ The succession crises meant that a few of these assemblies were called

specific oath to Odo; AV 1:525. For Charles the Simple see AV 1:530; Herbert and Baldwin II sent representatives to convey their allegiance to Charles the Simple's at the 898 assembly.

¹¹⁶ (Frère 1977): 153–148; (McKitterick 1983): 273.

¹¹⁷ (Morrison 1967): 262–301; these figures are based on the catalogue of coins and include one indeterminate mint for Carloman and one for Odo, but excludes sixteen coins from indeterminate mints from Charles the Simple's reign since the exact number of mints which produced these sixteen coins can not be determined. The figures for Charles the Bald's reign are based on the map of mints in (Nelson 1992): 322–3 which shows 104 mints, and (Morrison 1967): 177–258 which reveals coins surviving from twenty-three other mints. Of the 127 mints, coins have survived from 101 known mints and sixty-two coins were produced from indeterminate mints.

¹¹⁸ Under Charles the Bald (838–877) 525 *acta* were issued. (Grat 1978): vii–viii; (Bautier 1967): ix. For a summary of the changes in diplomatic form see (McKitterick 1983): 273–4.

¹¹⁹ (Grat 1978): xiv; (Bautier 1967): xvi.

¹²⁰ (McKitterick 1983): 273. In 879 there were assemblies at Meaux (called by Hugh the Abbot); in 880 at Amiens; in 882 at St Denis; in 884 at Compiègne and St Denis (at funeral of Carloman); in 885 at Pontoise (set by nobles to meet Charles the Fat); in 886 at St Medard, Soissons; in 888 at Compiègne (nobles & Odo); in 893 at Reims (called by Archbishop Fulk); in 895 at unspecified location (Odo called to reconcile with Charles' supporters); in 896 various *placita* held (by Odo); 898 at Reims (nobles & Charles the Simple); in 898 unspecified location but near St Vaast/Cambrai; in 900 unspecified location near Oise (?Beauvais). Odo held assemblies and synods at Orleans (June 889), Meung-sur-Loire (July 891) and Verberie (summer 892).

by the magnates rather than the king. The west Frankish kings also retained their ability to deprive and appoint counts, lay abbots, and bishops but they faced more resistance to these actions.¹²¹ Odo had to fight Baldwin of Flanders for five years to recover Artois and the lay abbacy of St Vaast, and he was unable to prevent Baldwin's assumption of the lay abbacy of St Bertin. While Charles the Simple successfully re-took Artois and St Vaast from Baldwin II, Baldwin kept Boulogne, St Bertin and the Ternois.

The west Frankish kings of the tenth century were only partially successful in maintaining royal power—kings continued to call *placita*, to act as secular and ecclesiastical patrons, and to supply diploma confirming and granting gifts, although at a diminishing pace. However, kings gradually lost control over episcopal and abbatial elections, protection of ecclesiastical grants through confirmation charters, minting, and administration of justice.¹²² What replaced royal governance, where the king or his agents supervise governmental activity, was princely and comital government. The development of principalities was the product, as Bates has argued, of three structural trends: 'the prolonged rivalry of the Carolingian and Robertians/Capetians . . . ; second, . . . the disruptive effects of the Breton incursions and Viking raids . . . and third . . . the shift towards inheritance of a principality by a single member of the family.'¹²³

¹²¹ Louis III was unable to place his own candidates into the bishoprics of Noyon and Beauvais; Archbishop Hincmar's candidates prevailed. Odo was unable to secure the bishoprics of Langres and Chalon-sur-Saône for his men against Archbishop Fulk. Odo had to besiege and execute Waltger count of Laon for seizing the royal city of Laon, and campaign against Ramnulf II of Poitiers' heir to grant Ademar the county. Odo seems to have had an easier time of confiscating Amiens-Valois-Vexin from the Nibelungian family and granting it to Ermenfroir.

¹²² (McKitterick 1983): 329–336. Privileges and confirmations were sought from local magnates not the kings, or from the king only if magnate was close to him. Central administration disappears and the offices and activities shift to the control of hereditary magnates and ecclesiastics. The direct oath of all free men to king ended; magnates swore to the king and local nobles to their magnate. Fewer people are called royal *fideles*. There were no more new capitularies after 888 but lots of collections were made in late ninth through tenth centuries. Royal *placita* continued to be held (but princely *placita* held too), but within a more circumscribed territory of itineration. The royal chancery continued to function but production diminished steadily and there was a growing laxity in use of forms. There was also a loss of control over minting. The royal demesne was still substantial and royal patronage continued although it decreases.

¹²³ (Bates 1999): 3:399.

Counts continued to fund governance through their office of lay abbot or advocate, and the collection of formerly royal taxes and tolls. These sources of revenue, combined with inherited properties, allowed them to wield superior military force through their maintenance of an army and castles. While the counts assumed royal duties, they did not, for the most part, maintain the bureaucracy. These duties were to a great extent ones they had always performed. The king's inability to control ecclesiastical appointments, a key tool of Carolingian governance, and the decline of royal assemblies reveal the decline in royal power and a corresponding growth in the *de facto* independence of the counts.¹²⁴ Charters were written by the ecclesiastical beneficiaries, the number of local courts and officials (*judices publices* and *scabinis*) declined, and coinage standards fell. Although there is no direct evidence for northern France, the counts probably held assemblies attended by local nobles to coordinate defense, to resolve local problems, and to determine political goals. There is no way to determine how often these assemblies met, but if they followed the royal pattern, they probably decreased in frequency over the course of the tenth century and the gap was filled by the advice and service of kin.

The autonomy in matters of local governance is mirrored by the declining importance of royal grants of comital honors. The hereditary nature of honors and the adoption of the rituals, language, and duties of royal power helped legitimate comital power. The ideals of rule were most succinctly articulated in the *Prosperice*, a Carolingian royal blessing: the king (or prince) must be the mightiest protector of his churches and monasteries, a defender of the peace within his realm and against his enemies, and a generous patron of his nobles and *fideles*.¹²⁵ In the formula of their charters, through the protection of monastic property and relics, in their promotion of monastic reform patronage, and through their defense of the county against all aggressors, the counts transmuted their power into authority. By the late tenth century, politics and governance were carried out primarily through kinship action groups and the use of kin in honorial offices (secular and ecclesiastic), rather than by royal administration or royal authority. This process takes off with Charles the Simple's incarceration in June 923.

¹²⁴ (Nelson 1995): 2:411–12; (Nelson 1999): 3:99–100, 113–14.

¹²⁵ (Nelson 1988): 217–18.

Although Lothar IV was more successful than his father in reasserting royal control and curtailing the expansionist activities of the Frankish counts, institutional governance declined extensively between the reigns of Louis IV and Robert the Pious. Copies of royal capitularies sharply decreased suggesting a diminished interest in royal or centralized law.¹²⁶ *Placita* were held infrequently.¹²⁷ Apart from sorties into Aquitaine, Lotharingia, and Burgundy, the later Carolingian kings remained primarily in Francia. Their grants reflect the predominance of Francia, although confirmation of benefices in Aquitaine and Catalonia continued to be solicited. Louis IV's and Lothar IV's authority extended intermittently into Flanders, Brittany, and Burgundy as witnessed by their confirmations of monastic reform. Charles the Simple, Louis IV and Lothar IV continued to be active patrons, although on a diminishing scale—they issued forty-eight, seventeen, and six grants respectively, with the majority given to ecclesiastical institutions.¹²⁸ Extant charters also reveal a decline: Charles the Simple issued 130 (in a twenty-six year reign), Robert two (in one year), Raoul thirty-four (in thirteen years), Louis IV fifty-four (in eighteen years), Lothar and Louis V fifty-eight (in thirty-three years).¹²⁹

The magnates continued to play a decisive role in the royal succession. While oaths were given at the time of succession, only a limited number of counts were called the king's *fidelis*.¹³⁰ Royal control

¹²⁶ (McKitterick 1983): 331; nineteen copies in the tenth century, only five in late tenth-early eleventh century.

¹²⁷ Louis IV held four *placita* during his eighteen year reign; (939) Alsace, (942) Attigny [Richer 1:152, 170]; (24 June 945) in Normandy, (946) held by Hugh the Great to deal with King Edmund's delegation [Flodoard, 97, 101], and (950) villa Trisluro [(Lauer 1940): no. 35]. Lothar held two—(956) Trosly and (961) Soissons; [(Halphen 1908): no. 10 and Flodoard, 150]. After 946, Flodoard refers to five colloquia between the king and one or more counts: Flodoard, 127, 135, 138, 143, 146. Chronicle evidence, of which there is none between 900 and 922, reveals that Charles the Simple held *placitum* in 899 and 900 [AV 1:531] and c. 922 [Richer, 1:38]. Raoul held *placita* in 924 at Attigny, 925 at Soissons, Easter 928 at Laon, and 935 at Soissons; Flodoard, 28, 41, 61, and Richer 1:39 (for the 922 *placitum*). There were two *placitum* in 987 at Compiègne and Senlis; Richer, 2:152, 158.

¹²⁸ Thirty-six, fifteen, and five respectively; (McKitterick 1983): 333. (Lemarignier 1965): table 4 for a summary of the types of grants made by Charles the Simple, Louis IV, Lothar and Louis V.

¹²⁹ (Dufour 1978): xvii.

¹³⁰ (Lemarignier 1955): 2:149, n. 4; indicated by italics, for additional names see references following the list. **Louis IV's fidelis**—Hugh the Great (936–38, 943–46), Bernard count of Beauvais, Viscount Thion, Roger count of Laon, Hugh duke of Burgundy, Ermenfroi, Ansfrid, Odilon chaplain, Bishop Goudchaux of Puy, Leutald count of Macon,

of coinage continued to contract. There were twenty centers which minted coins under Charles the Simple and Raoul, but only eleven under Louis IV and Lothar IV.¹³¹ Only Reims produced royal coins under Louis V. William II of Auvergne (918–26) was the first to put his own name on coins, but by the 940s, Hugh the Great, William Longsword, and Theobald of Chartres had done so as well. The Flemish and Boulonnais counts of the tenth century controlled the mints in their territories (Bruges, St Omer, Arras, Boulogne, Lens) but it is not until the early eleventh century that they put their own names on the coins.¹³² The restricted geographic range of royal activity and institutional changes reflect a more decentralized form of governance, but one in which the bases of legitimacy and conceptions of the duties of those who hold honores/office remained relatively unchanged. Counts continued to rely on networks of patronage, formed through gift-giving, but the size of their counties encouraged a greater reliance upon kin to govern.

Counts Adalbert, Rogenold, Bernard and Thierry; Archbishop Artaud of Reims, *Bishop Walbert of Noyon*, *Bishop Gautier of Paris*, *Bishop Hery of Langres*; Guy, Gibuin, Goislin and Achard, Abbot Hincmar, abbot of St Germain, Auxerre, *Adalard*; (Lauer 1940): nos. 3–6, 9–10, 16, 21, 25, 29, 32–4, and 42; William Longsword (939), Gilbert duke of Lorraine, Thierry of Gent, Isaac of Valenciennes (939), William III duke of Aquitaine (942 & 950), Alan duke of Brittany (942), Richard I of Normandy (943), Count Lietard of Besancon (951); Richer 1:156, 152, 168, 288, 180, 290; Hugh duke of Burgundy (938); Flodoard, 70. **Lothar's fidelis**—*Arnulf I* and Baldwin III of Flanders, Hugh the Great, Gilbert duke of Burgundy, *Thierry of Gent*, *Lietard count of Burgundy*, *Renaud count Roucy*, *Hugh Capet*, *Herbert le Vieux*, Archbishop Artaud of Reims, and Odoleus abbot St Basle, Verzy; *Theobald count of Chartres*, *Dudon*, *Adalberon archbishop of Reims*, *Geboin bishop of Chalons*, *Queen Emma*; (Halphen 1908): nos. 1–2, 6–7, 10, 15, 32, 36, and 44; Hugh Capet and brother Otto (959), Arnulf II of Flanders (965); Richer 2:20, 28; Robert count of Meaux (Flodoard, 148). Lemarignier states that in the royal acta only twenty-two of fifty-five magnates are called *fidelis* for Louis IV, fourteen of forty for Lothar, which is a significant drop from the seventy of ninety in Charles the Simple's acta; (Lemarignier 1955): 2:151, n. 4.

¹³¹ (McKitterick 1983): 334–5. Coins from seventeen different mints have survived from Raoul's reign, excluding three indeterminate mints; seventeen mints from Louis IV's, including one indeterminate mint; and ten mints from Lothar; (Morrison 1967): 322–337.

¹³² (Richebé 1963): 168 and 172; (Metcalfe 1979): figures 2–5. The mint at Boulogne may have been functioning during Arnulf I of Boulogne's rule; (Dumas 1971): 128. Two coins, dated to 970–980, found in the Fécamp hoard resemble coins struck at Lens under Eustace I.

Kinship and Politics

Discussion of Carolingian politics has long been shaped by Tellenbach's concept of *Königsnähe* and the role of the *Reichsaristokratie*.¹³³ Building upon the extensive genealogical work and examination of noble families and their structure which ensued, scholars of the last twenty years have established how kinship was interwoven into the structures of governance in early Carolingian period.¹³⁴ The discussion which follows is deeply indebted to their insights. The approach I've taken demonstrates how familial ties grow increasingly important as institutions decline in the tenth century and refocuses attention on territorial factors as an analytical tool for understanding some of the dynamics of family and politics.

Until the 930s, kinship ties remained secondary to the institutions of Carolingian administration in how counts governed and defended their lands. Prior to 877, counties appear to have been more exchangeable, which is reflected in the routine absence of territorial designation with the title of count. The capitulary of Quierzy-sur-Oise (877), which recognized the hereditary principle for comital honors, seems to have both reflected and fostered more permanent ties between the counts and their heirs and their county (ies).¹³⁵ As Nelson maintains, Quierzy did not signal a caving in of royal authority, but rather a recognition of a customary practice.¹³⁶ It does seem to have initiated a trend for a specific honor (the county of x) to be inherited rather than the status level (e.g. countship). While royal recognition of office holding (counties and lay abbacies) remained a key element of the legitimate exercise of power, kinship helped officeholders to act effectively and to determine allegiance to rival kings or royal candidates. This is a matter of degree, as ties of kinship and patronage were significant factors in effective governance in the earlier Carolingian period.¹³⁷ Between 877 and 892, Erkengar, Baldwin II,

¹³³ (Tellenbach 1939).

¹³⁴ For example Régine (Hennebicque) Le Jan has shown that the ability of the nobility to serve in widely disparate regions of the empire was based upon their ability to call upon lesser known and more distant kin with roots in the region of service; (Hennebicque 1981). For a summary of the current state of the debate see the chapters by Nelson and Airlie in *The New Cambridge Medieval History* in volume 2.

¹³⁵ (Boretius): 2:358; for English translation see (Herlihy 1970): 106–7.

¹³⁶ (Nelson 1995): 2:412; (Airlie 1995): 2:444.

¹³⁷ (Airlie 1995): 2:435, 443–7.

Ecfrid, Hucbald, and Abbot Raoul worked together to defend the region from the Northmen's incursions, and thereby retained their ability to raise levies, collect taxes and presumably adjudicate conflicts within their counties. Baldwin II of Flanders and his brother Raoul were the sons of Charles the Bald's daughter Judith, who was the niece of Gisele, Evrard de Fruili's wife. Hucbald of Ostrevant was married to Gisele's daughter Heiliwich.¹³⁸ Erkengar and Ecfrid were not related to Gisele or Judith, but each were related through female kin (sister and cousin respectively) to Carolingian kings.

Territorial interests, in conjunction with kinship ties, also shaped these counts' decisions to elect and work loyally with Louis III, Carloman II, and Charles the Fat. These same factors led to the counts' divided allegiance between Odo and Charles the Simple. In 887, all the northern counts with the exception of Hucbald rejected Odo's election. Undercut by Guy of Spoleto's absence, the counts swore fidelity to Odo in 888. However, in 892 with the death of Abbot Raoul of St Bertin and St Vaast, two important honors became available. Odo opposed Baldwin's claims on St Bertin and St Vaast, favoring Ecfrid count of Artois. As Ecfrid had no familial ties to Baldwin there was nothing to dissuade the Flemish count from attacking Ecfrid to gain Artois.¹³⁹ Baldwin, supported by his relative Waltger of Laon, lay abbot of St Bavo's and St Peter's Gent, in turn rejected Odo's authority and recognized Charles the Simple as the true king. As first cousin to Charles, now about twelve years of age, Baldwin could legitimize his actions as defending his own and his kin's office(s) and honor. Erkengar's decision to reject Odo and join the pro-Charles faction reflects his kinship to the Carolingians, and a desire to preserve his county from the growing power of Robert duke of Neustria, who held Ponthieu and the lay abbacy of St Amand. In addition, Erkengar could hope to foil Baldwin's bid for the lay abbacy of St Bertin. Hucbald's territorial interests led him to remain allied to Odo. His decision reflects Duke Robert's position as lay abbot of

¹³⁸ In Ponthieu, Gisele's nephew Welf (son of her brother Raoul, Count of Troyes and lay abbot of St Riquier) was lay abbot of St Riquier and effectively the count of Ponthieu.

¹³⁹ The castellani originally seem to have supported Ecfrid's succession. It was Evrebert of Arras who convinced the castellani to send for Baldwin. By 895, Ecfrid had changed his allegiance to Charles, frustrated by Odo's inability to re-take Artois from Baldwin and his lack of kin in the region who could help him regain his county.

St Amand, the marriages of his sisters to nobles of the Remois, and the vulnerability of Ostrevant to its southern neighbor, the count of Vermandois.¹⁴⁰ In 892, Odo rewarded Hucbald's loyalty with the lay abbacy of St Germain des Près, which gave him a landed interest in the Île de France and strengthened the personal bond between the two men.

Charles' inability to oust Odo prompted Baldwin II to shift his allegiance to Odo in 895 in order to secure royal recognition of his acquisition of St Vaast, Artois, and St Bertin. Once he had accomplished this, he and his brother Raoul then attacked their former allies but non-kinsmen Erkengar of Boulogne and Herbert I of Vermandois. The lack of family ties and the desire to acquire more contiguous territory paved the way for Erkengar's loss of Boulogne to Baldwin. The Flemish attack on Vermandois seems to have been a joint fraternal venture to expand southward from Artois. Raoul was killed by Count Herbert in 896, and Baldwin remained at war with Herbert until 899. Although Charles reconciled the two in 899, Herbert's counsel against Baldwin's plans led to his assassination in 902. Ostrevant seems to have been spared but whether this was the result of kinship ties or Hucbald's determined defense is unclear.¹⁴¹ Thus, kinship helped determine the distribution of honors and the ability of counts to defend and govern their territory. Territory was a primary factor in determining the political allegiance of the nobles and which kin would support them in political and territorial affairs, particularly with the establishment of inheritance by a single heir over the course of the tenth century. Legitimacy and territorial security still required royal recognition. Kings could deprive counts of their counties and lay abbacies. However, counts were willing to grab land and negotiate for recognition on a scale that had not prevailed in the earlier Carolingian period.¹⁴² Royal predominance over the magnates stemmed from the relative strength of royal adminis-

¹⁴⁰ Odo granted the lay abbacy of St Germain des Près to Hucbald of Ostrevant in 892; (McKitterick 1983): 274. Hucbald's sister(s) resided near Reims for his nephew Hervey became archbishop of Reims following Fulk's assassination; (Flodoard 1871): 13:575. Archbishop Hervey had a brother, Odo, and a nephew, Hervey, who held the benefices of Vandières and Binson, built the castle of Châtillon, and rebelled against Archbishop Seulf in 922–3; (Flodoard 1871): 13:578 and (Bur 1971): 93.

¹⁴¹ The date of Hucbald's death is unknown; (Grierson 1938): 258.

¹⁴² (Nelson 1995): 2:414–15.

tration—assemblies, the chancery, mints, ecclesiastic appointments—and the superior wealth of the kings.

In the tenth century, kinship rather than institutions dominate governance and politics. As in the late ninth century, it is shared territorial interests which determined which kin were called upon to achieve one's goal. Arnulf I of Flanders and his contemporaries established their principalities not by royal grant of *honores* but through aggression and alliances, usually sealed through marriage. The succession of minor heirs provided the opportunity for neighboring counts to add territory to their inherited honors and lands. The young heirs needed male relatives who had a shared territorial interest and military skill if they were to secure their inheritance. The deaths of Helgaud of Ponthieu, Raoul I of Ostrevant and Amiens-Valois-Vexin, and Roger I of Laon provided the initial opportunity for Herbert II, who was allied to Hugh the Great through marriage to his sister, to expand into Picardy. The alliance with Hugh provided protection for Vermandois. Herbert II, who was unrelated to Raoul I, was opposed by Roger II of Laon and Hugh, the half brothers of the young heirs' father. Roger and Hugh preserved Ostrevant, probably with the aid of Adelm of Artois, and Raoul II's step-father Waleran safeguarded Valois. Roger II's decision to aid his nephews stemmed from his own loss of Laon to Herbert, but Waleran's aid reflected his territorial base in Valois. Arnulf of Flanders' expansion began in earnest in the early 930s with the deaths of Adelm of Artois and his own brother, Adalulf of Boulogne and Ternois. Arnulf was pursuing his father's claim upon Artois and the lay abbacy of St Vaast, and Adelm had no known heirs. In Boulogne and Ternois, Arnulf initially was acting as guardian of his young nephews, as he had no heir of his own at his brother's death.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ Arnulf was married prior to his 934 marriage to Adele of Vermandois. The genealogies of the Flemish counts never refer to Arnulf I's first marriage, so his first wife's name is unknown. Arnulf had three daughters Liutgarde, Hildegard, and another who married Isaac count of Cambrai. Isaac's wife was probably a daughter of Arnulf's first marriage; their son Arnulf inherited the title c. 958 which suggests that his parents were married by the mid 930s. Therefore Isaac's wife must have been born in the early 920s. Hildegard may also have been a child of his first marriage. As Liutgarde is a name associated with the counts of Vermandois, it seem likely that her mother was Adele. Liutgarde married Wicman II de Hameland (in Holland), and Hildegard married Thierry count of West Frisia. Nephew Hildebrand, son of Ealhswid, became abbot of St Bertin in 950. The relationship

Arnulf's acquisition of lands in Ponthieu in the 940s led to his nephews' dispossession since his own son would find it difficult to hold onto the Ponthevin lands if he did not control Boulogne and Ternois. The lands of his dispossessed nephews' other aunts, uncles and cousins were secured through working with Arnulf rather than in aiding Adalulf's sons. Herluin of Ponthieu escaped his neighbors' fate for several reasons. One, he was of age. Two, he had the aid of his brother Hebrard lord of Ham. And three, by becoming Hugh's *fidelis* he made it in Hugh's interest to stop Arnulf's drive to acquire Ponthieu.

The pattern can be seen in the next generation as well. Herluin's son Roger had no problem inheriting Ponthieu and Amiens since he was of age. Arnulf I and Gautier, younger brother of Raoul II of Valois, had to wait until Lothar's reign to secure Boulogne, and Amiens and Vexin respectively. Roger II of Laon's son Otger/Roger inherited Ostrevant, but Laon remained under royal control.¹⁴⁴ Arnulf II of Flanders' succession was protected by his grandfather's restoration to Lothar IV of the lands he had acquired between 930 and 962. While Arnulf II's step-father, Godfrey of Verdun, and Lothar maintained the borders, his uncles Thierry, Isaac and Baldwin Balzo quietly added comital lands into their own properties in West Frisia, Valenciennes and Cambrai during his minority.

Kinship also played a significant role in securing newly acquired territory. Ermenfroi and Raoul I de Gouy defended their counties from the Northmen's raids and their neighbors through a marriage alliance and their fidelity to the king.¹⁴⁵ Raoul's marriage to Eldegarde, Ermenfroi's daughter or niece, secured Ermenfroi's counties to his grandchildren and helped Raoul maintain his control over Ostrevant. Roger II of Laon had the support of his brother, but their youth and the lack of affines made it easier for Arnulf and Herbert to seize their patrimony. Arnulf I married Herbert II's daughter Adela in 934, which allowed him to consolidate his hold on Artois, which

between Adalulf's sons and his sisters Ealhswid and Ermengard and their husbands is unknown; (Aethelweard 1976): 2. There is a Hilduin count of Tournai during the reigns of Louis III and Carloman, and it is probable that Hilduin married one of Baldwin II's daughters Ealhswid or Ermengard; (Grat 1978): no. 86 and (Lauer 1940): no. 2.

¹⁴⁴ Roger II had a son Hugh, count of Bassigny-Bolenois, who willed his lands back to the king when he died without heirs in 961; (Bur 1971): 105.

¹⁴⁵ (Grierson 1938): 258.

is north of Vermandois. It also neutralized a potential ally for the counts of Ponthieu. Herbert in return expected and received the security of his northern borders from attacks by the count of Ponthieu. The marriages of Arnulf's daughters to the counts of West Frisia and Cambrai, and his son to the duke of Saxony's daughter helped Arnulf maintain good relations with the east Frankish king and also insulate him from Hugh the Great's allies in Lotharingia. Herbert II's marriage to Adele, daughter of King Robert (d. 923) in 907, helped him secure the aid of her brother Hugh the Great against Hugh the Black and Louis IV in the Laonnois and Remois, but it put him at odds with Arnulf in Amiens.

While the Flemish-Vermandois marriage alliance proved profitable, other magnates were not as fortunate. Hugh the Great's marriage to Eadhild, King Edward of Wessex's daughter, while very prestigious did not provide Hugh with affines who shared his territorial interests. His marriage to Otto I's sister Hadwig, equally prestigious, was quite useful since Hugh and Otto shared an interest in limiting the Burgundian dukes' territorial expansion. The wives of Adalulf of Boulogne and Ternois, Herluin and Roger of Ponthieu, Adelm of Artois and Roger II (of Laon) of Ostrevant are unknown. The silence of the sources suggest two possibilities. One, that the northern counts' affines were not nearby and therefore did not join in their struggles against Flemish and Vermandois expansion because they did not share similar territorial concerns. Or two, that their wives were from the local nobility and therefore were unable to provide counter pressure from a non-contiguous but neighboring territory. No matter which of the two explanations is correct, the heirs of the counts of Ponthieu, Artois, and Ostrevant permanently lost control of their father's lands and honors. Adalulf of Boulogne's heirs were, by chance, more fortunate. Arnulf I of Boulogne profited by the unexpected and early demise of his cousin Baldwin III and the king's consequent ability to reassert his right to grant honors. Lothar restored Adalulf's honors to his surviving son.

The importance of kinship in conjunction with royal patronage in pursuing honors and politics is evident in the generation of Arnulf I of Boulogne and Arnulf II of Flanders. The Boulonnais count profited by the patronage and distant kinship of King Lothar. Not only did Lothar restore his patrimony, Arnulf gained the county of Lens, including the fisc of Harnes, by 972. His absence from contemporary sources suggests that he did not marry into a prominent

family and that his wife was drawn from the local nobility. The Flemish count also benefitted by Lothar's armed presence to secure his inheritance, but he reacted to Lothar's increased power in Artois by cultivating ties to the east Frankish kingdom. He was aided in this endeavor by his mother's re-marriage to Godfrey of Verdun as well as his uncle Thierry of West Frisia's land holdings in the east Frankish kingdom. Arnulf II enjoyed close and friendly relations with his step-father, half brothers, and his uncle, Archbishop Adalbero of Reims. His own marriage to Rozela-Suzanne, daughter of King Berengar II of Italy (976), was a product of Godfrey's ties to the German emperor. As prestigious as the marriage was, it did not provide Arnulf with brothers-in-law with shared territorial interests, and left his widow and son with little support in the succession crisis at his death.¹⁴⁶ Both Arnulf II and his son Baldwin IV required the French king's support in order to inherit their lands, and in Arnulf's case, the king seized some of his territory in compensation. The succession of Arnulf I of Boulogne's sons—Baldwin in Boulogne and Arnulf II in Ternois—appears to have occurred smoothly. Both were adults by the time of their father's death, so there was no need of familial or royal intervention to secure their inheritance.¹⁴⁷

The relationship between counts in the north were rooted in the bonds of kinship used to secure inherited honors and lands and to pursue new honors through military action and royal patronage. There is no evidence of the establishment of feudo-vassalic ties as the means of conducting external politics or internal rule. This contrary to the established view formulated by Dhondt and Ganshof. These scholars posit that Boulogne and Ternois were fiefs held of the Flemish counts from 962 rather than the king, although the restoration of Amiens and Vexin is universally acknowledged to have established a direct lordship between king and count.¹⁴⁸ Dhondt and Ganshof base this theory in part upon thirteenth-century feudal ties between Flanders and Boulogne and in part upon the assumption

¹⁴⁶ (Dunbabin 1989): 63–4.

¹⁴⁷ The date of Arnulf I's death is unknown; his contemporary counts (e.g. Herbert le Vieux, Arnulf II of Flanders, Gautier I) died between 980 and 998. It may have occurred c. 988; a date which is suggested by the loss of Guines, which is evident by this date and the minority of Baldwin IV of Flanders (988–c. 995).

¹⁴⁸ (Ganshof 1949): 30; (Dhondt 1946): 49; (Vanderkindere 1902): 1:103; (Dunbabin 1985): 73.

that the division of Baldwin II's properties meant that his younger son (Adalulf) and his descendants must hold their lands in fief of his elder son (Arnulf) and his heirs. However, there is nothing in the previous history of these counties nor in the contemporary evidence which supports this interpretation. Boulogne and Picardy, prior to the devastating raids of the Northmen in the last quarter of the ninth century, were divided into several *pagi* which were governed by members of two families, Unroch of Ternois and Nibelung III of Amiens-Vexin.¹⁴⁹ Although little can be said about those who ruled these *pagi* before the end of the ninth century, it is clear that the *pagi*, most of which formed the basis of later counties, were ruled separately until the beginning of the tenth century, and by counts loyal to the Carolingian kings. Baldwin II of Flanders' seizure of the *pagi* of Boulogne, Ternois, and portions of the Artois temporarily interrupted this pattern of separate governance. At Baldwin's death, his sons divided his lands; Arnulf received Flanders, and Adalulf, Boulogne, Ternois, and the lay abbacy of St Bertin.¹⁵⁰ None of the contemporary evidence indicates that Adalulf held his county from his elder brother after their father's death.

¹⁴⁹ The Merovingian kings, at the end of the seventh century, developed the administrative division of the *pagi*. (Fossier 1968): 1:177. See Map 2 which is a copy of a map found in (Dhondt 1944): 89. Dhondt has identified the *pagi* of northern France as Artois, Ternois (including Thérouanne and St. Omer), Boulogne, Ostrevant, Tournai, Courtrai, Gent, Mempisc, and Flanders; (Dhondt 1944): 16–17. Throughout the seventh and eighth centuries there are few references to the *pagi* or their rulers in either chronicles or saints' lives other than as geographical references. (Fossier 1968): 1:176–7. In the mid-ninth century the names of several of the rulers of Picardy appear in the records. (Dhondt 1941–2): 97, 178–9 and (Grierson 1938): 241–266. Prior to the Northmen invasions of 879–883, there are references to a Count Engischalk of Boulogne (853, 857, 859), Count Gerard of Ternois (853), Count Berengar of Mempisc (853), and Count Regnier of Scarbeius and Leticus (853). In the county of Amiens, there are references to a Count Angilwin (847, 850, 853) and Count Eccard. Nibelung III was count of Vexin (active between 843–879) and appears to have been granted Amiens after Angilwin or Eccard had died; see (Grierson 1939): 82–93. For the Nibelungian see (Levillain 1937): 337–408.

¹⁵⁰ (Jean 1738–1876): 9:75; (Guerard 1841): 140; (Bernard 1851): 9:318; (Smet 1837): 39–40; Chron. St Bavo, 507. The division of Baldwin's lands seems to follow the usual pattern of partible inheritance, with the eldest son receiving the patrimony and the younger son the newly acquired territories. What is surprising, however, is that Adalulf's share was greater than his brother's, and the inclusion of the lay abbacy of St Bertin, a wealthy and powerful abbey, in his portion. (Guerard 1841): 140. Folquin, 'Markam vero ejus filii ejus inter se diviserunt; et Arnulfus, qui major natu erat, Flandriam; Adalolphus vero civitatem Bononiam et regionem Taruennicam, pariterque sancti Bertini suscepit abbatiam. (Indeed, his

Nor can the practice of primogeniture be used to substantiate Flemish feudal claims on Boulogne and Ternois, for Fossier's study of Picardy has shown that partible inheritance was practiced in this region until the late tenth or early eleventh century.¹⁵¹ At Adalulf's death in 933, his brother took control of his territories and by c. 955 disinherited his legitimate sons. The annexation of these territories was reversed in 962 in the peace settlement negotiated by King Lothar. Flodoard's description of the 962 settlement indicates that Lothar restored Amiens and Vexin to Gautier, the surviving son of Raoul de Gouy, and Boulogne and Ternois to Arnulf I, son of Adalulf, and that each man gave homage to Lothar for these lands.¹⁵² Flodoard's testimony is corroborated by Richer, both of whom are well-informed sources. Therefore, there seems little basis for the assumption that Adalulf's son would hold Boulogne and Ternois as a vassal of his Flemish cousin.¹⁵³

march was divided between his sons: and Arnulf, who was the elder, [received] Flanders; indeed, Adalulf [received] the city of Boulogne and the region of the Ternois, and at the same time took up the abbacy of St Bertin.)'

¹⁵¹ (Fossier 1968): 1:177.

¹⁵² Flodoard, a. 965; MGH SS, 3:406, 'Arnulfo quoque principe decedente, terram illius rex Lotharius ingreditur, et proceres ipsius provinitiae, mediante Roricon praesule Laudunensi, eidem subiciuntur regi. (Also at the death of prince Arnulf, King Lothar entered into that man's land, and subordinated the nobles of that province to him by the mediation of Rorico bishop of Laon.)' Richer, 2:28, 'Quo etiam tempore Arnulfus, Morinorum princeps, hac vita decessit. Cujus terram Lotharius rex ingressus filio defuncti liberaliter reddit eumque cum militibus jure sacramentorum sibi annectit. (And at that time Arnulf prince of the Morini departed this life. King Lothar freely restored this man's land to the son of the dead man and attached the milites to himself and to him through the taking of an oath.)' (Jean 1738–1876): 80.

¹⁵³ A reflection of the limited feudal or tenurial ties between the counts of Flanders and Boulogne can be seen in a fourteenth-century genealogy, composed at Samer abbey. The author of the genealogy states that only the land of Merck was received in fief from the count of Flanders, and the county of Boulogne was held of the king. '... Comes Ernekinus praedictus Comes Bolon[ie] talem inierat co[m]positionem quod saepe scriptus Hernekinnus Comes Bolon[ie] devint homo Baldwini Comitis avunculi sui de terra Merck et hoc fuit primum homagium quod unquam Comes Boloniae fecit Comite Flandriae scilicet de terra Merck neque Comes Boloniae amplius de jure tenitur tenere Comite Flandria per antiquitatem. (The aforesaid Count Ernekin entered into such an arrangement which often it is written that Count Ernekin became the man of his uncle Count Baldwin for the land of Merck and this was the first homage that at any time a Count of Boulogne had made to a Count of Flanders, namely for the land of Merck and nothing more is being held by law/right of the county of Flanders during antiquity.)' BNF (Paris), Collection Baluze 45, f. 59v. The vernacular version published in (Michel 1840): 3:xiii.

Nor is there any reason to abandon the thesis of direct grant from Lothar to Arnulf I of Boulogne-Ternois based upon the eleventh- and twelfth-century evidence used by Dhondt and Ganshof. This evidence pertains to the county of Lens (formerly part of Artois) which came under the control of the Boulonnais counts prior to 972 and not Boulogne. It is not known how the counts of Boulogne came to rule over Lens; it may have been granted to Arnulf of Boulogne by Lothar or perhaps by Baldwin Balzo (guardian of Arnulf II of Flanders and probably the uncle of Arnulf I of Boulogne) or Arnulf II of Flanders.¹⁵⁴ In 972, when Arnulf II of Flanders granted the fisc of Harnes to St Peter's Gent, which included a *villula* of Lens, one of the attestors was Arnulf count of Boulogne. Baldwin IV's grant of Afflingham (next to the pagus of Tournai) to the same abbey was signed by both Baldwin of Boulogne and his brother Arnulf II of Ternois.¹⁵⁵ These attestations suggest that the counts of Boulogne-Ternois did hold the county of Lens and other territory in Artois, and that this property was under the superior jurisdiction of the Flemish counts after 978 when Lothar had granted Arras to Arnulf II.¹⁵⁶ Boulonnais authority in the fisc of Harnes is designated in charters of Baldwin V of 1047 and 1056 as '*ex beneficio a nobis*.'¹⁵⁷ However,

¹⁵⁴ Arnulf I of Boulogne may also have gained the lands through marriage. If this is the case, his wife would have been, most probably, a member of Gautier of Amiens-Vexin's family. Gautier's father, Raoul I de Gouy, was count of Ostrevant, Amiens, and the Vexin. Lens lies west of the Ostrevant, in the Artois. Feuchère argued that the counts of Boulogne were the overlords of Lens by 975 but that Baldwin V, at the death of Eustace I in 1047, reestablished his control of the castellany and granted it in fief to Lambert, the second son of Eustace I; (Feuchère 1948): 463–73. There is numismatic evidence that Eustace I was count of Lens; (Richebé 1963): 61, and Planche II, no. 35. See also (Van Acker 1943–1944): 129–134, and (Helin 1956): 20–21. There are several additional pieces of evidence for the Boulonnais counts' land holdings in Lens and Artois: Eustace I of Boulogne and Baldwin IV helped resolve a conflict between the Bishop of Cambrai and the castellan of Lens in 1023; (Balderic 1856?): 350–1. In 1028, Eustace I confirmed the foundation a college of canons in his castle at Lens; (Miræus 1723–1748): 1:159 'Istam vero in loco nostro, qui appellatur Lens, ab antecessoribus nostris honorifice constitutam. . .'. See also (Meijns 2002): 26.

¹⁵⁵ (Miræus 1723–1748): 2:941 (also (Van Lokeren 1868): no. 45) and (Gysseling 1950): no. 71.

¹⁵⁶ (Dunbabin 1989): 61. Dunbabin argues that Artois was returned to Arnulf as well, but this seems unlikely given Baldwin IV's campaign in 995; see below.

¹⁵⁷ In a 1047 charter of Baldwin V it states that Lambert count of Lens held the ville of Harnes (comitatus Scirbiu) 'nobis in beneficium tenebat;' (Gysseling 1950): 201. His brother Eustace II of Boulogne and Lens also held the ville of Harnes as a benefice from the Flemish count; see 1056 judicial decision concerning

the county of Lens is not called either a benefice or fief. The Flemish counts did not issue charters pertaining to lands or rights within Lens; however, as part of Artois, it was appears to have been under the superior jurisdiction of the Flemish count. In Eustace II's and his wife Ida's charter founding the college of canons in Lens (1070), a fine is established for anyone who diminished the canons' property '*Philippo rege Francorum et Comite Flandrensium imperatum*.'¹⁵⁸ While Baldwin's ability to impose his authority and justice in this case is seen by Dhondt and Ganshof as evidence of the sub-infeudation of Boulogne, the evidence only substantiates Flemish authority in Lens as part of Artois. The only other territory governed by the Boulonnais counts which came under the superior jurisdiction of the Flemish counts was Merck, which is north of Guines in an area reclaimed through dyking. While Merck is not referred to as a benefice or fief, Baldwin VII and his mother Countess Clemence gave their consent to Eustace III's gift of a sheepfold in Merck to St Wulmer abbey.

The attestation pattern of the counts of Boulogne of the Flemish counts' charters corroborate my contention that comital authority in Boulogne stemmed from a royal rather than a Flemish comital grant. Prior to the rule of Baldwin V, the counts of Boulogne attest only two of the fourteen surviving charters issued by the Flemish counts—those mentioned above which are associated with the county of Lens.¹⁵⁹ None of the surviving Flemish charters after 962 pertain to

the advocacy of Harnes which states Eustace 'comitatum de eadem villa in beneficio a nobis . . .'; (Teulet 1863): 1:21.

¹⁵⁸ (Miraeus 1723–1748): 159–161 and AN (Paris) L964, pièce 46, pp. i–v.

¹⁵⁹ There are six known charters of Arnulf I of Flanders: (Guerard 1841): 142 (c. 938), 146 (952) and 153–4 (961); (Gyseling 1950): no. 53 (941), no. 57 (960) and no. 58 (962). Arnulf I attested two charters: Idisiard's grant of a child to St Peter's Gent, (Gyseling 1950): no. 54 (947) and Roger's grants of his allod of the ville of Anzegem and its church to St Peter's; (Gyseling 1950): no. 58 (960). Arnulf II issued one known charter, (Miraeus 1723–1748): 2:941 and attested three others: (Gyseling 1950): no. 64 (975), no. 68 (981), and no. 70 (982–3). Baldwin IV's known surviving acta are: (Gyseling 1950): no. 71 (988) and no. 91 (1036); (Miraeus 1723–1748): 4:176 (1016); 1:149 (1023); (Putte 1842): 117 (1003). Arnulf of Boulogne may have witnessed a charter of Arnulf I of Flanders in 961 and Roger's grant of Anseghem (near Guines) to St Peter's Gent (960). Arnulf I's 961 charter restored Petresse to St Bertin, and the first witness after the monks is 'Arnulfus nepos ipsius comitis'; (Guerard 1841): 153–4. Since Petresse is located in the fisc of Merck, just north of the county of Boulogne, it seems likely that it is Arnulf of Boulogne, not the Flemish count's other nephews Arnulf of West Frisia or Arnulf of Cambrai/Valenciennes who witnessed the charter. Roger's charter is signed by Marquis Arnulf, Count Thierry, Arnulf, and 'itemque Arnulfi comitum'. While the second Arnulf

transactions made within Boulogne or the Ternois between 962–1019. There is no evidence for oaths of homage rendered by the counts of Boulogne to the Flemish counts, and only one phrase which suggests that Arnulf II of Ternois recognized Baldwin IV of Flanders' as his lord: *Temporibus gloriosissimi regis Francorum Roberti, Hugonis Magni filii, Arnulfo comite Teruanensis comitatus monarchiam sub Balduino marquiso regente. . .*¹⁶⁰ The phrase is found in one of the miracles of St Berta of Blangy; however, it is unclear from Heinemann's edition which continuator (of the eleventh-, twelfth- or thirteenth-century) added this miracle to the *vita* and therefore when Ternois or St Pol were considered part of the principality (monarchium) of the Flemish counts. Even if this miracle was written down in the eleventh century, contemporary to the events in the miracle, Baldwin IV's 1019 conquest of the northern portion of Ternois obscures the nature of the relationship between the counts of Ternois and Flanders prior to 1019. The eleventh- and twelfth-century evidence suggests that the counts of St Pol did not recognize the Flemish counts as their immediate overlords.¹⁶¹

While the evidence from contemporary chronicles, charters, and saints' lives refutes the thesis of feudo-vassalic ties among the counts of Flanders, Boulogne, and Ternois (later St Pol), it substantiates the importance of kinship ties. Arnulf I of Boulogne received the county of Lens from a relative—either from a more distant relative in the form of Lothar, or from his cousin Arnulf II, or uncle Baldwin Balzo. Each of these potential patrons gave the gift in order to strengthen their authority in a newly acquired region. The same is true of the grant of Harnes. The grant of an honor did give the grantor some rights of superior jurisdiction. Boulogne and Ternois, however, were granted by the king and not the Flemish count and therefore were independently held honors.

The prominence of kinship in the relationships among counts is mirrored by a corresponding shift from a more formal administrative system of governance to a family-based one within a county. The process and timing is difficult to discern because of the paucity

may be Arnulf of Cambrai, Anseghem's location suggests that Arnulf of Boulogne is the more likely signator.

¹⁶⁰ (Heinemann 1887): 15:566.

¹⁶¹ (Dhondt 1941–2): 185. Dhondt argues that the counts of St Pol were vassals of the Boulonnais counts. For a refutation of this argument see: (Nieus 2001): 37–39.

of sources. The absence of many of the former institutions of Carolingian public life is evident by the reign of Arnulf I of Boulogne and Flanders (918–965). Evidence from the reigns of Erkengar and Adalulf for internal governance is practically non-existent. No charters issued by either man have survived and there are only occasional references to them in saints' vitae and the cartulary of St Bertin. From these we know that Erkengar fortified Boulogne, provided refuge for the monks of Blangy, Renty, and Wandrille, and gave relics to St Riquier. Adalulf also seems to have achieved the goals of good rule—he defended his county and its ecclesiastics, and was a generous patron. This impression is confirmed by a genealogy written for his brother between 951 and 959; Adalulf is praised for his virtue, military skill, and bravery.¹⁶²

Much more can be discerned about Arnulf I's reign. He controlled the ecclesiastical affairs in his lands. He was lay abbot of St Bertin, St Amand, St Vaast, St Peter's Gent, and St Bavo's Gent. In 941, he began a monastic reform program with Gerard abbot of Brogne—St Peter's Gent (941), St Bertin (945), St Amand (952), St Riquier (c. 952), St Bavo's, Gent (953), and St Vaast (953). In the case of St Amand, Arnulf called an assembly of ecclesiastics together in order to coordinate the process. His interest in monastic reform, however, did not prevent him from appointing his nephew abbot of St Bertin in 950.¹⁶³ Arnulf may have had a hand in the election of Wifrid bishop of Thérouanne (22 June 935–20 August 959) and Transmar, provost of St Vaast, who became bishop of Noyon-Tournai (938–22 March 950).¹⁶⁴

Only six charters issued by Arnulf survive, all of which have ecclesiastical beneficiaries.¹⁶⁵ In his own charters and in royal acta, Arnulf is routinely called *marquis*, occasionally *count*.¹⁶⁶ In the non royal acta, Arnulf's title is qualified as 'by the grace of god'. The title not only reflects the extent of territory governed by Arnulf but also an affirmation of power independent of the west Frankish king by adop-

¹⁶² (Witger 1851): 9:303.

¹⁶³ (Guerard 1841): 146.

¹⁶⁴ Flodoard, 61, 65.

¹⁶⁵ See n. 150.

¹⁶⁶ The chronicler of St Bertin also referred to Adalulf as *marquis*; (Guerard 1841): 141.

tion of royal chancery formula. In addition to his own gifts, Arnulf signed and thereby gave authority to three gifts to St Peter's Gent.¹⁶⁷ There is no evidence for household officers, with the exception of treasurers. The count's relatives and affines gave counsel and joined military and political forces when their territorial interests were aligned. For example, Arnulf's son-in-law Thierry of West Frisia was a frequent attestor of Arnulf's charters and acted as one of young Arnulf II's guardians.¹⁶⁸ Public judicial activity continued under comital authority, but how formal these courts were is unknown.¹⁶⁹ Like his father, Arnulf minted coins at Bruges and possibly at St Omer.¹⁷⁰ Arnulf erected castles at Guines (938), St Omer (938), Bergues (944), and Théroutanne (954).¹⁷¹ These fortifications seem to be a reflection of the conflict with Ponthieu and the Normans.

His defense of his territories and the evidence of his internal administration clearly reveal Arnulf's adherence to the ideals of good rule. The extension of his power was legitimized by his generous patronage and support of monastic reform and ratified by the transference of the relics of St Riquier and St Valery to St Bertin abbey. His authority and independence are also illustrated in the production of a genealogy, unique to the mid-tenth century, written by Witger.¹⁷² It begins with a genealogy of the Carolingian dynasty and then proceeds to Arnulf's lineage, carefully illustrating his ties to the Carolingian, Anglo-Saxon, and Robertian kings. Witger then proceeds to eulogize Arnulf's virtues: '... distinguished in wisdom, powerful in counsel,

¹⁶⁷ (Gysseling 1950): nos. 54, 58, and 61.

¹⁶⁸ (Koch 1960): 126.

¹⁶⁹ (Halphen 1908): nos. 15 and 22. Lothar for St Bertin (no. 15)—'... nullus iudex publicus aut quislibet ex iudiciaria potestate ... fidei iussores' and Lothar new immunity for St Peter's Gent (no. 22) '... iudex publicus nec quislibet ex iudiciaria potestate ...' (22 Feb 964). In a 966 charter of Otto I for St Peter's Gent he confirms the abbey's immunity from the jurisdiction of '... noster comes, aut iudex et vicarius, aut publicus fisci exactor vel advocatus ...', (our count, or judge or vicar, or any other exactor of the public fisc or advocate)' (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:261.

¹⁷⁰ (Metcalf 1979): 5–7. The mint at Gent was closed by 875. The mint at Arras appears to have continued under royal authority between 888 to at least the end of Lothar's reign (986).

¹⁷¹ (Parisse 1994): 20. Parisse uses Lambert d'Ardres date of 928 for the castrum at Guines, but I prefer Flodoard's date of 938, which refers to a castrum and a port at Guisum; Flodoard, 69.

¹⁷² (Witger 1851): 9:302–4. For a discussion of genealogies and their role in promoting legitimacy see (Duby 1977).

shining with all good qualities, most perfect restorer of the churches of God, most pious consoler of widows, orphans, and orphan boys (or wards), and to all in need most clement dispenser of aid.¹⁷³ He then gives a list of Arnulf's liberality to monasteries. His son Baldwin is praised for the same qualities. While elements of Carolingian bureaucracy and practice survived, the glimpses of internal governance under Adalulf and Arnulf indicate the decline of institutions and the growth of personal rule.

The general obscurity concerning the internal governance of Boulogne, Ternois, and even Flanders continues through the tenth century.¹⁷⁴ No charters for the counts of Boulogne-Ternois survive, and only one of Arnulf II of Flanders. Within Flemish territory, comital power was checked during the minorities of Arnulf II and his son Baldwin IV. This can be seen in the issuance of royal acts for institutions in Flanders, Boulogne and Ternois: none by Charles the Simple, two by Louis IV, and four by Lothar (three of which were issued after Baldwin III's death in January 962).¹⁷⁵ Arnulf II's guardian Baldwin Balzo gathered comital lands around Courtrai for his own use but they were not passed to his descendants at his death (973). Thierry of West Frisia's lands in Gent and Waas were made hereditary by Empress Theophanu in 983 as a means of checking Lothar's campaign to acquire Lotharingia. And prior to 988 the county of Guines separated from Boulogne, Flanders, and lands of St Bertin.¹⁷⁶

The transformation of the Carolingian system of governance is well known. The administrative structure of annual *placita*, *missi dominici*, royal distribution of secular and ecclesiastical honors, mint-

¹⁷³ (Witger 1851): 9:303.

¹⁷⁴ The continuation of Folcuin's *Chronicle-Cartulary of St Bertin* does not begin until 1021. The charters of St Peter's Gent have survived but the annals of this abbey and St Bavo's are very brief and not particularly informative. Richer and Flodoard are concerned primarily with Reims so the northern counts receive little notice.

¹⁷⁵ (Lauer 1940): nos. 15 and 36; (Halphen 1908): nos. 1, 15, 18, and 22.

¹⁷⁶ In Baldwin IV's 988 charter for St Peter's Gent one of the witnesses is a Count Artold. Artold has been identified as count of Guines; his relationship to the Flemish and Boulonnais counts is unknown. There are several possibilities—he may be a son of Arnulf I of Boulogne or he may be the son of Arnulf, son of Hilduin and Arnulf I of Flanders' daughter. For the flaws in Lambert d'Ardres' account of the origins of Guines and the St Bertin territories which make up Guines, see (Ganshof 1931) and (Chanteux-Vasseur 1935).

ing, law, issuance of diplomata, and oaths of fidelity between all free men and the king first diminished in frequency and then either were exercised by counts or fell into desuetude. In Boulogne, Flanders, and Picardy, the first half of the tenth century witnessed a ruthless agglomeration of territory by the Flemish and Vermandois counts at the expense of both the local counts and the duke of Neustria. In the tenth century, the counts adopted and coopted royal powers, particularly minting, confirming ecclesiastical grants, distributing ecclesiastical honors, and leading armies. Kings struggled to enforce oaths of fidelity, the succession to secular and ecclesiastical honors, and the conduct of external political relations. They continued to issue charters, call *placita*, and campaign but were increasingly unable to intervene in the internal governance of the northern magnates' counties.

Kinship played a secondary role in the governance of the counties in the late ninth and early tenth centuries. The northern counts, most related by blood or marriage but appointed by the late Carolingian kings, initially presented a united defense against the Northmen. Succession difficulties in the Carolingian royal families and continued Northmen attacks fostered the expansionist policies of the Flemish, Vermandois, and Neustrian counts. The territorial expansion of Arnulf I of Flanders, Herbert II of Vermandois, and Hugh the Great came at the expense of filial heirs in neighboring counties, who lacked affines with shared landed interests. The dispossessed heirs and threatened counts first followed the strategy of reliance upon royal patronage, which was only partially successful during the reign of Lothar—in Boulogne-Ternois and Amiens-Vexin but not Ponthieu, Laon or Ostrevant.

While King Lothar was able to regain some of the royal power which had been lost between 879 and 954, neither his son nor Hugh Capet were able to re-establish a more centralized and bureaucratic form of government. Remnants of the centralized state remained in the forms of charters, minting, and the comital assumption of the royal role of primary protector of the Church and keeper of the peace. The counts used these to legitimize their power. However, in Boulogne, Flanders, and Picardy, kinship becomes a fundamental organizational principle of politics and governance by the late tenth century. A count relied first and foremost upon his kin to help defend his lands and powers, not the king. As they maneuvered in the new

configurations of power, the Boulonnais and Picard counts struggled to find the most effective means of utilizing kinship to preserve their position. In the ninth and tenth centuries the Flemish counts were more successful, and in the eleventh century their southern neighbors held their own.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ELEVENTH-CENTURY COUNTS

Northern France in the eleventh century was dominated by the extension and consolidation of the territorial principalities of Flanders and Normandy. As in the tenth century, Boulogne and Picardy remained an area where Flemish counts and French kings attempted to assert their authority. The renewed competition and the extension of the principalities of Flanders and Normandy encouraged the counts of Boulogne to form alliances with Lotharingian nobles and the counts of Picardy and northern Normandy (the southern alliance system). The alliance between the counts of Normandy and Flanders in 1051 led to a defense of the southern alliance system by Eustace II and his allies (the counts of Ponthieu, Arques, and Amiens), which failed. The defeat introduced Norman ducal influence into the region, although the counts of Boulogne and Picardy still exercised freedom of choice in their political activities. Kinship, friendship, and political action with the members of the Lotharingian, Picard, and Norman nobility helped to transform the eleventh-century counts of Boulogne—Baldwin (c. 988–1024), Eustace I (1024–1047) and Eustace II (1047–1087)—from local lords to independent magnates, and to move them from the periphery to the center of political events in northern France and England. These alliances, often sealed by marriage, were not only a source of status, but they also provided the Boulonnais counts with a larger circle of kin and allies to act with in furthering the goals of the family.

Boulonnais-Flemish relations underwent some modification in the eleventh century. Baldwin IV of Flanders' (988–1037) seizure of northern Ternois roused Boulonnais hostility, but did not change the tenurial relationship of Boulogne or St Pol (the southern portion of Ternois). There is no evidence that any of the eleventh-century Flemish counts received oaths of homage for or imposed justice within these two counties. The county of Lens was drawn more firmly under Flemish overlordship during the reign of Baldwin V (1037–1067). With the exception of the period between 1049 and 1056, relations between Baldwin V and the counts of Boulogne were friendly. The

Boulonnais counts attested several of Baldwin V's charters, most of which concern grants to monasteries near the county of Lens or the abbey of St Bertin, which is contiguous to Boulogne. Despite the generally positive relations between Baldwin V and Eustace I and Eustace II, the Boulonnais counts pursued political activities and alliances at odds with the Flemish counts. The entente between the counts of Boulogne and Flanders foundered after Robert I of Flanders (1071–1093) seized the county from his nephews. Eustace II's decision to reestablish the Norman-Boulonnais alliance, in 1066 and again in 1071, linked Boulogne more closely into the Anglo-Norman polity—a trend which would continue under Eustace II's son. The expansion of power and prestige achieved by Eustace I and II stemmed from their adroit use of kin-based coalitions. This strategy superceded the later tenth-century counts' reliance upon royal patronage and support.

The Boulonnais Counts and Eleventh-century Politics

Baldwin I of Boulogne (c. 988–1024) and his brother Arnulf II of Ternois (c. 988–1019) seemed to have followed King Hugh Capet's support of the beleaguered Baldwin IV of Flanders (988–1037), the minor heir of Arnulf II.¹ Count Arnulf of Gent, young Baldwin's cousin, challenged his succession to the Flemish countship on the grounds of illegitimacy.² While Otto III had supported Hugh Capet's succession in west Francia to prevent Charles duke of Lorraine from uniting Lotharingia to west Francia, he lent his support to the count of Gent, who was his *fidelis*. In May 988, Otto brought the imperial court to Braine-le-Comte, near Waas. Hugh Capet's support of the Flemish count stemmed from his desire to benefit from Baldwin's minority and deny Odo I of Blois a potential ally.³ Odo was known to want Otto III as king of France and to be in cahoots with Adalbero

¹ Baldwin IV's minority lasted from 988 to c. 995.

² (Gerbert 1961): 154–5 and (Dunbabin 1989): 63–4. Dunbabin persuasively reinterprets the events of 988, arguing that the military activity in 988 of Count Arnulf of Gent, son of Thierry of West Frisia, was not an attempt to make the territory of Waas an allodial holding but rather an attempt to gain the Flemish countship by claiming Baldwin IV was illegitimate.

³ (Hallam 1980): 68–9.

bishop of Laon, a foe of Hugh's. Baldwin's cause was successfully championed by the king, in part through the marriage of his son Robert to the widowed Countess Rozela-Susanna in 989. Baldwin of Boulogne and his brother Arnulf of Ternois attested the young count's earliest charter (988) which involved a grant of property near Lens to St Peter's, Gent.⁴ The brothers' presence at the Flemish court in 988 derives from their loyalty to the Capetians rather than the Flemish count. They never attest another of Baldwin IV's charters, and there is no known link between the three men after 988.

Arguments from silence are always tenuous but their absence from the witness lists of Baldwin IV's charters and the castle building in the region suggests the counts of Boulogne and Ternois were allied with the Capetians. War erupted between the king and the Flemish count in 991 or 992 when Robert repudiated Countess and Queen Rozela-Susanna and kept Montreuil, her dowry. At the same time, war had broken out between Odo of Blois and Fulk Nerra of Anjou. The king supported Fulk and Odo gathered a powerful coalition including the counts of Normandy, Aquitaine and Flanders. Odo offered a peace to the king in 994, and the following year the Flemish campaign ended as well.⁵ In the resolution of the Flemish-Capetian conflict, Robert retained Montreuil and in compensation Baldwin IV and his mother regained northern Artois and Ostrevant.⁶ The terms of this agreement suggests that Robert never lost control of Montreuil, and in turn this may reflect Baldwin I's and Arnulf II's loyalty to the king as their lands bordered Montreuil to the north.⁷ Robert also enjoyed the loyalty of Hugh of Ponthieu (d. 998/9), his son

⁴ (Gysseling 1950): no. 71. Baldwin IV of Flanders granted the allod of Avelghem, near Tournai, to St Peter's Gent. The signators were: (first column) Marquis Baldwin, Queen Susanna, Bishop Frameric of Théroutanne, Abbot Adalwin, Winething provost, Rainer subprovost, Waldbert advocate; (second column) Count Thierry [of West Frisia], Count Arnulf [of Gent, Thierry's son], Count Artold [of Guines], Count Baldwin [of Boulogne], Count Arnulf [of Ternois]; (third column) Siger, Werin, Odo, Roger, Rainer; (fourth column) Gummar, Walrad, Frumold, Lambert, Desiderius; (fifth column) Bernard, Berfrid, Odgaud, Richar, Ascric; (sixth column) Reingod, Ingelbert, Gerard, Hebert, Onekin and after dating clause, Rodulf chancellor and monk. Baldwin of Boulogne and Arnulf II of Ternois attest only one of Baldwin IV of Flanders's charters, which suggests that their presence in 988 is a reflection of their allegiance to the king and not the Flemish count.

⁵ Richer, 2:293; (Bur 1971): 114–127.

⁶ For a discussion of Baldwin IV's career see (Ganshof 1949): 32–6.

⁷ MacDonald also argues that the Capetians controlled Montreuil between 981 and 1100; (MacDonald 1985): 60.

Enguerrand (998/9–1045), and Gautier II (c. 988–1017/24) of Amiens-Valois-Vexin.⁸ From 994 to 1006, the region remained at peace. Robert's willingness to concentrate on his contentious relations with the counts of Anjou and Blois-Chartres between 996 and 1015 and the acquisition of the duchy of Burgundy (1002–6), reflect his confidence in the fidelity of the Picard and Norman counts.⁹

The activities of the counts of Boulogne and Ternois between 988 and 1019 are unknown. Between 993 and 995, Arnulf of Ternois was excommunicated for failure to restore property taken from St Riquier by Arnulf I of Flanders and Boulogne.¹⁰ Included separately in the excommunication were the Flemish count and his mother, as some of the properties lay in Flanders and some in Ternois. Abbot

⁸ Little is known of Guatier II of Amiens-Valois-Vexin's career; he did attend Robert the Pious' and his son Henry's coronations and fought with Robert against Renard de Sens in 1015. (Bates 1987): 36. Gautier granted freedom to the monks of Jumièges and St Wandrille from tolls collected at his castle, 'on account of the excellent book that [the monks] gave use and especially for the remedy of my soul,' (Vernier 1916): no. 6. Gautier II (d. by 1024) also founded Crépy en Valois (1008). Gautier also appears to have been on good terms with Richard II of Normandy. Richard I had become Hugh's man in 968, supported his election to the throne, and in 991 helped him take Melun from Odo I of Blois-Chartres. (Bates 1982): 25. His son Richard II (996–1027) was also a consistent supporter of King Robert, campaigning with him against Odo II of Chartres and Baldwin IV. (Bates 1982): 66; (Glaber 1989): 78; *Gesta epis. Cam.*, 7:414, 452. Richard sent troops to help Robert besiege Auxerre (1005–6), aided the Flemish campaign (1006–7), tried to arbitrate a settlement between Robert and Odo II in 1023, reported the heresy at Chartres to Robert, and attended the Compiègne and Ivois assemblies (1023); (Glaber 1989): 108. In Ponthieu, the Capetians enjoyed the loyal service of Hugh castellan of Abbeville and advocate of St Riquier (d. 998/9) and his son Enguerrand (998/9–1045). (MacDonald 1971): 63–111.

⁹ In 1005 Odo II married his second wife, Ermengard d'Auvergne, and spent the next fifteen years battling the Angevins over the Touraine, (Bur 1971): 154; (Pfister 1885): 209–218; (Glaber 1989): 104–5.

¹⁰ In the late 980s-early 990s, Abbot Ingelard of St Riquier appealed to King Hugh and Pope John in order to recover some of the abbey's property. The pope admonished the malefactors—Count Arnulf, Count Baldwin and his mother, and viscounts Gozbert and Ildiard—and ordered bishops Guy of Soissons, Fulk of Amiens, and Baldwin of Thérouanne to excommunicate them if they did not act promptly. (Hariulf 1894): 158–9; Migne, PL, (Migne 1878–1974): 137:850–52; for the archbishop of Reims' letter see (Gerbert 1961): 229–30. Hariulf refers to Hugh as recently made king when discussing Ingelard's decision to walk to Rome to get papal authority to excommunicate the malefactors. The pope's letters date to c. 993 and the archbishops to April 995. The property—Rollencurt (arr. St Pol), Bourecq (cant. Norrent), Watten (arr. Dunkerque) and Buxuden (arr. Abbeville)—was taken during Count Helgaud's and probably Arnulf I of Flanders' rule. Ingelard's efforts were rewarded with success after several years; the parties were excommunicated and later relented; (Hariulf 1894): 160.

Ingelard appealed to the king and the pope, and after several years each count relented. Once he came of age in 995, Baldwin IV worked to restore comital authority within Flanders, which he achieved quite quickly, and then to add the Cambrésis to Flanders. Both activities threatened Boulonnais and Ternois territorial interests.

Baldwin's eastward expansion was part of his efforts to restore comital power in eastern Flanders which had been diminished during his minority.¹¹ Baldwin's incursions into Lorraine were in part provoked by the already disturbed political situation in the region. Power was shared between Arnulf count of Valenciennes and Cambrai and the bishop of Cambrai. In addition, Arnulf faced the challenge of Lambert of Louvain and his brother Regnier IV of Hainaut who sought to acquire more territory in the region. The east Frankish kings had also strengthened their power in the region by establishing fortresses along the borders of west Francia and Lotharingia at Eename, Anvers, Chièvres, Biest, and Valenciennes (between 973 and 995) and by making Thierry of Gent's holdings in Gent and Waas hereditary.

The first to submit to Baldwin IV's authority was Eilbodon of Courtrai. He then turned his attention to Gent. Arnulf of Gent died fighting the Frisians in 993 and Baldwin assumed control of Gent-Waas that year and established a castellan in Gent.¹² Arnulf's son, Thierry, failed to regain Gent but did hold onto the county of Holland. At peace with King Robert, Baldwin tried to manipulate the election of his uncle Azelin to the Cambrai bishopric at the death of Bishop Rothard.¹³ His attempt failed. Acting on the news of Otto II's death in 1002, Baldwin attacked Valenciennes and Count Arnulf. He was joined by the count of Luxembourg and Lambert of Louvain. King Henry II (1002–24) campaigned against Baldwin, as did his loyal representatives Arnulf of Valenciennes and the bishop

¹¹ Vita St Bertulf, 685.

¹² Arnulf died in 993 but his son Thierry III inherited his county of West Frisia. Thierry and his descendants created the county of Holland by focusing their attention on controlling the pagi of Texel, Kennemerland and Maasland; (Dhondt 1944): 55.

¹³ (Ganshof 1942–3): 106–109. Dhondt has argued that the eastward expansion was motivated more by the defense of river trade along the Escaut than by the political instability in Lorraine; (Dhondt 1944): 57. The *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* states that Fulrad abbot of St Vaast encouraged Baldwin in this course of action as he was involved in a quarrel with Bishop Rothard; Gesta ep. Cam., 7:446.

of Cambrai. Baldwin's successful seizure of Valenciennes in 1006 fostered a united defense by Henry II, King Robert of France and Richard duke of Normandy, which succeeded after a year of devastating campaigning.¹⁴ In the aftermath, Cambrai was placed under the full control of its bishop and the marches of Eename and Anvers were granted to Herman and Gozelon, sons of Godfrey 'the Captive' of Verdun. Despite the check to his plans in 1007, Baldwin tried once more to intrude his candidate into the bishopric of Cambrai in 1012.¹⁵ Henry foiled his attempt, but placated Baldwin with the grant of the islands of Zeeland.

The sources do not mention the counts of Boulogne and Ternois fighting for either the French king or Baldwin IV. However, the erection of the castle of St Pol (c. 990) and the marriage between Baldwin of Boulogne's son Eustace and Count Lambert of Louvain's daughter Matilda do suggest that the Boulonnais and Flemish comital houses were not allied.¹⁶ If the Flemish count succeeded in adding the Cambrésis to his territories, Lens would have been more vulnerable to incorporation into the Flemish polity, particularly in light of the 995 transfer of northern Artois and Ostrevant to Baldwin IV. Although Flemish lordship in Artois had existed since 978, Baldwin IV's effective power in the region was limited in this period, in part through the lack of demesne land. Imperial retaliation for Flemish predations encouraged the formation of independent castellanies in the Artois, specifically in Béthune (c. 995), Aubigny (c. 1000–1024), Lillers (1000–1043), and possibly Chocques (c. 1000).¹⁷ Each of these

¹⁴ (Ganshof 1942–3): 109–113; *Gesta epis. Cam.*, 7:451–2; (Sigebert 1844): 6:354; (Thietmar 1957): 272–4; AA, 20:790.

¹⁵ (Dhondt 1944): 60.

¹⁶ Feuchère argues that the castrum of St Pol was erected c. 990; (Feuchère 1953): 127. Written evidence suggests the later date of 1031–67 for the erection of St Pol castle; (Parisse 1994): 20. As Parisse notes sources for the period 970 to 1070 are scarce and therefore it is difficult to date castles with any precision and the documentary evidence may yield dates later than the actual date of erection.

¹⁷ (Feuchère 1949): 9 and (Feuchère 1953): 128. Dhondt argues that Baldwin IV created the system of castellanies and controlled them by men loyal to the Flemish count; (Dhondt 1946): 61–7. Most of the evidence for these castles dates from the eleventh century after Baldwin IV had successfully regained control of the Artois, northern Ternois and northern Boulogne. Therefore it is impossible to establish with any certainty who erected the castle and for what purpose. Ganshof had argued that the origins of the castellanies of Béthune, Lens and Aubigny derived from the lay advocacies of the castellans of the abbeys of St Vaast in Arras, St Peter's Gent, and Ste Ame of Douai respectively; (Ganshof 1957–1962): 348. See Map 3.

castles lies in the Artois sandwiched between the counties of Boulogne-Ternois and Lens. These castles form two defensive half circles in the north and south of the Artois when the castles of St Pol, built by Arnulf II of Ternois (c. 990), and Lens (built c. 975) are included; Lillers, Chocques, and Béthune in the north and St Pol, Aubigny, and Lens to the south. The placement of the castles suggests that they were erected either in response to the 991–5 war between Baldwin IV and Robert, or as a defense against Baldwin IV's actions in the Cambrésis and the Ternois between 995 and 1019. The Flemish count's lack of authority over these castellans prior to the 1020s implies that they were raised in resistance to Flemish comital power. It is possible that either Arnulf and his brother Baldwin were behind this defensive line of castles or that they allied with the independent castellans who raised them.¹⁸

The marriage of Baldwin's son Eustace to Matilda of Louvain helped to protect Boulonnais interests in Lens and Artois by creating an alliance with a magnate hostile to Flemish expansion, as well as adding to their property in the Ostrevant.¹⁹ Although Count Lambert of Louvain and Baldwin IV had once joined forces in 1002, their conflicting ambitions had driven them apart.²⁰ Lambert, already in rebellion against King Henry II of Germany with several other Lotharingian lords, sought to add Cambrai to his holdings in 1007 and Valenciennes after the death of Count Arnulf in 1012.²¹ Henry II gained Baldwin's neutrality in the imperial campaign to suppress

¹⁸ (Barthélemy 1990): 37–47, for the current state of the question. If Arnulf did raise these castles, it may help explain Baldwin IV's swift suppression of these 'independent' castellans shortly after his acquisition of the northern Ternois.

¹⁹ The attestations of Eustace I of Bishop Hugh's charter recording the foundation of Phamlempin in 1039 and Baldwin V's foundation charter for Marchiennes (1046) suggest that the counts of Boulogne held other lands near Lens in the Ostrevant/Hainaut region. (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:53; (Duchesne 1639): Preuves, 5. In addition, there are two other pieces of evidence from Eustace II's career which substantiates this hypothesis. Eustace II's gift of ville of Louches to St Amand, recorded in charter of Abbot Malbod; (Duvivier 1898): 37–9. Eustace attests Philip I's confirmation of the foundation of Hasnon (1065) in diocese of Arras; (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:305–6.

²⁰ (Lays 1948): 66–75.

²¹ (Dhondt 1945): 144; Lambert's brother Regnier IV had gained control of Hainaut through a gift of Godfrey of Lorraine in 998. The date of Arnulf of Valenciennes' death is not known for certain but Lays has argued convincingly for 1012; (Lays 1948): 75. This is corroborated by Lambert's rebellion which began in 1012 and lasted until his death in 1015; (Sigevert 1844): 6:355.

Lambert's rebellion with the grant of the isles of Zeeland.²² Lambert, encircled by his enemies, sought to mitigate the effects of the alliance between Baldwin IV and Henry by the marriage of his daughter Matilda to Eustace I of Boulogne. If Eustace's mother was from the comital family of Gent-West Frisia this alliance also offered the potential benefit of threatening Baldwin from the north.²³ Thierry of West Frisia was also at odds with Henry II, and thus the grant of Zeeland not only achieved Baldwin's neutrality but also challenged Thierry. Jacob Malbrancq, writing in the early seventeenth century, states that Eustace of Boulogne fought with his *consanguineus* Thierry of Gent against Duke Godfrey in 1018, although I have not found any corroborating contemporary evidence for this.²⁴ The marriage of Eustace and Matilda, in conjunction with the evidence of the castles suggests that the Boulonnais count was attempting to limit the effects of Flemish expansion and perhaps trying to reinforce Boulonnais influence in the Artois and Ostrevant. The Boulonnais-Louvain strategy did not pay off. Henry's loyal follower, Duke Godfrey of Lower Lorraine was successful in imposing order within the duchy following the death of Lambert of Louvain at the battle of Florennes (1015), and in that same year, Baldwin IV of Flanders gained a further benefice from Henry II who granted him Valenciennes.²⁵

Between 1012 and 1016, King Robert the Pious wooed Baldwin's goodwill. The two interceded on behalf of Gautier II castellan of

²² Baldwin had recently been thwarted, for a second time, in his efforts to have his uncle elected bishop of Cambrai. Henry was thus acutely aware of the danger that the Flemish count represented, especially if Baldwin continued to support Lambert. (Ganshof 1942-3): 113-118 and (Lays 1948): 70. Henry also granted the duchy of Lower Lorraine to his faithful vassal Godfrey, son of Godfrey le Captif, Count of Verdun, in 1012, with the express order to lead an expedition against the count of Holland and Lambert of Louvain.

²³ Andre Duchesne states that Adelvie was the daughter of Arnulf count of Gent (d. c. 1018) and his wife Lietgarde; (Duchesne 1631): 38. He offers no proof and I have found no direct evidence. However, the name of Adela is known is the comital family of Hamaland. Wicman II de Hamaland (d. 973) and Liutgarde of Flanders' children were Maynard II, Liutgarde abbess of Elten, Adela, and Wicman III. Adela was married to Count Immed and mother of St Meinwerk bishop of Paderborn; (Laporte 1960): 162 and (Nonn 1983): 243.

²⁴ (Malbrancq 1639): 2:664-5. None of the contemporary sources which mention Thierry's campaigns provide names of his allies; (Siebert 1844): 6:355; (Pertz 1841): 4:17; Vita Balderici, 4:734-5; Gesta ep. Cam., 471; (Thietmar 1957): 468-72. The Lobbes annals state that Regnier V fought with Duke Godfrey.

²⁵ (Lays 1948): 57-75; (Thietmar 1957): 404; Vita Balderici, 4:727-734; (Siebert 1844): 6:355; Gesta ep. Cam., 7:467-9.

Cambrai in 1012, and in 1016, Robert appointed Baldwin's illegitimate uncle Azelin as bishop of Paris.²⁶ Robert's interest in Cambrai stemmed from several sources—one, longstanding claims of the west Frankish kings to the region; two, his nephew Regnier V governed Hainaut; and three, Baldwin's acquisition of Valenciennes raised concerns about royal influence in Picardy. The king used this period of goodwill with Baldwin and Odo II of Blois to consolidate his hold over Sens, Langres, and Encre.²⁷ Although Bishop Azelin of Paris was deposed shortly after his election, and fled to his nephew Baldwin rather than retire to the monastery as he had promised, Robert's position in 1016 was substantially stronger than it had been. In 1017, Robert, despite opposition from the magnates, had his eldest son Hugh consecrated king and invested his younger son Henry as duke of Burgundy.²⁸

The distribution of power was shaken in 1019 with the death of Arnulf II of Ternois. Baldwin IV pounced on the opportunity to take the Ternois. His invasion may have been prompted by the desire to bring the bishopric of Théroutanne and St Bertin abbey back into the Flemish polity. Control of this county would further isolate Lens and aid in Baldwin's efforts to enforce his authority over the newly established castellans in Lillers, Béthune and Aubigny. Baldwin was also responding to the growth of royal power and perhaps in retaliation to the affront to Azelin's and the family's honor. His drive southward was halted later in the year when the king, probably responding to the appeal of Baldwin of Boulogne, besieged the Flemish count in St Omer.²⁹ Emperor Henry II attacked Gent in 1020 perhaps in conjunction with Robert's campaign or in defense of Eename, which Duke Herman had given to his son-in-law Regnier V of Hainaut.³⁰ In the settlement, Baldwin IV kept St Omer and

²⁶ *Gesta ep. Cam.*, 7:467; (Pfister 1885): 218–222. The two were not always at odds; Robert and Baldwin besieged Laon together in 999 and agreed to the promotion of Baldwin's uncle Azelin to the bishopric of Paris in 1016.

²⁷ (Bur 1971): 156–158; (MacDonald 1971): 105.

²⁸ (Glaber 1989): 156; (Bur 1971): 155–6; (Dhondt 1939): 936–7.

²⁹ Arnulf II of Ternois did have legitimate children. Arnulf restored some lands seized from Blangy abbey between 996 and 1019, which he did 'cum uxore sua et filiis'; (Heinemann 1887): 15:566. Arnulf's wife's name and kin are unknown.

³⁰ (Grierson 1937), a. 1020. Ganshof suggests that it was in response to the new alliance between Herman and Regnier; Hirsch offers the hypothesis that it was part of the St Omer offensive; (Hirsch 1864–65): 3:171.

the northern portion of the Ternois. The count of Boulogne kept his counties of Boulogne and Lens, and the southeastern portion of Ternois, now known as St Pol, was given to Roger. The fate of Arnulf II of Ternois' sons is unknown, nor do we know anything of Roger's background. However, Roger became a loyal ally of the Boulonnais counts.³¹ In addition, Thomas MacDonald has argued that Robert bolstered his own position by granting the castle of Doullens to his loyal castellan, Enguerrand of Abbeville.³²

After 1019, Robert remained on good terms with the Boulonnais and Flemish counts. In 1023, they joined his coalition against Odo II of Blois who was challenging the king's authority in Reims.³³ In May, Robert called an assembly, which was attended by the counts of Flanders, Normandy, and Valois, and probably by either Baldwin or his son Eustace.³⁴ Eustace was with Robert in Cambrai, prior to the Ivois meeting between the French and German kings in August 1023.³⁵ The coalition against Odo fell apart in the wake of Emperor Henry II's death in July 1024, as Robert's Lotharingian allies rebelled against the new German king. Prince Hugh's death (17 Sept 1025) prompted a family quarrel over succession; hard-pressed, Robert reconciled with Odo and his ally the duke of Aquitaine in order to secure Burgundy.³⁶

³¹ (Feuchère 1953): 128. Roger may have attested a charter of Garin bishop of Beauvais (1 May 1023–1 May 1024); (Prou 1904): 396–8. Prou argues that the extant original charter was written c. 1084 but based on one written in 1023–4 and modified to strengthen a claim versus St Vaast. He does not believe that there were any changes in the witness list which also includes Baldwin IV of Flanders, Richard of Normandy, Raoul of Valois, and his brother Drogo of Amiens-Vexin. Feuchère argues, based on the naming patterns within Roger's family, that Roger was probably a member of the comital family of Porcien-Rethel-Dommartin (themselves descendants of the counts of Laon) and closely allied with the Capetians; (Feuchère 1953): 129 and n. 1. Roger's sons were Manasses and Robert, and perhaps Hugh. For the connection to the counts of Laon see (Bur 1971): 132–3. The lack of Boulonnais comital names—Arnulf, Baldwin, Adalulf—suggests that Roger was not Arnulf II of Ternois' son. The fate of the count of Ternois' sons is unknown.

³² (MacDonald 1971): 105.

³³ (Bur 1971): 158.

³⁴ (Bur 1971): 162; (Prou 1904): appendix. MacDonald argues that it was at this assembly that Robert confirmed Enguerrand's gift to St Riquier; (MacDonald 1971): 105.

³⁵ (Bur 1971): 163–9. Odo's control of Vaucouleurs castle and Commercy was based on Herbert le Vieux' marriage to Ogive, widow of Charles the Simple, whose dowry included Tusey in the Tulois. Duke Thierry of Upper Lorraine pressed his claims against Odo's castles in the Tulois at Ivois.

³⁶ (Bur 1971): 170; (Glaber 1989): 156–8.

In the midst of the struggle over succession, Baldwin of Boulogne was killed in a battle by Enguerrand of Abbeville, advocate of St Riquier.³⁷ The cause of the warfare between Enguerrand and Baldwin of Boulogne is not clear. Hariulf states that Enguerrand killed the Boulonnais count in battle and wed his widow, the 'most noble Adelvie'.³⁸ Montreuil, held by the king's castellan, separated Boulogne from Enguerrand's lands which lay near Foretmoutiers and Abbeville. It is possible that Baldwin of Boulogne was attempting to recoup some of his losses by encroaching upon the county of Ponthieu, or that Enguerrand himself wanted to extend his power northwards. In either case, the aggressor took advantage of Robert's preoccupation with the struggle over the succession. The king, who was Enguerrand's uncle, recognized Enguerrand's new title of count which he assumed upon his marriage to Adelvie, but there was no change in territorial holdings.

Eustace I succeeded his father in Boulogne and Lens.³⁹ He was of age and already married to Matilda of Louvain when his father died. His mother's re-marriage brought connections to Ponthieu, and the marriage of his son Eustace II to Goda, widow of Dreux of Amiens-Vexin, niece of Richard I duke of Normandy, and sister of Edward the Confessor helped build a network of kin and allies to the south and in England. Eustace I's ties to the comital houses of Ponthieu and Amiens-Vexin may have been a factor in Baldwin IV's difficulties in controlling ecclesiastical affairs in Théroutanne and St Bertin. Although the king had recognized Baldwin IV's conquest of

³⁷ Although Thomas MacDonald has argued that Enguerrand probably killed the Boulonnais count in 1019 fighting with the king, his analysis assumes that Baldwin was a vassal of the Flemish count and therefore an opponent of the Capetian forces. As I have argued above Baldwin fought with the king and survived this conflict. His son Eustace is not referred to as count in 1023 but Enguerrand was called a count in diploma issued by Robert I between 1024 and 1027, therefore implying Baldwin's death must fall between 1023 and 1027; (Brunel 1930): no. 1; (Bouquet 1738-1876): 10:611.

³⁸ (Hariulf 1894): 207 and 230. Given the traditional interest of the dukes of Francia (also counts of Ponthieu) in Picardy, Robert, now king but descendant of the Francian dukes, would probably not have objected if Enguerrand had attempted to extend the borders of Ponthieu into Boulogne, especially in light of Gautier I and Gautier II of Amiens-Valois-Vexin's growing power; see (Feuchère 1954): 9.

³⁹ Although Rigaux thinks that Eustace I was the brother of Arnulf II of Ternois, his death in 1047 strongly suggests that he was Baldwin's son, not brother. Rigaux's genealogy does not include Baldwin of Boulogne, which overlooks the evidence of the 988 charter for St Peter's Gent issued by Baldwin IV.

northern Ternois, the count's power and authority were contested. His candidate Abbot Roderic of St Bertin struggled for almost ten years to reform the abbey's practices.⁴⁰ In addition, Baldwin was unable to control the election of the bishop of Thérouanne in 1030.⁴¹ Drogo, disciple of Ingelrann abbot of St Riquier and cleric in the diocese of Amiens, was elected bishop of Thérouanne on the recommendation of Bishop Fulk of Amiens, who was probably the son of Eustace II's wife Goda.⁴² Thus, the bishopric of Thérouanne remained more within the Picard-Boulonnais coalition's *mouvance*—Bishop Baldwin and Drogo were trained at Corbie and Amiens—rather than the Flemish count's authority. Baldwin IV chased Drogo from his see, continued to persecute him for two years, and only allowed Drogo to return in 1032, probably at the behest of the Bishop Gerard of Cambrai.⁴³

Baldwin's acquiescence to Drogo's return stemmed in large part to a concurrent conflict with his son. Emboldened by his recent marriage to King Robert's daughter Adela, the future Baldwin V rose in rebellion against his father. He was joined by a large number of the Flemish nobility and quite probably Eustace I.⁴⁴ The rebels were so successful that the elder Baldwin sought refuge with Duke Robert of Normandy since the king was embroiled in suppressing his sons' rebellion. The two successfully campaigned against the rebels. Baldwin V and his supporters fled to Cambrai. Balderic reports that the younger Baldwin had sought Gerard's permission to build a castle at Cambrai as a base for further action against his father. Gerard

⁴⁰ The abbey's chronicle and cartulary give no indication that the Flemish count intervened to help Roderic or patronized the abbey.

⁴¹ See (Guerard 1841): 171–177.

⁴² (Maur 1856–1865): 10:1538. (Hariulf 1894): 202, regarding Abbot Ingelrann; 'E quibus fuerunt duo honorifici viri, Guido praesul Ambianensis, et Drogo episcopus Tarvenensis. Hi ejus se discipulos, hi quoad vixerunt semper, gratulati sunt se ejus prudentia illustratos.' See (Bates 1987): 38.

⁴³ (Balderic 1856?): 336; (Maur 1856–1865): 10:1538. See discussion of the rebellion below.

⁴⁴ WJ/GND, 2:52–4. The sources do not list Baldwin V's accomplices. However, Baldwin V's base was in the south of Flanders which would encourage Eustace, who was consistently at odds with Baldwin IV, to join forces with the future count. In addition, Jacob Malbrancq, a seventeenth-century chronicler, states that Baldwin and Adela were married in Amiens and that Eustace, his brother Godfrey, and the count of Amiens attended the festivities, 'popam augientibus.' (Malbrancq 1639): 2:680; Malbrancq does not list his source.

refused and then he and Duke Robert reconciled father and son.⁴⁵ Shortly after the death of Countess Ogive in 1030, Baldwin IV married Duke Robert's sister, Eleanor. The *quid pro quo* appears to have been Baldwin IV's acceptance of Drogo at Théroutanne.⁴⁶ The Norman duke's successful intervention in this conflict was based not only on family ties, but also the friendly relations that he and his father had established with Count Gautier II and Dreux of Amiens-Vexin.⁴⁷

The expansion of familial ties and alliances between the comital families Boulogne, Amiens-Vexin and Normandy, as well as the continued political divisions between Flanders and Boulogne, can be seen in an expedition of Eustace II's brother-in-law, Alfred (son of Emma of Normandy and King Ethelred II). Alfred, in the hopes of regaining the English kingdom after the death of Cnut in 1035, journeyed to England via Wissant in 1036. Alfred rejected Baldwin IV's offer of soldiers but accepted the aid of 'only a few men of Boulogne' on his journey.⁴⁸ Alfred's rejection of Baldwin's aid suggests that he preferred to rely on the support of his new brother-in-law and probably reflects Boulonnais hostility towards the Flemish count.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *Gesta ep. Cam.*, 7:485; (Balderic 1856?): 359; *WJ/GND*, 2:52–54; (Grierson 1937): 89.

⁴⁶ Post 1030, Bishop Gerard of Cambrai wrote a letter urging Bishop Fulk of Amiens to recommend Drogo to the king of France. Although he lost the battle over Drogo, Baldwin IV was able to aid the election of Hugh to the bishopric of Beauvais; (Guyotjeannin 1987): 174. Hugh had formerly been a cleric at Tournai and Cambrai.

⁴⁷ (Bates 1982): 66, 68. Richard I restored property to Corbie abbey; (Levillain 1902): nos. 42–3. Gautier I made two grants to Corbie [(Levillain 1902): nos. 40 and 44], and granted freedom from river tolls to Jumièges and St Wandrille in 1006 [(Vernier 1916): no. 6]. Drogo made grants to St Wandrille and St Ouen, and married Duke Robert's cousin Godgifu; (Lot 1913): no. 8 (AD Seine Maritime 16H 14, f. 330v, no. 21 gives more witnesses) and AD Seine Maritime 14 H 805. Although Orderic Vitalis asserts that Drogo gave homage to the Norman duke for the Vexin, this is a later fabrication to justify Norman claims on the region; (Potts 1997): 45, n. 39.

⁴⁸ (Campbell 1949): 31; *WJ/GND*, 2:106; *WP/GG*, 4–5. Soon after he landed in England, Alfred was captured by Earl Godwin, who was a supporter of the Danish line. Alfred was taken with his men first to Guildford by Earl Godwin and then to the island of Ely, where he was blinded and died soon after; *ASC*, 1:232–233 and *WP/GG*, 4–5. Versions C and D state that Earl Godwin was responsible for Alfred's blinding, but there was apparently no hard evidence, for although Robert of Jumièges, archbishop of Canterbury revived the accusation in 1051, he does not seem to have had proof. See (Wilkinson 1938): 382.

⁴⁹ Emma and her Danish sons were always welcomed by Baldwin V, who consistently opposed Edward after 1042; *WM/GR*, 334–6.

The pursuit of southern allies was accompanied by the continued ties to the nobility in Lotharingia in the hopes of reversing or at least containing Flemish expansion. Despite Count Lambert's defeat over the issue of Cambrai, Eustace I's ties to the house of Louvain buttressed his power in Lens. Eustace and his nephew, Otto-Henry count of Louvain, witnessed a peace settlement negotiated between Bishop Gerard of Cambrai and his advocate, Gautier II castellan of Cambrai and Lens in 1023.⁵⁰ Gautier, after repeated attacks on the bishopric of Cambrai, had been brought to Duke Gozelon's court, where his case was heard in the presence of Bishop Hugh of Liège, Baldwin IV of Flanders, and the two brothers-in-law. Eustace and Baldwin were present as Gautier's overlords in Lens and Cambrai respectively. Otto-Henry's presence seems to have been a reflection of his ties to Eustace and his predecessors' interest in Cambrai; he may also have been Gautier's friend or patron, for he is one of several who intercedes for Gautier with Bishop Gerard.⁵¹ Very little more is known of Otto-Henry's or his brother Lambert's activities, so it is impossible to discern other instances when the nephews and uncle acted together. However, Eustace I perpetuated his familial and political ties in Lotharingia by the marriage of his daughter, Gerberga, to Frederic, son of Count Frederic of Luxembourg in the early 1030s.⁵² Eustace's brother-in-law Lambert II, through his marriage to Oda, was allied to Duke Gozelon, and this in turn may have fostered Eustace's association with the duke, who was also at odds with Baldwin IV.⁵³ Gozelon strengthened his authority in the duchy through his kinship ties not only to Lambert II but also with Albert II count of Namur, who married his daughter Regeline, and

⁵⁰ *Gesta ep. Cam.*, 7:483; see also (de Moreau 1945): 2:15–23.

⁵¹ *Gesta ep. Cam.*, 7:481–5. Otto was the son of Henry of Bruxelles, Eustace's brother-in-law.

⁵² (Parisse 1981): 32. Frederic was advocate of Stavelot-Malmedy in 1033 and was buried there with Gerberga at his death. Their daughter Judith married Valéron count of Arlon. He and his second wife Ida had no children; she married Albert III count of Namur after Frederic's death; (Vannerus 1946–7): 824.

⁵³ In 1023 Godfrey's younger brother, Gozelon, formerly Marquis of Anvers, succeeded him in the county. In 1033, Gozelon and Baldwin IV clashed over the castle of Eaname and Baldwin's expansion into this region. Neither Gozelon nor the emperor were able to prevent Baldwin's acquisition of the counties of Chievres and Biest, which had been held by Regnier IV of Hainaut, and the emperor now recognized as Baldwin's. See (Pirenne 1929): 1:108.

Regnier V of Hainaut and Eename, husband of his niece Mathilda, who was Matilda of Boulogne's cousin.⁵⁴

The succession of Baldwin V (March 1035) introduced an extended rapprochement between the Boulonnais and Flemish ruling houses. Although he was always at odds with Baldwin IV, Eustace I and Baldwin V of Flanders cooperated in several ventures. The transformation of the hostile relationship between the counts of Flanders and Boulogne stemmed from a desire to preserve dowry properties, Boulonnais ones in Louvain and Flemish ones in Corbie, and to consolidate their power within Artois. To achieve the later, the two men cooperated in limiting the power of the castellan-advocates. Eustace I witnessed three of Baldwin V's charters which regulated the advocates' powers: two in favor of Marchiennes abbey (north-east of Lens), in 1038 and 1046, and one, in 1042, for the abbey of St Bertin which recorded the rights and rents of the advocates of the abbey of St Bertin in the seigneurie of Arques.⁵⁵ We also see Eustace I and Baldwin V acting together in 1039 as witnesses to a charter of Bishop Hugh of Noyon and Tournai recording the foundation of the abbey of Phalempin (just north of Lens).⁵⁶ Eustace's presence and cooperation in enforcing Baldwin's authority implicitly

⁵⁴ Gozelin opposed the succession of Conrad II in 1024 through mobilizing his kin and with them the nobility of Lotharingia; *Gesta ep. Cam.*, 485; (Sigebert 1844): 356; (Reuter 1991): 191.

⁵⁵ See Map 5; (Miraeus 1723–1748): 2:659; 1:179; (Haigneré 1886): 1:24–5. The secular witnesses of the act are Marquis Baldwin of Flanders, Count Eustace, Count Roger of St Pol, Count Enguerrand II of Ponthieu, Robert of Béthune, Rodulf of Gent, and St Bertin's advocate, Gerbod. Eustace and Enguerrand were tied through the marriage of Enguerrand's father to Eustace's mother, Adelvie. The remainder of the attestors are connected through political ties: Baldwin's included Robert of Béthune, Rodulf of Gent, and Gerbod; Eustace's ally Roger attended. Gerbod also seems to have been on good terms with Eustace. Eustace and Gerbod also attest Baldwin V's 1056 charter for St Bertin, and Eustace and Gerbod's son Gerbod III attest 1067 charter for St Winnoc. Gerbod III also fought for Duke William during the conquest and was rewarded with the earldom of Chester. For the Gerbodan family see (Feuchère 1941–1957): 195–7. For Gerbod III's career see (Lewis 1991): 38–40.

⁵⁶ (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:53. The witness list reads as follows: Bishop Hugh, Archdeacon Furel, Abbot Malbod of St. Amand with his brothers, Hugh chancellor of the church of Tournai, Marquis Baldwin of Flanders, Countess Adela of royal descent, their sons Baldwin and Robert, Count Eustace, Count Roger [of St Pol], Robert of Arras [advocate of St Vaast], Walter of Cambrai [castellan], Hugh, Amaldi, Rodulph, Anselm, Reingauld, and Salecon.

sanctioned his own since he was a guarantor of these agreements. His own standing as a powerful lord was recognized by Baldwin and the castellans.

In each of these charters, Eustace's signature is followed by Roger count of St Pol. Although Dhondt and Ganshof have seen Eustace's and Roger's attestations as evidence of the feudal ties between these men and the Flemish count, there is no evidence for oaths of homage or Flemish intervention in affairs in Boulogne or Ternois. Eustace had established property interests in Lens, Ostrevant and along the Boulogne-Ternois border. St Bertin's holdings in the Ternois would make Roger a logical choice to enforce the abbey's rights. However, Roger had no property interests in Artois or Ostrevant and therefore his subscriptions reflect the friendship between him and Eustace.⁵⁷ The cooperation between Eustace and Roger also acted as a deterrent to any future southward expansion by Baldwin V who remained interested in the Cambrésis. Friendship and shared territorial interests also prompted Count Ingelramn of Hesdin to witness the 1042 St Bertin charter and Christmas 1046 charter of King Henry I for St Medard in the company of Eustace and Baldwin V.⁵⁸ The close ties among the counts of Boulogne, Ponthieu and Amiens-Vexin necessitated Baldwin's cooperation with these men if he was to benefit from his wife's rights in Corbie.

In 1044, Eustace's Lotharingian kin became involved in the rebellion of Godfrey the Bearded, son of Duke Gozelon I, against Henry III of Germany. Eustace's role in this rebellion is unknown. Henry III re-divided the duchy upon the death of Gozelon I, confirming Godfrey as the duke of Upper Lorraine and creating his younger brother, Gozelon II, the duke of Lower Lorraine.⁵⁹ Godfrey, who wanted both duchies, received support from several sources: Henry

⁵⁷ There may be a link between Roger and Hainaut. Roger's wife was named Hadevis, which is common to the Capetian family; (Feuchère 1953): 129, n. 1 and (Miraeus 1723–1748): 2:1130. Hadevis, Hugh Capet's daughter, married Regnier IV of Hainaut. It is possible that Regnier had a daughter named Hadevis who married Roger.

⁵⁸ (Bouquet 1738–1876): 11:582.

⁵⁹ Godfrey had been consecrated duke of Upper Lorraine in 1040, during his father's lifetime. His father Gothelon I had gained the duchy of Lower Lorraine in 1033. Gothelon and Baldwin IV had clashed over the march of Eename in 1033 or 1034. For Godfrey's early career and an analysis of the first rebellion see (Dupréel 1904): 15–30; (Pertz 1844): 4:124–6; (Sigebert 1844): 6:358; (Pertz 1841): 4:19; AA 20:799–802; (Pertz 1841): 4:19.

I of France and the comital families of Hainaut, Louvain, Namur, and Holland. The French king's decision was made in reaction to the establishment of an Angevin-imperial alliance with the marriage of Henry III and Agnes of Aquitaine, step-daughter of the count of Anjou.⁶⁰ The counts of Hainaut, Louvain, and Namur were all kin of Godfrey who could expect some reward for their aid. There is no evidence concerning Eustace's role in the rebellion which his Louvain in-laws joined. He probably remained neutral since Baldwin V sided with Henry III. Neutrality would have safeguarded his lands in Lens and Ostrevant. Baldwin V's desire to expand eastwards prompted him to cultivate good relations with Henry III prior to 1044, and Henry dangled the carrot of the march of Anvers as a reward for Baldwin's support.⁶¹ Baldwin did not campaign against Godfrey but he did attack Thierry IV of West Frisia/Holland. Godfrey submitted to Henry III in 1045. Henry granted Anvers to the future Baldwin VI and chose Frederic to be duke of Lower Lorraine in May 1046 at Gozelon II's death or deposition.⁶²

At Eustace I's death (before Christmas 1046), his younger son, Lambert, inherited Lens and his eldest son, Eustace II, inherited Boulogne. Eustace II and Lambert continued their father's policy of friendly cooperation with Baldwin V. This may have helped secure their younger brother Godfrey's place at Arras cathedral where he was archdeacon until 1061.⁶³ Shortly after Eustace I's death, Godfrey the Bearded was released from his imprisonment and reappointed duke of Upper Lorraine.⁶⁴ Godfrey had not given up on his goal to rule in Lower Lorraine, and began actively planning his rebellion at the news of the death of his son, a hostage at Henry III's court. He carefully enlisted the support of Henry I of France, the Lotharingian

⁶⁰ (Dhondt 1946): 90–2.

⁶¹ (Ganshof 1942–3): 125. In 1040, at Baldwin's request Henry III confirmed that the properties of St Ghislain (Hainaut) included Flemish comital rights in Brabant.

⁶² (Ganshof 1949): 36; AA, 20:802; (Aube 1985): 22–23. It is unclear whether Gozelon died in 1046 or if his replacement was the result of his inability to put down his brother's rebellion. Henry appointed Adalbert as duke of Lower Lorraine in the same year.

⁶³ (d'Amat. 1933–1975): 1374.

⁶⁴ For Henry I of France's relations with the German king see (Dhondt 1946): 87–101. For a narration of the rebellion see: (Dupréel 1904): 32–57; (Ganshof 1949): 35–37; (Pertz 1841): 4:19–20; AA, 20:803–4; (Pertz 1841): 4:19–20; (Sigebert 1844): 6:358–9; (Pertz 1844): 4:127–9; (Pertz 1841): 4:50.

nobility, and his neighbors to the west—Eustace II of Boulogne, his brother Lambert of Lens, and Baldwin V of Flanders. The counts of Flanders and Hainaut appear to have been the most cautious in their decision to join Godfrey's coalition; Baldwin risked losing the march of Anvers, Zeeland and Valenciennes, and Herman's wife Countess Richilde strongly encouraged him to remain loyal to Henry III. The two men assured the safety of their lands through an exchange of the counties of Biest and Valenciennes which cemented their alliance.⁶⁵ Baldwin also knew that he had the support of his brother-in-law, the French king, who continued to battle the growth of Angevin power through his attacks on Henry III. Since Eustace II and Lambert had kinship ties to both Godfrey's allies and his opponent Duke Frederic, their territorial interests in Artois and Ostrevant were best safeguarded by the decision to join Godfrey's coalition which allowed them to profit from Baldwin's and Herman's agreement. It is also likely that their sister Gerberga's death had weakened their connection with Duke Frederic. Godfrey's French allies were all gathered at Henry I's Christmas court of 1046, where each witnessed the king's confirmation of a gift to St Medard.⁶⁶

Godfrey openly rebelled against the German king in early 1047, and attained a large measure of success in the first two years. Eustace's brother Lambert died in the fighting in 1047 (before November 13th), and was succeeded by his son, Lambert.⁶⁷ It was also in 1048 or early 1049 that Godfrey and Eustace strengthened their alliance with the widowed Eustace's marriage to Godfrey's daughter Ida.⁶⁸ Henry III of Germany responded by invading Lorraine with a large army, and enlisting the support of the English and Danish kings and the

⁶⁵ (Ganshof 1949): 126. Herman was the son of Regnier V and Duke Godfrey's cousin Matilda.

⁶⁶ (Bouquet 1738–1876): 11:582–3.

⁶⁷ (Gysseling 1950): no. 96. The charter which regulates the rights of the advocates of St Peter's Gent in Harnes refers to 'memorato comiti Lantberto et successoribus suis . . .', and is signed by 'Lantberti comitis memorati.' Previous historians have assigned Lambert's death to 1054, overlooking this charter. The evidence for the death of Count Lambert of Lens in 1054 at Lille indicates that Eustace II had a nephew who inherited his father's county in 1047; (Bouquet 1738–1876): 9:582, *Gesta ep. Cam.*, 7:494.

⁶⁸ See (Rigaux 1891–99): 166–170, and (Barlow 1979): 308 for a discussion of the probable date of Eustace's marriage which had taken place by 1049. Central to the argument of both is the excommunication of Eustace in 1049 at the Council of Reims for marrying within the prohibited degrees.

pope.⁶⁹ In 1049, Leo IX excommunicated Eustace for incest and prohibited William the Conqueror's proposed marriage to Baldwin V's daughter on the same grounds.⁷⁰ The papal action was designed to weaken the bonds between the allies and disrupt their authority within their territories. Although initially successful, the rebellion began to falter in October 1048 when Henry III detached the French king from Godfrey's alliance, and it was dealt a fatal blow in 1049 when Henry defeated Godfrey's ally, the Count of Holland.⁷¹ Shortly after this battle, Godfrey submitted to Henry III.⁷² Baldwin V, however, remained at war with Henry.⁷³

Godfrey's defeat led to a reconfiguration of allies and comrades at arms between 1050 and 1056. Eustace's nephew Lambert chose to fight with Baldwin VI and his son Baldwin. Lambert's decision was prompted by Baldwin VI's marriage to the widowed Countess Richilde of Hainaut; Lens and his grandmother's dowry would be best protected by this alliance.⁷⁴ Eustace, on the other hand, withdrew

⁶⁹ Eustace II and his former brother-in-law, Edward the Confessor, continued their friendly relationship, since each sought to limit Flemish power. See (Barlow 1979): 97–99. Barlow argues that Edward's foreign policy was a defensive one against the Danes who received aid from both Flanders and Normandy. For example see Henry of Huntingdon, (Henry 1996): 374. Edward therefore cultivated the friendship of the counts of Boulogne, Ponthieu and the Vexin, whose counties lay between Normandy and Flanders. Although Eustace's other kinship ties placed him in Godfrey's coalition, Edward was anti-Flemish not anti-Boulonnais.

⁷⁰ (Bouquet 1738–1876): 9:523. See (Tanner 1992): 263–4 and n. 14 for a discussion of which of Eustace's marriages the excommunication concerned. Kremer argues that Ida's mother Doda was a member of the count of Toul's family; (Kremer 1785): 51. Doda made a gift of an allod Rasengis (Rexanger near Lussange in Ivois county, near Thionville) to St Mary's Verdun; the gift is confirmed in a 1040 charter of Henry III 'Guota per manus mariti sui Godefridi ducis'; (Dupréel 1904): 18. The name Doda-Uda is known via her daughter Ida's *vita*; she was buried at Munsterbilsen, (Parisse 1981): 35. Count Enguerrand II of Ponthieu was also excommunicated in this letter. Although I have no other evidence for his participation in this rebellion, his ties to Eustace and loyalty to Henry I of France makes it plausible that he was among Godfrey's faction. See Genealogy Ducal Family of Ardenne – Verdun.

⁷¹ (Dhondt 1946): 97–99; (Dhondt 1944): 75.

⁷² (Andressohn 1947): 12. Godfrey was placed in the charge of the archbishop of Treves. In early 1051 he was released and given a small fief held of the archbishop of Cologne.

⁷³ The war between Baldwin and Henry was briefly interrupted with two peace treaties in 1049 and 1050. See (Vanderkindere 1902): 1:108–111; (Ganshof 1949): 37; (Sigebert 1844): 6:359–60; AA, 20:804–8; (Pertz 1841): 4:20. Henry and Baldwin were at war continuously after 1051, when Baldwin married his son, Baldwin, to Richilde, Count Herman of Hainaut's widow.

⁷⁴ Eustace's nephew Lambert died fighting for Baldwin at Lille in 1054; (Bouquet

from the conflict following his father-in-law's decision to make peace with the emperor. Like his nephew, Eustace was protecting his territorial interests. Since Godfrey no longer held the duchy, Eustace's best hope to retain Ida's dowry was through cooperation with his former brother-in-law, Duke Frederic and Henry III. Although Godfrey led the imperial forces against his former ally in August 1051, there is no evidence for Eustace's participation.⁷⁵ However, he and Henry III witnessed Godfrey the Bearded's foundation charter of Longliers priory in 1056 at Maestricht.⁷⁶

In addition to protecting Ida's dowry, Eustace's absence from the Flemish coalition was the result of the threat posed by Baldwin's new alliances to William II of Normandy and Earl Godwin of England.⁷⁷ Baldwin's alliance to the Norman duke and to Godwin's family in England represented a serious danger to Eustace's southern alliance system. After a long minority, William was re-establishing comital authority and the Flemish alliance significantly strengthened his position. He gained both prestige and the potential to reassert his power in Pays de Caux, a stronghold of his uncle Count William of Arques, who was a key member of Eustace's southern alliance. Renewed ducal power would threaten William of Arques' influence and the effectiveness of the English-Boulonnais-Picard alliance.⁷⁸

1738–1876): 9:582. Vanderkindere has argued that those who helped Baldwin in his campaigns versus Henry III were rewarded with lands in Brabant, for example the lord of Alost; (Vanderkindere 1902): 113.

⁷⁵ (Tanner 1992): 264; (Dupréel 1904): 149. In 1054, Godfrey the Bearded journeyed south and married Beatrice of Tuscany, who had substantial allodial holdings in Lorraine. Henry III immediately gathered an army and invaded southern Italy; Godfrey made a separate peace with Henry in 1055, although Baldwin continued his war until after Henry's death; (Andressohn 1947): 13.

⁷⁶ (Miraeus 1723–1748): 4:183–4. Miraeus dates the charter to 1055, but Laret-Kayser has argued that the original grant must be dated between October 1056 and February 1057, although the version Miraeus copied and which has survived is a forgery of c. 1150. (Laret-Kayser 1975): 112–3.

⁷⁷ See *Genealogy Comital Family of Flanders*.

⁷⁸ Sometime between 1029 and 1067, Ste Berthe, Blangy which was restored by Roger of St Pol, became a dependency of the Norman ducal abbey of Fécamp; (Miraeus 1723–1748): 2:1130–1. There is no dating clause in the act and the witnesses provide no aid in dating the charter. However, we do have a letter of Abbot John of Fécamp (1028–1078) nominating the head of Ste Berthe. The original letter survives (Fécamp, Musée de la bénédictine, no. 44) and is printed in (Martène 1968): 1:153–4 and (Migne 1878–1974): 147:474. For Blangy's dependency to Fécamp see (Martène 1968): 1:153 and (Potts 1997): 46. The date range stems from the reigns of Abbot John (1028–1078) and Count Roger (1024–1067). Although Martène and Durand date the restoration charter to 1031, Jean-François Nieu

William of Arques' father, Duke Richard II, had quietly worked at strengthening his authority in northern Normandy and with his northern neighbors. Richard's second marriage was to William's mother Papia of Envermeu, and his half sister married Gilbert, advocate of St Valery. Richard also made a grant to St Riquier which housed the bones of the Norman saint Vigor.⁷⁹ In addition, he and his son, as discussed earlier, cultivated a friendship with Gautier II and Drogo of Amiens and Vexin.

During the minority of Duke William (1035–47), this extension of ducal influence was checked. Count William of Arques allied himself to Enguerrand I of Ponthieu (d. early 1046) by marriage to his daughter. And Enguerrand himself married, for the third time, a daughter of Guerenfrid, a northern Norman lord. Although Enguerrand focused his energies primarily on furthering his power within Ponthieu, his ties into northern Normandy were sufficiently disturbing that Gilbert of Brionne, who had property near Eu as well as ducal ambitions, invaded in the early 1030s. Enguerrand repulsed Gilbert's attack, and in the process enhanced his prestige and his power in northern Ponthieu.⁸⁰ At his death (early 1046) Enguerrand's son Hugh

argues that the most likely date is c. 1050. He favors this date based on the disappearance of Roger's sons, who witnessed this charter, from the documents after 1051, and the fact that there is no copy of the *vita* of Ste Berthe at Fécamp by the mid-eleventh century; (Nieus 2001): 28–32. My thanks to J.-F. Nieus for sharing the results of his doctoral work on the early counts of St Pol. Roger's choice of Fécamp may have been prompted by reports of the abbey from Gilbert of Brionne's family and entourage who had taken refuge in the region after Gilbert's assassination in 1040; (Potter 1999): 175–181. Gilbert's wife may have been Flemish, and Herluin, later abbot of Bec, had been one of Gilbert's knights; (Searle 1988): 311, n. 15. Bec founded a prior at Canchy, on the river Canche near Blangy and St Josse-sur-Mer, between 1036 and 1076. Or it may have stemmed from the marriage between William of Normandy and Matilda of Flanders; Fécamp was a favored ducal monastery and the leader of monastic reform in Normandy; (Potts 1997): 27–35. As such, it would be a logical choice for William to foster this abbey's ties in the Artois as part of his program to reestablish his power in northern France. Prior to its abandonment in 891, Ste Berthe had ties to St Wandrille. St Wandrille's *Constitutio* indicates that the abbey held lands in the pagus of Boulogne and Ternois in the Merovingian period—Quentovic, Turbinghem (near Portel), in Roclincourt (4 km north of Arras), Rumaucourt (arr. Arras, cant. Marquion) and Bouvigny-Boeyffles (arr. Bethune); (Lot 1913): xix–xx. According to the *Miracula et translatio sanctae Berthae*, c. 2, the monk porters carrying the relics of SS. Ansbert and Wandrille stayed at the abbey for twenty years. Lot suggests an arrival date between December 875 and November 887; (Lot 1913): xl, n. 1. In 891, the nuns fled to Erstein in Alsace; (Heinemann 1887): 15:565.

⁷⁹ (MacDonald 1993): 356; (MacDonald 1971): 134–5; (Faroux 1961): no. 20.

⁸⁰ For Gilbert's attack see (MacDonald 1993): 358; (Douglas 1946): 140; OV

II (d. 20 November 1052) inherited the county. Nothing is known of Hugh's career; however, as the son of Countess Adelvie and brother of the countess of Arques, he remained tied to Eustace II and William of Arques. Eustace's step-son, Gautier III of Amiens-Vexin (1035–63) distanced himself from his father Drogo's friendship to the Norman dukes and pursued ties with his step-father, his uncle Edward the Confessor, and the counts of Maine.⁸¹ Communications between the counts of Amiens-Vexin and Ponthieu and King Edward were maintained through the visits of ecclesiastics. Abbot Gervin made frequent visits to Edward the Confessor's court, the first of which was made in February 1044.⁸² Hariulf reports that on one of these trips a gift was made to St Riquier by a powerful and honored noble Englishman called Radulfus, who may be Gautier III's brother.⁸³

In 1047, as Duke William came of age he was faced with a powerful kinship group in the north and his cousin Guy of Brionne's ambitions. Guy led an uprising that year.⁸⁴ William sought the king's aid and Henry obliged.⁸⁵ His decision to aid the young duke was part of his efforts to curtail Geoffrey of Anjou's power. At Val-ès-

2:12. At Enguerrand's request, Henry I took Noyelles, on the Boulogne-Amiens road from the lord of Noyelles in 1035. Henry held it until 1040 and then returned it to St Riquier; (MacDonald 1971): 114–5. In 1042, the king traveled through Ponthieu. Enguerrand approached him and received his promise that his son Fulk (a monk at St Riquier) would succeed as abbot. Henry received gifts in return. The plan failed since Fulk tried to force the old abbot out. An episcopal prohibition prevented Fulk from ever becoming abbot there. His father secured his appointment as abbot of Foretmontier; (MacDonald 1971): 117–8. Enguerrand I's youngest son Guy was an archdeacon at Amiens.

⁸¹ (Bates 1987): 41. Gautier was not overtly hostile to Duke William; he confirmed one of his father's grants (1054/5–1062) and restored important rights to archbishopric of Rouen in Vexin. Gautier clashed with Gilbert Crispin castellan of Tillieres sur Avre. Before 1052, Gautier sent a cleric to be a chaplain to his uncle Edward the Confessor; this chaplain later became the bishop of Laon. He married Biota, daughter Count Herbert Wakedog of Maine.

⁸² (Hariulf 1894): 240–45.

⁸³ (Hariulf 1894): 24–1; King William later confirms Radulf's gift of the ville of Esperlais; (Hariulf 1894): 244–5. In this charter William states that the gift was made by Count Radulf with the assent of his son Radulf. Gautier III's brother Ralf had one known son Harold, but I know of no reference to a son Ralf; (Williams 1989): 328.

⁸⁴ (Searle 1988): 201; (Bates 1982): 61, 73. Guy's coalition included Niel of Contentin, Ranulf of Bayeux and Hamo of Torigni-sur-Vire and Creully. It took William about three years to oust Guy from the castle of Brionne.

⁸⁵ WJ/GND, 2:120.

Dunes (southeast of Caen) William won the battle and began reconstructing ducal power in Normandy. Part of William's efforts were directed toward re-establishing his ties in Ponthieu. His sister Adelaide married Enguerrand II of Ponthieu (d. October 1053) and in late 1048 Abbot Gervin of St Riquier approached William to confirm Duke Richard's gift of the church of Scabelliville.⁸⁶ It is also during this period that Ste Berthe, Blangy, restored by Roger of St Pol circa 1031, became a dependency of the Norman ducal abbey of Fécamp.⁸⁷ The extension of ducal ties into Ponthieu in combination to William's engagement to Matilda of Flanders in 1049 further disquieted the members of the Arques-Picardy-England-Boulogne alliance.⁸⁸ But they took no immediate action.

Eustace's friend and ally King Edward was enjoying a period of increased power, particularly in relation to his father-in-law, Earl Godwin. Edward had benefitted from his support of Henry III and he had successfully promoted his own candidates to a series of sees in the re-shuffling and advancements which followed the deaths of the archbishops of Canterbury and York. He had favored Robert of Jumièges in these ecclesiastical matters, which increased Earl Godwin's dislike of the pro-Norman leanings of Edward's decisions.⁸⁹ In addition to the ecclesiastical appointments, Edward was considering a treaty of friendship with William of Normandy at the mid-Lenten council of 1051, whereas Godwin favored a Flemish alliance.⁹⁰ Edward's

⁸⁶ (MacDonald 1971): 139. In return for William's confirmation Gervin sent St Vigor's right arm to Cerisy abbey in the spring of 1049.

⁸⁷ For Blangy's restoration see (Miraeus 1723–1748): 2:1130–1 and n. 78.

⁸⁸ (Searle 1988): 212; WJ/GND, 2:128; WP/GG, 32.

⁸⁹ One example of Godwin's dislike of continental influence at court was his hostility to Eustace and his men in 1051. ASC, 117, [D] 'ready to do battle against the king unless Eustace were surrendered and his men handed over to them, as well as the Frenchmen who were in the castle.'

⁹⁰ (Tanner 1992): 265–8. For Godwin's Danish ties see (Barlow 1979): 108–109. Wilkinson and Barlow argue that Godwin felt his power had been undermined by the ecclesiastical appointments and his son Swegn's actions in 1050; (Wilkinson 1938): 368–387; (Barlow 1979): 104–114. Barlow argues that Godwin was advocating a purely Flemish alliance. Both R. Allen Brown, Miles Campbell, and Eric John have also argued that the crisis revolved around the question of an Anglo-Norman alliance and the decision of the witan to name William of Normandy as Edward's heir; (Brown 1969): 119–123; (Campbell 1976): 428–441; (John 1979): 241–67. Brown also interprets Eustace's visit as an embassy from William to accept the witan's offer; (Brown 1969): 122. This I think is highly unlikely given Eustace's ties to William of Arques and his support of William's rebellion in 1052. Barlow has argued that Eustace's visit was prompted by the concern for his grandson's

concerns were to enhance his own position in England vis à vis Earl Godwin and his sons, and an official friendship with the Norman count would build upon his ties to the counts of Picardy and Boulogne and act as a deterrent to Flemish support of his Danish rivals. Eustace and his southern allies, on the other hand, were not as sanguine about Edward's growing ties with William. Eustace traveled to England in late August or early September 1051 to discuss matters with Edward. Although the chronicles do not state what Eustace conferred with Edward about, it is likely that the issue of his heir was raised. Edward had several candidates to choose from—Svein Estrithson, William of Normandy, and his nephews Ralf and Gautier of Amiens-Vexin—and Eustace probably advocated the claims of his stepsons, Ralf and Gautier.

On his journey home, armed conflict broke out between Eustace's party and the citizens of Dover.⁹¹ Eustace returned to Edward's court at Gloucester and complained of his treatment. When Godwin refused to 'carry war into Kent', Eustace, Earl Ralf, and Osborn Pentecost urged the king to take action against Godwin. Both sides mobilized but Edward sought a peaceful solution through a trial of Godwin and his sons. Although Godwin and Swegn each gave a son as hostage, they refused to attend the council without a promise of safe-conduct and hostages of their own. The two parties and their armies met on the opposing banks at Southwark. Edward sent Stigand with

rights to the English throne. Barlow's argument postulates the existence of a daughter from the marriage of Goda and Eustace, and a subsequent son of this daughter. There is no evidence for the existence of this daughter.

⁹¹ The details and chronology of this incident are difficult to state with certainty, primarily because there are three different versions of the event: the *Vita Eadwardi* and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle versions D and E. ASC, 1:116–122; (Barlow 1962): 20–23. Version D is unsympathetic to Godwin and his family, and therefore depicts Eustace as the victim and Godwin as the unfaithful lord. Version E is quite sympathetic to Godwin, portraying him as a victim of evil foreign counsel, while casting Eustace and his men in the role of deliberate aggressors, who put on their armor even before they enter Dover. The *Vita* on the other hand does not mention the Dover incident at all, and reports the ousting of Godwin and his family as the result of a nefarious plot of Archbishop Robert of Jumièges. John of Worcester, in a later account, states that Eustace landed at Canterbury with a few ships but after this point his account follows closely Version D, although he is clearly sympathetic to Godwin and his family. (John 1995): 2:558–62, 566–72. William of Malmesbury's account states that after Eustace visited with Edward 'for some reason which I do not know' on his return to Dover, via Canterbury, Eustace's men attacked the citizens of Canterbury; WM/GR, 356–8.

his refusal of Godwin's conditions, stating 'that Godwin could have his peace and pardon if he could restore to him his brother Alfred and all his companions.'⁹² Godwin, his wife, and sons Swegn and Tostig fled to Flanders; Harold and Leofwine went to Ireland, and his daughter, Edward's wife, Queen Edith, was placed in a nunnery. Shortly after his arrival in Flanders, Godwin's son Tostig married Baldwin V's sister Judith. The marriage alliance secured Baldwin's aid for Godwin's armed return to England.

The events in England in 1051 illuminate not only the dynamics of power within England but also the impact of Edward's alliances in France. For Eustace, the trip to England and the Dover incident were part of his efforts to preserve the effectiveness of the southern alliance system against growing Flemish and Norman power. An Anglo-Flemish alliance, symbolized by Tostig's marriage to Judith of Flanders, in combination with William's marriage to Matilda of Flanders, threatened Eustace and his neighbors' independence.⁹³ The hostility between Godwin and Eustace grew not only from their very differing positions on who Edward should ally with on the continent, but also from a defense of family. As the king's reply to Godwin indicates, the rumors about the earl's complicity in the death of Edward's brother were current and contributed the distrust felt by both parties in September 1051. Ralf and Swegn were at odds because Edward had granted his nephew some, if not most, of Swegn's former earldom.⁹⁴ Ralf and his men, Osbern Pentecost and Hugh the castellan, were among the first to come to Gloucester after Edward

⁹² Earl Godwin had been accused in 1036 and again in 1040 of being responsible for Alfred's death, and the death of those in Alfred's largely Boulonnais entourage. Godwin had cleared himself of the charges both times, but the issue was again raised in 1051, according to the author of Edward's *Vita*. The author relates that Robert of Jumièges 'revived' the rumors of Earl Godwin's complicity in Alfred's blinding and death, and Wilkinson suggests that this could help explain Edward's hostility to Godwin and his desire to do battle immediately at Gloucester; (Wilkinson 1938): 382; (Barlow 1962): 20, 22; (Henry 1996): 385. William of Malmesbury also narrates Edward's belief that Godwin was responsible for Alfred's death; Godwin chokes to death after swearing that 'may God not permit me to swallow this mouthful, if I was ever aware of having done anything designed to endanger him or hurt you;' WM/GR, 354.

⁹³ The marriage would have not soothed Edward's suspicions since Flanders was the typical refuge of Edward's political rivals; (Grierson 1941): 95-104.

⁹⁴ (Barlow 1979): 114. For alternative view of what constituted Ralf's earldom see (Williams 1989): 329-339.

had heard Eustace's complaint—a reflection of both Ralf's territorial interests as well as his support of his kinsmen.⁹⁵ Although Eustace and his faction were initially successful, the Flemish count's aid and the earls' refusal to fight Godwin and his sons led to a complete reversal of fortune in 1052.⁹⁶ With the exception of Ralf, all those who had 'falsely' accused Godwin and his sons were outlawed.⁹⁷ The effects of the restoration of Godwin and his family were felt in Boulogne and Picardy as well as in England. Edward was tied more closely to Godwin's interests and therefore, his continental allies had fewer resources to combat William's growing power in the north of Normandy.

The strength of their sense of the danger—engendered by the Norman-Flemish alliance, Godwin's ties to Flanders, and the events in England in 1052—can be gauged by how swiftly Eustace and his allies acted to neutralize it. This time the theater of events was in northern Normandy. William of Arques decided to make a bid for independence in 1052. He deserted the ducal army at Domfront and retired to the Pays de Caux.⁹⁸ He was joined by his brother Archbishop Mauger of Rouen, his northern kinsmen and allies, and they then rebelled against his nephew, Duke William II.⁹⁹ Besieged in Arques, negotiations were begun with the French king, who agreed to fight

⁹⁵ (Williams 1989): 331; Ann Williams has suggested that there was no enmity between Ralf and Godwin's family since Ralf was not exiled with the other men who sided with Eustace in the 1051 conflict. While this interpretation is possible, it seems untenable in the light of Ralf's alliance with the enemies of Godwin and his sons during 1051 and his command of the army which opposed the return of Godwin and his family in 1052. Ralf's relationship with Edward could also explain why he was not exiled in 1052. Version E of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle states that Godwin and his sons justified the calling up of their armies because of the injuries done to them and the king's men by the foreigners in Herefordshire. ASC, 119, [E] 'The foreigners then had built a castle in Herefordshire in Earl Swegn's province, and had inflicted every possible injury and insult upon the king's men in those parts . . . [which is why Godwin and his sons had gathered their armies] intending to go to their royal lord and to all the councillors who were assembled with him, so that they should have the advice and support of the king and of all the councillors as to how they should avenge the insult to the king and to all the people.'

⁹⁶ (Brown 1969): 64; (Douglas 1967): 78. When Godwin and his sons returned in 1052, aided by Baldwin V and the Irish king, Ralf was one of the two commanders of the army and fleet raised against them.

⁹⁷ ASC, 122 ff.

⁹⁸ See (Bates 1982): Appendix A for a discussion of the dating of the campaign at Domfront. I concur with Bates' argument that the evidence favors a 1051–2 date rather than 1048–9.

⁹⁹ WP/GG 32–51; WJ/GND, 2:102–5, OV 3:254 for events 1051–54.

with them. Enguerrand II joined the conflict. He was killed in an ambush of the duke's forces at Arques on October 25, 1053.¹⁰⁰ King Henry's response was two-pronged. He led forces into the Evrecin and his brother Odo of Beauvais set out from the Beauvaisis. Enguerrand's brother Guy accompanied Odo's forces, eager to avenge his brother's death. Odo and his army, which included Raoul IV of Valois and probably his uncle Gautier III, met William's lieutenant, Robert of Eu, near Mortemer in February 1054.¹⁰¹ Odo was roundly defeated. Guy was captured in the course of the battle, and Raoul narrowly escaped the same fate with the help of Roger of Mortemer. None of the Norman chroniclers note Eustace's presence in the anti-William forces. However, Eustace's involvement is suggested by the warfare in Boulogne right after the battle of Mortemer and his provision of a permanent refuge for William of Arques in the autumn of 1053.¹⁰² Duke William may have tried to forestall Eustace's involvement with the marriage of his sister Adelaide (and Enguerrand's widow) to Lambert II of Lens, an ally of the duke's father-in-law.¹⁰³ At the news of the defeat, the French king withdrew from Normandy and by 1055 had come to terms with Duke William.

¹⁰⁰ WP/GG 40–1; WM/GR, 432; (MacDonald 1971): 143. Duke William was in the Contentin.

¹⁰¹ WJ/GND 2:142–4; WM/GR, 434; (Feuchère 1954): 12; (Bouquet 1738–1876): 11:46; (Bates 1987): 41. Bates argues that Henry's confirmation of family's bishopric of Amiens' goods in 1057 and Gautier III's wars with Gilbert Crispin suggest that Gautier was part of the anti-William coalition after 1052.

¹⁰² (Alberic 1738–1876): 11:356. 'Bellum fuisse apud Mare-mortuum in quibusdam Chronicis annotatur. Item Bononiae bellum, captio Gaufridi, mors Hildoini filii ejus. (It is noted in certain chronicles that there was a war at Mortemer, also a war in Boulogne, in which Geoffrey was captured, and his son Hilduin died.)' Rigaux has identified the Geoffrey as the Count of Sens and suggests that Geoffrey may have come to aid his ally the castellan of Montreuil, whom according to the romance, *Chevalier au Cygne* Eustace killed; (Rigaux 1891–99): 172. I do not know what role Geoffrey of Sens played at Mortemer; he may have been a member of the royal forces led by Odo of Beauvais. (Bouquet 1738–1876): 9:40, 'Willelmus quoque non long post inedia affectus cum suis invitatus castellum reddidit, et ipse a nativo solo in exilium discessit. Denique cum uxore sua, sorore scilicet Widonis Comitis Pontivi, Eustachium Bononiae Comitem expetiit; et in ejus familia victum et vestitum percipiens, usque ad mortem suam extorris remansit. (William returned after a brief absence and weakened/oppressed the unwilling castle and that man departed alone in exile from his native land. Then indeed with his wife, namely the sister of Guy count of Ponthieu sought out Eustace count of Boulogne, and remained in his familia, receiving food and clothing, until his death.)'

¹⁰³ (Searle 1988): Table 3. Adelaide, whose second husband died within a year of their marriage, then married Odo IV of Troyes. She and Lambert had a daughter Judith who married Earl Waltheof; WM/GR, 468.

The defeats of 1052–1054 made the southern alliance system less effective. The rebellious Norman lords were exiled, the count of Ponthieu swore homage to William (after two years of imprisonment), and within a few years Raoul IV of Valois had allied with the duke.¹⁰⁴ The Norman lands of the counts of Ponthieu were forfeited, and William's authority in northern Normandy was consolidated. Godwin and his family's influence at Edward's court and the death of Earl Ralf in 1057 meant the loss of the English alliance.¹⁰⁵

Duke William and Baldwin V continued to prosper in the late 1050s. At Henry III's death in 1056, Empress Agnes negotiated a peace with Baldwin which recognized his control over Zeeland, Quatre Métiers, Brabant, and Hainaut.¹⁰⁶ Baldwin rewarded his supporters with lands in Brabant, including his cousin the lord of Alost.¹⁰⁷ Troubled by William's growing power and chagrined by the events of 1052–1054, Henry undertook an attack against the Norman duke. In 1057, the king with the aid of the counts of Anjou and Blois fought to limit William's growing power. For the next three years, William checked the king's attacks, and Henry died in 1060 without achieving any success.¹⁰⁸ Duke William and Baldwin V both benefitted from the king's death. William, freed by Geoffrey's death (also in 1060) and the ensuing civil war in Anjou, continued to expand his authority in Maine (1062–4 campaign) and Brittany

¹⁰⁴ For the political fall-out of William's victory see (Douglas 1967): 64–70 and (Bates 1982): 77; (William 1952): 73 and (William 1914): 130. Guy swore homage, to remain forever faithful, and to supply 100 men for military service whenever William requested. MacDonald argues that Guy followed a policy of neutrality after his release since he was surrounded by pro-Norman neighbors in St Valery, Amiens, Boulogne, and Flanders; (MacDonald 1993): 361–2. As I argue below, neither the counts of Amiens or Boulogne were allies of Duke William in the period between 1056 to 1067. For Raoul's alliance with William see (Bates 1987): 43.

¹⁰⁵ Queen Edith had the guardianship of Earl Ralf's son in 1066. Harold and his family had continued the ties with the Flemish court: Harold's 1056 attestation of the Harnes charter; Tostig's refuge in St Omer in 1065 in the wake of the Northumbrian rebellion; (Barlow 1979): 235–9, 246; (Barlow 1962): 55.

¹⁰⁶ (Teulet 1863): 1:21–22.

¹⁰⁷ (Ganshof 1949): 136; Termonde castrum became the center of another castellany which was held by advocate of St Bavo, Gent; the seigneurie of Bornem held by castellans of Gent; and the lords of Pamele (between Marke and Ronne) held Audenarde castle. Vanderkindere states that the lords of Alost, formerly advocates of St Peter's Gent, were also rewarded; (Vanderkindere 1902): 113. Countess Ogive's sister Gisele had married Rodulf of Alost; their sons were Baldwin, Rodulf, and Gilbert. Gisele was still alive in 1058.

¹⁰⁸ (Bur 1971): 201; (Bates 1982): 81.

(beginning in 1064), without fear of King Henry's retaliation.¹⁰⁹ Count Baldwin profited by becoming the guardian and regent for his nephew, King Philip I.¹¹⁰

The eclipse of Eustace's southern and eastern allies and kinsmen, and his inheritance of Lens in 1054 at the death of his nephew, brought about a renewed interaction between the counts of Boulogne and Flanders. Eustace's territorial interests in Lens and Lorraine, through his wife Ida's dowry, made friendly relations with the Flemish count a prudent political move. Baldwin would have welcomed Boulonnais overtures for it would help him consolidate his authority in the Artois and Hainaut. Baldwin's favor may have been involved in the election of Eustace II's brother Godfrey to the bishopric of Paris in 1061, during Baldwin's guardianship of King Philip I. The entente can be seen in Eustace's attestation of the count's charter in favor of St Winnoc, Bergues (north of territory of Merck), and it continued under Baldwin VI (1067–70).¹¹¹ Eustace II appears in two of Baldwin V's acta of 1056, both of which concern the rights of advocates, one in Arques (near St Omer) and the other in Harnes. In the first act, Baldwin regulated the power of Gerbod, advocate of St Bertin and Eustace II attested this ruling in the company of Roger of St Pol and Ingelramn of Hesdin.¹¹² Eustace's attestation of this settlement probably reflects his family's longstanding ties to the abbey and its advocate, and possibly the extension of Boulonnais control over portions of Guines. The second act records the settlement of a judicial contest, which Eustace lost, over the seigneurial rights in Harnes between the abbot of St Peter's of Gent and Eustace.¹¹³ Eustace, who had inherited Harnes, Lens, and his mother's

¹⁰⁹ (Douglas 1967): 174–178. William had by Henry's death pushed back Capetian control from the Vexin, which allowed him to capitalize on the opportunities in Anjou.

¹¹⁰ (Ganshof 1949): 36, 39.

¹¹¹ (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:511–513.

¹¹² (Guerard 1841): 186–7.

¹¹³ (Teulet 1863): 1:21–22. Edmund Rigaux speculated that this charter suggests that Baldwin V challenged and won from Eustace I the rights to the castellany of Lens after 1036, and that Baldwin had added seigneurial rights to the castellany and sold both to the abbey of St Peter. Rigaux, 173. However, Lens had not passed into Flemish control after 1036, for Lambert inherited it from his father Eustace I in late 1046, his son in 1047 and Eustace II had inherited at his nephew's death in 1054. Lambert died fighting for Baldwin V at Lille in 1054. (Bouquet 1738–1876): 11:582.

dowry lands from his nephew in 1054, had to answer for the misdeeds of his castellan, John. John had used the conflict between Baldwin and Henry to usurp revenues and services from St Peter's Gent and to secure the castellany of Cambrai through a betrayal of Baldwin V. This disloyalty and a cash payment from the abbot of St Peter's encouraged Baldwin to hear the case.¹¹⁴ As the advocate of Harnes, Eustace was required to undergo judicial combat on behalf of his castellan, which he lost. As a result he had to give, or redonate, to St. Peter's certain rights of governance in Harnes. The adjudication is one of several which Baldwin used to reassert his authority over the monastic advocates within his county.¹¹⁵ While the restrictions of the settlement were significant, the decision did not strip Eustace of his power in Lens, and he was supported in these proceedings by his allies Roger of St Pol and Count Guy of Ponthieu, and his son. Eustace II's continued authority in Lens can be seen in his charter and that of Abbot Fulk of St Peter's, Gent, both issued in 1070.¹¹⁶ Eustace's authority in the region may have indirectly benefitted from Empress Agnes' formal promise to invest Godfrey the Bearded with the duchy of Lower Lorraine at the death of Duke Frederic.¹¹⁷ This promise probably safeguarded Countess Ida's dowry in Lorraine.

The extension of Norman influence into Picardy had significant impact of Duke William II's power and the future of Boulonnais-

¹¹⁴ (Balderic 1856²): 376–386. John had been denied the castellany of Cambrai by Baldwin and Bishop Gerard, and retaliated by allowing King Henry to enter Flanders in return for Henry's recognition of John's rights to the castellany of Cambrai. John had married the widow of Gautier II and claimed the castellanies of Cambrai and Lens, even after the death of his step-son Gautier III. Bishop Gerard had granted the castellany to Gautier II's young nephew Hugh, which was exercised by his uncle Anselm.

¹¹⁵ (de Moreau 1945): 2:227; Marchiennes (1038), St Peter's Gent (1056), St Bertin, (1056), and Eename (1064).

¹¹⁶ (Gysseling 1950): 213–214. Feuchère argued that although Eustace indirectly retained some of the profits of jurisdiction in the town via his castellan, Lens became more firmly incorporated into the Flemish count's sphere of influence. (Feuchère 1948): 465–7. See discussion below of Eustace's authority in Lens.

¹¹⁷ Frederic did not die until 1065 and Godfrey remained active in Italian affairs. Frederic was buried with his first wife Gerberga of Boulogne, which suggests a strong affection between the two; (Parisse 1981): 32. This in turn may have allowed Eustace and Ida to benefit from her property in Lorraine. Godfrey was appointed duke of Lower Lorraine in 1065 which he held until his death in 1069. Upper Lorraine would remain in the control of the house of Alsace. See (Aube 1985): 23–24.

Norman relations; however, Picardy and Boulogne did not become 'external zones' of Norman ducal authority. Nor did Baldwin's elevated position as the royal guardian bring about a corresponding imposition of Flemish authority in Boulogne or St Pol. The counts of Boulogne and Picardy still had the power to choose whether to support the Norman duke or to align themselves with his opponents, in part because the simultaneous growth in Norman and Flemish power tempered the influence of each in Picardy.

The persistence of the bond between Ponthieu and Boulogne, and the limitations imposed by Norman ducal power, can be seen in 1064, when Guy of Ponthieu seized Harold, Godwin's son, after his ship wrecked off the coast of Ponthieu. Harold, who was headed towards the Norman court on a diplomatic mission, was incarcerated in the castle of Beaurain, a stronghold of Eustace's ally, until William of Normandy pressured Guy of Ponthieu into releasing Harold.¹¹⁸ Nor did William's influence in Picardy prevent Gautier count of Amiens-Vexin from challenging the duke's campaign in Maine. William based his claim to Maine on his son Robert's betrothal to the former count's sister (who was still an infant). Eustace's step-son Gautier countered this claim with his own, based on his marriage to Biota, aunt of the previous count. Gautier and his wife were captured in 1063 and died in captivity shortly thereafter.¹¹⁹

Gautier's cousin Raoul IV inherited Amiens and Vexin in 1063. Raoul's territorial interests in Valois, Bar-sur-Aube, Vitry, and Montdidier had tied him more closely to the French king and counts of Dammartin, Soissons, and Rethel.¹²⁰ He was also friends with William of Normandy. These connections drew him into different kinship

¹¹⁸ WP/GG, 68–70. The *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*, probably written by Bishop Guy of Amiens, uncle of the count of Ponthieu, also reflects the continuing ties between the two houses; (Muntz 1972): 57.

¹¹⁹ WP/GG, 60; OV 2:118, 312. Walter was succeeded by his cousin Raoul IV, count of Amiens-Valois-Vexin. See (Bates 1987): 42–43 and (Feuchère 1954): 13.

¹²⁰ (Feuchère 1954): 12–13. He annexed Montdidier in 1054. He fought with Manasses de Rethel in Verdun c. 1065; and campaigned in Vitrey (c. 1069), and Peronne (bef. 1071); (Prou 1908): 229–30; (Bouquet 1738–1876): 11:251 & 11:361 and (Alberic 1870): 23:796; (Fliche 1912): 267–8; (Bouquet 1738–1876): 11:443, note c. Raoul's first marriage yielded the counties of Vitry and Bar-sur-Aube. He was profoundly unhappy when Baldwin V was chosen as Philip's guardian. Raoul married widowed Queen Anne of Kiev (despite papal excommunication). After a period of estrangement, he became one of Philip's most powerful curiales; he is cited thirty times in Philip's acta.

and alliance networks than his cousin, Gautier. As a result, Eustace's southern allies had diminished to the counts of Ponthieu and St Pol. In 1065 and 1066, Eustace's fortunes began to improve. His father-in-law regained the duchy of Lower Lorraine in 1065, which provided him with a powerful ally and kin to the east. Edward the Confessor's death in 1066 and William's decision to dispute Harold's succession to the English throne also provided Eustace with an opportunity to improve his fortunes. Eustace welcomed the opportunity to attack his enemy of 1051–1052, particularly in light of the recent acquisition of Harold's brother, Tostig, as his neighbor in St Omer. Baldwin V had placed his exiled brother-in-law, Tostig, as leader of the military garrison in St Omer. Eustace would also have been motivated by the acquisition of lands in England if William was successful. Eustace was joined by his kinsmen Hugh of Ponthieu, but not his friend and ally Roger of St Pol, who was quite old in 1065. Hugh's brother, Count Guy, chose not to fight with William despite his oath to William in 1056.¹²¹ Raoul IV of Amiens-Vexin's successor also chose not to participate, perhaps because his lack of coastal territory would have made it more difficult for him to benefit from grants of English land. While William benefitted from Eustace's decision to join his campaign, their alliance was a wary one.¹²² William required Eustace to leave his eldest son as a hostage in Rouen.¹²³

It is not known if Eustace contributed any ships to William's fleet, but the Boulonnais count's contribution to the conquest was significant.¹²⁴ The Norman chroniclers' bias for recording almost exclusively the feats of the Norman contingent makes it difficult to assess Eustace's specific actions. Although William of Poitiers portrays Eustace negatively in his account of the Battle of Hastings and William of Jumièges omits him entirely, the *Carmen de Hastingae proelio* and the Bayeux tapestry celebrate Eustace's deeds during the battle of Hastings.¹²⁵ As I have argued elsewhere, taking the various biases

¹²¹ For Hugh's participation see (Muntz 1972): Appendix II.

¹²² (Tanner 1992): 270.

¹²³ WP/GG, 182.

¹²⁴ Eustace is known to have ships so it is likely that he contributed to William's fleet; (Van Houts 1987): 16. Orderic Vitalis states that Eustace had fifty knights with him at Hastings; OV, 2:158.

¹²⁵ WP/GG 138; (Tanner 1992): 271–2. However in his list of the leaders at Hastings, which starts with Eustace, William designates them as men 'of military distinction and great renown, whose names deserve to be remembered in the annals

into account, Eustace's role at the battle and the early campaigning must have been substantial. Eustace figures among the addressees of William's writs concerning lands in Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Surrey which were issued in 1067.¹²⁶ These writs indicate that Eustace was among the leading men of these counties and part of William's administration of newly taken territory.

Despite his early prominence, there was a falling out between the two men in the autumn of 1067. Eustace led a rebellion with the support of the residents of Kent which sought to take Dover castle. The Kentishmen approached Eustace because 'they knew by experience of his prowess in war and fortune in battle. They thought that if they were not to serve one of their own countrymen, they would rather serve a neighbour whom they knew.'¹²⁷ The Norman chroniclers do not reveal the cause of the rift, but Eustace's decision to rebel probably stemmed from his frustration at William's distribution of lands.¹²⁸ With the exception of lands in Gloucestershire, Eustace does not appear to have been granted any of the lands held by his first wife Goda or her son Earl Ralf, which he may have felt he had a strong claim to.¹²⁹ In addition, his aid of the Kent rebellion

of history amongst the very greatest warriors.' WP/GG 132–4. For the dating, author, and authority of the *Carmen de Hastingae proelio* see: (Barlow 1967); (Muntz 1972): xv–lviii; (Davis 1978); (Engels 1979). For interpretations of Eustace's depiction in the Bayeux tapestry and his role in the conquest see: (Brown 1990) and (Bridgeford 1999).

¹²⁶ None of the contemporary sources indicate Eustace's presence at William's coronation of Christmas 1066. Eustace had definitely returned to the continent by Easter of 1067, for he was present at Bergues when Baldwin V issued a confirmation charter for St. Winnoc; (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:511–513. The first was directed to Bishops Herman and Wulstan, Earl Eustace, and other prominent local nobles in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire; RRAN1, no. 9. The second was addressed to Archbishop Stigand, Earl Eustace and all the king's thanes in Surrey; RRAN1, no. 45. For the dating of the rebellion, see (Douglas 1967): 212, n. 3.

¹²⁷ WP/GG, 182.

¹²⁸ William of Jumièges' account is very similar to William of Poitiers'; he emphasizes Eustace's wickedness and God's punishment of this in the horrible deaths of his men; WJ/GND, 2:176–78. David Douglas has suggested that the death of William's ally Baldwin V on 1 September 1067, influenced Eustace's decision to rebel; (Douglas 1967): 212. Barlow has argued that Eustace and Goda had a daughter, who, along with her heirs, would be in a position to inherit the English throne, and thus Eustace's rebellion was an effort to promote the interests of his grandson; (Barlow 1979): 307–8. I have argued elsewhere against this hypothesis. There is no evidence that Goda and Eustace had a child; Eustace did have a bastard son Geoffrey, see n. 131.

¹²⁹ (Tanner 1992): 273. Round has argued that it was 'doubtful' that Edward granted Eustace any lands in England and that on Goda's death her sons, and not

suggests he may have wanted lands in that county which would increase the profits of his ports of Wissant and Boulogne.¹³⁰ The rebellion was swiftly put down, and although Eustace escaped, his bastard son Geoffrey was caught.¹³¹ At William's Christmas court, Eustace's actions were condemned and his English lands forfeited.¹³² Troubles in England prevented any further retaliation on William's part.

The dominance of Normandy and Flanders was challenged between 1067 and 1085 on several fronts: the minority government of Arnulf III of Flanders and his uncle Robert's rebellion; King Philip's majority and expansion of his authority in Picardy; and Duke William's problems with English rebels, Brittany, Anjou, and Denmark. These events allowed Eustace and his allies in Ponthieu and St Pol to maneuver for more power. The death of Baldwin VI (1070) introduced a minority governance by Countess Richilde for her son, Arnulf III. Despite promises to his brother, Robert rose in rebellion against his nephew in 1071.¹³³ Robert's power was based in Frisia and was complemented by his marriage to the widowed Countess Gertrude of Holland. He won the support of the maritime towns

Eustace, would be the rightful heirs of her lands; (Round 1901): 147, 150. However, a gift of land in Surrey, formerly held by Countess Goda, made by Eustace to Rochester may indicate that Eustace continued to control some of Goda's lands after her death. The Rochester registers do not give enough information to establish a date or date range for this gift. See (Tanner 1992): 279, Appendix A. This appendix is based on the work of Marc Meyer who kindly provided me with this information. For a discussion of the significance of the landholding patterns for women in later Anglo-Saxon England, see (Meyer 1991). The majority of Goda's lands in 1086 were in the hands of the Count of Eu or his vassals, while the remainder were held by the king or Queen, their direct vassals, and or by various monasteries.

¹³⁰ (Tanner 1992): 274. Wissant was a principal port to England from the Continent, and Dover was one of the most common landing sites; (Grierson 1941): 80–81.

¹³¹ WP/GG, 184, '... nobilissimus autem tyro nepos ejus comprehensus est...' Orderic Vitalis also refers to Eustace's nepos; OV, 2:206. The identity of this *nepos* is probably Eustace's known bastard son Geoffrey. See RRAN1, no. 202 in which William confirms the gift of land in Beddington (Surrey) made by Geoffrey, son of Count Eustace, on behalf of his wife Beatrice, with the consent of his father-in-law Geoffrey de Mandeville, to St. Peter's and Abbot Vitalis. For discussion of Geoffrey's parentage see (Round 1896) and (Tanner 1992): 266, n. 26.

¹³² WP/GG, 184–5. 'Indeed if I were to spell out the matters that were in dispute in his quarrel I would easily convince you that it was just and right that he lost the king's favour and the fiefs he had received from the king. Nor was the sentence, pronounced with the consent of English and French, by which he was convicted of serious crimes, unjust.'

¹³³ (Herman 1996): 28–9.

and lords against Countess Richilde and Count Arnulf III (1070–1).¹³⁴ Robert's actions led to the resumption of the Norman-Boulonnais alliance. The impetus behind the rapprochement between Eustace and William was Robert's alliances with the Danes, who had a claim on the English throne, and with the Count of Holland, who was challenging the authority of Eustace's brother-in-law, the duke of Lower Lorraine.¹³⁵ Eustace's decision to support Countess Richilde was also based on the protection of his lands in Lens, Ostrevant, and Lorraine. Robert's success in winning the Flemish countship and his alliance with the French and Danish kings also strengthened the tie between Eustace and William.

The *Flandria generosa* reports that the coalition which fought against Robert included the men of Arras, Brabant, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Tournai, Nivelles, Mons (Hainaut), St Omer, Boulogne, Ardeneses (Ardenne or Ardres), St Pol, Béthune, Hesdin, Aubigny, Guines, Tourneham, Ostrevant, and Chocques.¹³⁶ The list reveals the importance of the ties to Lotharingia, Artois, and Ternois which both Richilde, dowager countess of Flanders and Hainaut, and Eustace of Boulogne had. Eustace called upon the lord of Ardres, the counts of St Pol and possibly Guines to join young Arnulf's party. He may also have won Guy of Ponthieu's support and that of Ingelramn of Hesdin.¹³⁷ None of these men (with the exception of his cousin Guy) were tied by kinship to Eustace, rather it was shared territorial interests in Ternois and Artois that persuaded them to fight for Arnulf. Eustace may also have been instrumental in winning King Philip's aid through his brother Godfrey, bishop of Paris. Arnulf III also

¹³⁴ For a discussion of the events of 1071–2 see (Verlinden 1935): 55–75. Robert's marriage to Florent I of Holland's widow occurred after his assassination in June 1061; (Verlinden 1935): 37. The *Flandria generosa* reports that Robert's party in 1070 included: Gent, Koekelare, Bergues, Furnes, Bruges, Ypres, Oudenburg, Ardenburg, Harlebeke, Bourbourg, Cassel, Courtrai, and ?Vyve (near Courtrai); (Bethman 1851): 9:322 and (Verlinden 1935): 55.

¹³⁵ See (Bates 1989): 78–83; (Douglas 1967): 218–228; and (Verlinden 1935): 77 for a discussion of William's defense of England from the Danes and Scots and Robert's aid to William's enemies. For Robert's relations with Godfrey the Hunchback, duke of Lower Lorraine see (Verlinden 1935): 96–7.

¹³⁶ (Verlinden 1935): 55.

¹³⁷ MacDonald suggests that Guy may have participated since Arnulf had the support of Philip and Duke William. In addition, his uncle Bishop Guy Amiens was in Philip's entourage; (MacDonald 1971): 171. Gautier count of Hesdin witnessed only on of Philip I's charters; (Prou 1908): no. 23 (issued in 1065) and none of Robert I of Flanders.

enjoyed the support of his uncle William the Conqueror, who had sent his trusted companion William fitz Osbern to Flanders.¹³⁸

Eustace was instrumental not only in gathering friends and allies to fight for the beleaguered young count but also in the fighting at St Omer. Eustace captured Robert and put him under custody of the castellan. His coup was undone by the citizens of St Omer who released Robert from his confinement. The turning point in the war was the battle of Cassel in February 1071. Although neither side was clearly victorious at Cassel, Arnulf III's death during the battle led to Robert's recognition as count of Flanders and Richilde's second son, Baldwin, as count of Hainaut. Countess Richilde tried to fight this resolution. In the spring of 1071, she went to Emperor Henry IV for aid against Robert, who heard her appeal in the presence of Eustace's brother-in-law, Godfrey the Hunchback, Albert II of Namur, Henry II of Louvain, Arnulf I of Chiny, and Conon of Montaigu.¹³⁹ Henry gathered troops but was too late to change the outcome. King Philip, through his negotiator Bishop Godfrey of Paris, recognized Robert as the legitimate count of Flanders in return for the restoration of dowager Countess Adela's dowry rights in Corbie. Philip granted the forest of Eperlecques to Eustace in reward for his service in 1071 and in an effort to placate him for the abandonment of young Baldwin's cause.¹⁴⁰ Although he refrained from out-

¹³⁸ (Verlinden 1935): 62. The chroniclers diverge widely on William fitz Osbern's motives for fighting. William of Jumièges states that he went of his own accord; WJ/GND, 2:144. Robert of Torigny explains that he went at Countess Matilda's request, whereas William of Malmesbury affirms that he was motivated by violent love of Richilde; RT/GND, 2:224; WM/GR, 474. Although William of Jumièges is a contemporary to the events, Robert of Torigny's explanation seems the most logical. Arnulf III and Baldwin were Matilda's nephews and it seems unlikely that William fitz Osbern, one of William's most trusted advisors, would leave the duke's side without his approval.

¹³⁹ (Verlinden 1935): 80–1. To finance the campaign Richilde sold two allods and enfeoffed Hainaut and Valenciennes to Bishop Theoduin of Liège; on 11 May 1017, Henry IV confirmed the sale; (Gawlik 1947): 6:305–6, no. 242; (Gislebert 1874): 18. With the aid of the Lotharingian duke and counts, Baldwin and Richilde attacked Robert and lost at the battle of Brokeraye, which led to a peace between the two parties. Robert asked for the castle at Douai as a guarantee and promised to pay a large sum of money for it if peace broke down between them. Baldwin promised to marry Robert's niece; (Gislebert 1874): 24, 56. Relations broke down and Robert got Douai and Baldwin married Ida of Louvain.

¹⁴⁰ Verlinden has suggested that Eustace abandoned Richilde's cause soon after Robert's release from St Omer and that he negotiated the settlement between Robert and Philip. His evidence for Eustace's defection is Philip's grant of the forest of

right warfare, Eustace continued to harry Robert.¹⁴¹ The news of Philip's peace with Robert led Emperor Henry IV to abandon Richilde's cause and accept Robert's homage for his German lands. The ties between Robert and Philip deepened as each sought to limit William of Normandy's growing power; in 1072, Philip married Robert's step-daughter, Bertha.¹⁴²

Although Robert's position as count had been recognized by the French and German kings, he still faced opposition from several sources. The loss of the Ostrevant to Baldwin II of Hainaut weakened Robert's power in the Artois. Anselm de Ribemont, lord of Bouchain continued to support Richilde and Baldwin after the loss at Cassel. And the castellan of Douai may have had a dual allegiance to both Robert and Baldwin. Robert only gained the full loyalty of the Douai castellan by mid-1080s and the lord of Bouchain's not until 1095.¹⁴³ Eustace's opposition meant that Lens, which included Henin-Liétard and Léluse (outside Douai), was another pocket of resistance to Robert's authority in Artois. Robert's weakness in the Artois and the continuing ties among his southern enemies can be seen in a 1075 witness list of Philip's charter for St Peter's, Aire which include: Godfrey bishop of Paris and now chancellor to the king, Eustace II, Guy of Ponthieu and his brother Hugh, Enguerrand [? of Lilliers], Lord Arnulf, Baldwin of Gent, and Robert of Bethune.¹⁴⁴ Richilde and Baldwin II of Hainaut also continued to press their authority westward. Both collaborated with Bishop Gerard II of Cambrai in his monastic reforms, which included three abbeys near the Flemish border with Hainaut: Crespin, St Ghislain, and Mons.¹⁴⁵

Robert also faced the hostility of Eustace's brother-in-law Duke Godfrey the Hunchback and the bishops of Cambrai, Thérouanne, and Utrecht.¹⁴⁶ The bishops refused to recognize Robert as count

Eperlecques However, the *Flandria Generosa* indicates that Bishop Godfrey, while at Eperlecques, represented Philip in these talks and states specifically that Eperlecques was given to placate Eustace. (Bethman 1846): 7:538; (Verlinden 1935): 68–71; (Bethman 1851): 9:323.

¹⁴¹ (Martène 1968): 3:583.

¹⁴² (Hallam 1980): 75–8. Although Eustace pursued a pro-Norman policy after c. 1072a, he appears to have remained friendly toward Philip I; in 1075 he witnessed a charter of Philip in favor of St. Peter's of Aire. (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:70.

¹⁴³ (Delacambre 1927): 257–264.

¹⁴⁴ (Prou 1908): no. 72.

¹⁴⁵ (Helvétius 1994): 304; (Miraeus 1723–1748): 2:1135.

¹⁴⁶ For Richilde's activities against Robert, see (Verlinden 1935): 80–81.

and Eustace continued to unite his interests with Duke William's.¹⁴⁷ The continuing support for Baldwin II of Hainaut by the comital family of Boulogne can be seen in the attestation by Eustace's second son, Godfrey of Bouillon, of a 1071 charter of Baldwin II of Hainaut and his mother.¹⁴⁸ Godfrey the Hunchback and Bishop William of Utrecht attacked Robert's ally Thierry of Holland in 1071, 1074 and 1076.¹⁴⁹ In response, Robert married his daughter Adele to Knut IV of Denmark in 1075. In 1076, Robert attacked the Bishop of Cambrai and conspired with Thierry to ambush Duke Godfrey, who died of his wounds.¹⁵⁰ Robert's attacks on Duke Godfrey and the Cambrésis strengthened the Boulonnais-Hennuyer alliance. Duke Godfrey designated as his heir Eustace's second son, Godfrey. However, young Godfrey did not receive the ducal title, but only his maternal kin's patrimony: the march of Anvers, the county of Verdun, and the allodial holdings of Bouillon, Mosay, Stenay, Tellin and Bellou.¹⁵¹ Godfrey of Boulogne continued to support Baldwin II of Hainaut against the Flemish count; however, his aid was minimal because his uncle's widow, Matilda of Tuscany, and Albert III of Namur contested his succession. Eustace's youngest son, Baldwin, was placed in the cathedral chapter of Liège, following in the footsteps of his mother's family. Countess Ida's uncle Frederic, later Pope Stephen X, had been a member of the Liège chapter, as had several other male relatives.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ Although Barlow has suggested a date of c. 1074 for the reconciliation between Eustace II and William the Conqueror, I would argue that the rapprochement occurred in 1071 or 1072 during the initial struggle against Robert I of Flanders. (Barlow 1961): 308. The continued Boulonnais hostility towards Robert I supports the hypothesis of an early reconciliation between the counts of Boulogne and Normandy. The two counts were definitely on good terms by 1077. William of Poitiers, in describing the 1067 incident, concludes with, 'But we feel we must spare this in so many ways illustrious count, who is now reconciled with the king and is honored by being in his immediate circle.' WP/GG, 184; William had finished writing this work by 1077.

¹⁴⁸ (Reiffenberg 1844–59): 1:311–12.

¹⁴⁹ (Verlinden 1935): 96–7.

¹⁵⁰ Godfrey died at Bishop of Utrecht's house; Bishop William died shortly afterwards and his successor Conrad was unable to win against Thierry and Robert; (Verlinden 1935): 101–2, 107; (Lambert 1738–1876): 11:67.

¹⁵¹ See also (Andressohn 1947): 18; (Aube 1985): 89; (Dorchy 1948): 961–973 and (Andressohn 1947): 30–41 for discussion of Godfrey's struggles to hold onto his inheritance and earn the duchy of Lorraine from the Emperor.

¹⁵² (Kupper 1981): 213. Wenkenne states that Baldwin of Boulogne had his name inscribed at the chapters of Reims, Cambrai and Liège; (Wenkenne 1987): 166.

Eustace and his allies in the south were also working to undermine Count Robert's authority in the Ternois. In 1078, Pope Gregory VII ordered Eustace, Count Guy of Ponthieu, his brother Hugh (now count of St Pol), and the canons of St Pol to restore the ville of Quesque to the canons of St Omer.¹⁵³ The order was apparently not very effective for in a letter to Bishop Hubert of Thérouanne (26 March 1080), Gregory VII berates Hubert for, among other things, not obeying his orders regarding the canons of St Pol and the land of Quesques.¹⁵⁴ Bishop Hubert seems to have been a partisan of Eustace II, and at his death, Robert intruded his own candidate into the bishopric.¹⁵⁵ The chapter responded by seeking the aid of the Boulonnais count. The ensuing and sometimes violent struggle lasted for approximately three years. In 1082, the canons moved the relics of St Maxima to Boulogne out of fear of Robert.¹⁵⁶ The conflict generated several papal letters and condemnations and was only resolved with the appointment of Gerard (an outside candidate) to the bishopric in 1084.¹⁵⁷

Eustace also seems to have been pressing northwards towards Guines and the region just north of it which was being reclaimed from the sea—Merck and Calais. The witness list of Abbot Fulk's 1070 charter shows that Eustace had brought the castellan of Ardres, who was also the provost of St Bertin and a noble of Guines, into his court.¹⁵⁸ Eustace gained Arnulf's adherence through grants of a

¹⁵³ (Miraeus 1723–1748): 4:5–6. Feuchere argues that Roger (d. 1067) was succeeded by his son Hugh I (d. c. 1070), who in turn was succeeded by his son Guy I (c. 1070–post 1078) and his brother Hugh II (post 1078–c. 1118). There is no evidence that Roger had a son Hugh; his known sons are Manasses and Robert. I prefer Haignere's interpretation that Guy and Hugh who are referred to in Gregory's letter are Guy of Ponthieu and his brother Hugh. Haignere's interpretation is based on a 1091 charter of Abbot Jean of St Bertin; the witnesses include 'Wido comes Pontivensis, frater ejus Hugo comes de Sancto Paulo,' (Haigneré 1886): no. 87.

¹⁵⁴ (Bled 1904–1907): 1:84.

¹⁵⁵ (Bled 1904–1907): 1:74–92; the bishops of Thérouanne seem to come in conflict with the counts of Flanders when the counts of Boulogne are at odds with them. See career of Drogo under Baldwin IV and the intrusion of Lambert by Robert. For Hubert's support of Eustace see (Bled 1904–1907): 1:84.

¹⁵⁶ (Bled 1904–1907): 1:87.

¹⁵⁷ (Bled 1904–1907): 1:85–90.

¹⁵⁸ For Arnulf's position as steward see the charter attestation list, and (Dhondt 1944): 81. See also Appendix 3 for Arnulf's landholdings in England. Lambert d'Ardres states that Eustace helped arrange the advantageous marriage of the widowed Countess Clemence of St Pol to Arnulf, but there is no other evidence for

stewardship in his court and lands in England. Arnulf witnessed two charters with Eustace in 1065 and in 1080.¹⁵⁹ An analysis of the distribution of Eustace's lands in England reveals the presence of some lords in Guines among his tenants-in-chief.¹⁶⁰ Of those awarded with more than three grants, three can be identified as originating from either Guines or the reclaimed territory of Merck: Adelulf of Merck, his brother Ralph of Merck, and Arnulf, lord of Ardres and Eustace's seneschal.¹⁶¹ Eustace's relationship to Manasses I of Guines is unknown, as is most everything about Guines prior to 1065. The name Manasses suggests a connection to the comital family of St Pol, for Count Roger had two known sons—Manasses and Robert. The subscription list of the 1056 Harnes case includes Count Roger and 'fili ejus' and eight signatures later 'Manasses comitis'. Roger's sons, Robert and Manasses, do not appear again in the surviving acta concerning St Pol or following their father's attestations. Manasses of Guines' successor, Baldwin, had four sons—Manasses-Robert, Hugh, Fulk, and Guy. While inconclusive, if the count of Guines in 1056 was the Count of St Pol's son, then the extension of Eustace's authority into Merck might not have been resented. Count Baldwin of Guines (1065–c. 1090) was a friend and ally of Eustace II. Baldwin witnessed Philip's confirmation of Hasnon abbey's foundation in 1065 with Eustace II, Gautier count of Hesdin, Arnulf d'Ardres, and

this and Lambert is not reliable prior to the events in the twelfth century; (Lambert 1876): 24:613.

¹⁵⁹ (Miraeus 1723–1748): 305; (Vercauteren 1938): no. 5.

¹⁶⁰ See Appendix 3. Eustace rewarded with several grants Roger of Sombres and Rumold of Doudeville, two lords in Boulogne, and the heirs of his allies of 1051, Earl Ralf and Osbern Pentecost—Alvred of Merleberg (Marlborough), nephew of Osbern Pentecost, whose successor was Earl Ralf's son Harold. Alvred of Merleberg (Marlborough) held four Somerset manors from Eustace. Alvred was the lord of Ewias Harold, a castle on the Welsh border. The successor to his holdings were Harold of Ewias, son of Earl Ralf, who was a knight of Eustace's son Eustace III. (Round 1901): 156. I have not been able to identify the origins of the other grantees. My analysis is based primarily on (Round 1901): 156–158. See also (Duchesne 1631): 80–81 for a discussion of Arnulf of Ardres. David Douglas has identified several lesser Domesday landowners from the Boulonnais and Artois: Gumfrid and Sigar of Choques (Hainaut) held lands in Northamptonshire, the family of Canchy which later supplied the earls of Winchester, Arnulf of Hesdin who as a tenant in chief in several shires, and Gilbert of Gent, son of Count Alost; (Douglas 1967): 266–7. Eustace may have promoted all of these men, but there is no extant evidence of this.

¹⁶¹ Of the 140 land grants recorded in Domesday Book, fifty-two grants were held in demesne, thirty grants were held individually, and fifty-eight grants were divided between thirteen men who held more than three grants from him.

Gautier of Lens.¹⁶² He also fought with Eustace for Arnulf III in 1071.¹⁶³ Like Eustace II, Baldwin did not attend the Flemish court; he never witnessed any of Robert I's charters.¹⁶⁴ His charter founding Andres abbey (1084) was witnessed by Countess Ida and her brother-in-law, Bishop Godfrey of Paris.¹⁶⁵ Friendly relations were sealed with the marriage between Baldwin's daughter Adelaide and Geoffrey of Semur which was arranged by Bishop Godfrey of Paris, who is characterized as her *cognata et consanguinus*.¹⁶⁶

In addition to the struggles for power in the north spawned by Robert's seizure of Flanders, the distribution of power in Picardy also shifted with Count Simon of Valois and Amiens' retirement to a monastery in 1077. One beneficiary was Guy of Ponthieu's brother, Hugh I of St Pol (c. 1078–c. 1118).¹⁶⁷ Hugh extended his authority into the region between Arras and Amiens through grants of lands to Ham abbey and the foundation of Lucheux which is located on the southern border of Artois.¹⁶⁸ Hugh's expansion, which Eustace II may have supported, brought him into conflict with Robert, who was struggling to maintain his power in Artois.¹⁶⁹ The other beneficiary was King Philip. Simon had been educated at the Norman ducal court and his ties to William had concerned Philip, whose strategy was to limit the duke's power wherever possible.¹⁷⁰ Simon was on

¹⁶² He also witnessed a charter of Drogo bishop of Théroutanne in 1065.

¹⁶³ (Bethman 1851): 9:322.

¹⁶⁴ The counts appear rarely in the subscription lists of Flemish comital charters: Manasses I count Guines attests Baldwin V's 1056 charter regarding Harnes; (Teulet 1863): 1:20–22; a suit between Manasses II of Guines and the Abbot of St Bertin was heard in Robert I's court in 1091, and Manasses acted as guarantor for Robert I in 1093; (Haigneré 1886): no. 87 and (Vercauteren 1938): no. 13.

¹⁶⁵ (Barre 1723): 2:783.

¹⁶⁶ (Lambert 1876): 24:574. Baldwin's wife, Adela-Christina, was the daughter of Florent, a knight of Lorraine.

¹⁶⁷ (Feuchère 1957): 45. Hugh married Elisende. Feuchère believes that she was the daughter of Hugh II of Ponthieu who was Eustace I's half brother; however, this ignores the evidence of (Haigneré 1886): no. 87.

¹⁶⁸ (Miraeus 1723–1748): 4:352; (Feuchère 1953): 132. The priories of Ligny-sur-Canche and Rebreuve also appear in eleventh century; (Feuchère 1953): 146. Ham was founded by Enguerrand of Lillers, who went to St James Compostella with Baldwin count of Guines in 1079; (Verhulst 1963).

¹⁶⁹ See (Fossier 1968): 2:483, and (Feuchère 1953): 131–135; (Nieuw 2001): 35–39 for the career of Hugh II Candavene, Count of St Pol.

¹⁷⁰ (Bates 1987): 43. Raoul's elder son Walter count of Bar-sur-Aube died c. 1066. Simon was his younger son. William had enjoyed good relations with Raoul IV; between 1063 and 1067 the duke gave him a life lease on Gisors, which is on the

pilgrimage at his father's death (1074), which eased Philip's confiscation of the Vexin. However, he allowed Simon to inherit the remainder of his father's lands. Philip's decision to directly hold the Vexin was part of strategy to extend his authority in Picardy. His family had longstanding ties with the counts of Ponthieu, and he held Montreuil. Philip had also reacquired royal rights in Corbie, which had been part of his aunt Countess Adela's dowry. The return of these rights had been the *quid pro quo* for his support of both Arnulf III and Robert of Flanders.¹⁷¹ The bishopric of Amiens came under his control in 1075. In the previous year, Philip courted Eustace's support with the appointment of his brother Bishop Godfrey of Paris as his chancellor. That same year he placed Edgar aethling, a rival candidate for the English throne and brother-in-law of the Scottish king, in Montreuil in order to harass King William. The English king, eager to secure his northern borders, responded by entering into negotiations with Guy of Ponthieu over the marriage of his daughter and heir, Agnes, and secured her hand for Robert of Bellême. He also came to terms with Edgar in 1074/5.¹⁷² William's victories were counter-balanced by Simon's retirement and troubles with his eldest son Robert Curthose. Philip gave Robert Curthose the castle of Gerberoi in the Beauvaisis in 1077 as a base of operations against his father. Robert Curthose defeated his father there in February 1078, but Countess Matilda reconciled the two.¹⁷³ Father and son fell out again in July 1083, and Philip gave aid to the exiled Robert Curthose. At his father's death (9 September 1087), Robert was staying with Guy of Ponthieu. Eustace II played no role in Philip's maneuverings against the Norman duke, nor did his sons aid Robert

border of the Vexin and Normandy. Simon died 30 September 1080; he was survived by his sisters, Alix wife of Thibaud III of Champagne and then Herbert IV of Vermandois, and Eleanor wife of Hugh Bardoul lord of Broys-Pithiviers; (Feuchère 1953): 37.

¹⁷¹ (MacDonald 1971): 178. In 1075, Philip intervened in a conflict between Corbie and Enguerrand of Boves, castellan of Corbie. Philip confirmed the abbey's immunities and granted it the castle. Enguerrand kept his title and the revenues of the castle. Philip granted the site of the original castle of Abbeville to new the Cluniac priory of St Peter & Paul, Abbeville which had been founded by Count Guy, as gesture of goodwill.

¹⁷² (Henry 1996): 398.

¹⁷³ William, his son, and Count Guy were present at dedication of Holy Trinity, Rouen (Easter 1080); (Round 1899): 1:22.

Curthose during the rebellions of 1077–1078 and 1083–1087. The date of his death is unknown; it probably occurred between the summer of 1088 and 1093.¹⁷⁴

Kin-based Action Groups

Eustace I and II's reliance upon kin-based action groups as the primary means of political action was in response both to the weakness of royal power from the later part of Robert the Pious' reign and Flemish experimentations in administration, particularly under Baldwin V. As Elizabeth Hallam and others have argued, the early Capetian kings governed in the manner of territorial princes.¹⁷⁵ Despite the concept of sacral kinship and the support of the episcopacy, the king's power was centered in the Île de France. Although the dukes of Normandy and Flanders and the counts of Francia joined the king upon an occasional campaign—for example Richard's support in 1007 or Gautier II's in 1015—they did not routinely fight with the royal host or attend regular assemblies. Royal acta were no longer validated by subscription of the royal chancery and king, but rather listed witnesses in the manner of private charters.¹⁷⁶ Witnesses of these charters were drawn primarily from the episcopate and the lesser nobility.¹⁷⁷ Among the northern bishops, Bishop Baldwin of Théroutanne witnessed three of Robert's charters between 1008 and 1018, and Fulk of Amiens witnessed four charters over the course of Robert's reign. However, the bishop of Noyon-Tournai and Arras do not appear in the subscriptions. Bishop Baldwin's attestations indirectly corroborate the ties between the king and the counts of Boulogne and Ternois. Bishop Baldwin did not attest after the Flemish count gained control of northern Ternois, which mirrors the absence of the Flemish bishops as witnesses of royal acta. The counts of Francia witnessed infrequently, with the exception of Odo of Blois, and the

¹⁷⁴ There is no evidence which allows us to determine when Eustace II died, although it is typically given as c. 1093. Orderic Vitalis states that Eustace II was defended by the king's advisors when William II was rendering judgment on the men who had joined Robert Curthose in rebelling against him; OV, 4:128, 132.

¹⁷⁵ (Hallam 1980): 149, 152–3; (Lemarignier 1965): 25–7, 59.

¹⁷⁶ (Lemarignier 1965): 530.

¹⁷⁷ (Lemarignier 1965): Tableau d'ensemble des catégories sociales de souscripteurs.

magnates' signatures were rare. Neither the counts of Boulogne, St Pol, nor Ponthieu are among the royal attestors. Gautier II of Amiens-Vexin, his son and successor Dreux, and Baldwin IV of Flanders witness only one royal charter each. Robert journeyed to the region on four occasions after 995 either to combat the Flemish count's expansion (1006–7 and 1019) or to intervene in affairs in Cambrai (1012 and 1023). Robert made one (undated) grant in Montreuil to St Saulve, and confirmed two gifts in Ponthieu: one of Count Enguerand to St Riquier (probably in 1023; 1017–27) and the other of Count Bouchard to St Valéry (998–9).¹⁷⁸

Since royal governance was effectively restricted to Capetian demesne lands and intermittent aid and intervention in Francia, the Boulonnais and Picard counts had to develop alternative methods of protecting themselves from Flemish expansion. Their solution was to mobilize kin-based action groups which appealed to notions of familial obligation as well as defense of their territory and honor. Although the careers of Baldwin I of Boulogne and his brother Arnulf II of Ternois are shrouded in obscurity, what evidence there is reveals that the brothers worked together to preserve their counties against Baldwin IV's eastward expansion. The castles of St Pol and Lens were erected in the late tenth century and both men fought against Baldwin IV in 1019. The Boulonnais count appears to have married into the West Frisian comital family, and his son, Eustace I, married Matilda of Louvain; both these families were at odds with Baldwin IV. While Thierry of West Frisia was occupied fighting in his own lands in 1019 (and he may have been aided by his nephew Eustace in this conflict), Regnier V, brother of Matilda, had joined the German king's forces which attacked Flanders in 1020. Eustace I and his nephew Otto-Henry worked together to restore order in Cambrai in 1023. Eustace II and his brother Lambert joined their cousin the count of Louvain in Godfrey the Bearded's attempt to govern in Lower Lorraine. Godfrey himself called upon his cousins the counts of Louvain, Namur, and Hainaut. Baldwin V, Eustace's friend and Herman of Hainaut's ally, joined the coalition. Eustace and Godfrey made this alliance permanent with Eustace's marriage

¹⁷⁸ (Pfister 1885): lxiii, lxv–vi, lxxvii. Bouchard's charter, (MacDonald 1971): Appendix I, no. III; for Enguerand's charter, (Brunel 1930): no. I. Bouchard's charter was witnessed by Archbishop Arnulf, five bishops including Bishop Fulk of Amiens, and Counts Guy, Walter, Hugh, plus twenty-nine other witnesses.

to Godfrey's daughter Ida. When Godfrey and Eustace made peace with Henry III, Baldwin continued fighting with his son, his cousin Rodulf of Alost, Herman of Hainaut and his new ally Lambert of Lens. Lambert's territorial concerns led him to aid Baldwin V against the German king (1050–1056), while Eustace and his new father-in-law Godfrey the Bearded remained neutral. Eustace was protecting his wife's dowry lands; Godfrey's son was a hostage of Henry III. From 1071 to 1076, Eustace II (count of Lens since 1054) and his brother-in-law Godfrey duke of Lower Lorraine harried Robert of Flanders and supported Baldwin of Hainaut and his mother Countess Richilde.

The marriage of Eustace I's widow Adelvie to Enguerrand of Ponthieu was the beginning of a network of alliances within Picardy and into northern Normandy which the counts used to preserve their independence against Norman aggression. The establishment of the Capetian dynasty in 987 and the fragmentation of the Vermandois territories transformed the political dynamics within northern France. The friendly relations established between the count of Amiens-Valois-Vexin and Hugh Capet, duke of Francia and count of Ponthieu, continued after Hugh's elevation to the throne. The bonds between Ponthieu and Amiens were further strengthened by the aggressive expansion of the counts of Blois-Chartres, which also fostered the formation of ties with the Norman ducal house.¹⁷⁹ The creation of the Boulonnais-Picard-Norman alliance system is illuminated by the intermarriage among these comital families.¹⁸⁰ Eustace I had two ties to the Norman ducal house: the marriage of his son, Eustace II, to Richard II's niece Goda (c. 1035/6) and the marriage of his half-sister Adelaide of Ponthieu to Richard's son Count William of Arques, whose maternal kin were prominent lords in northern Normandy.¹⁸¹ Eustace II's marriage to Goda fostered an alliance with the sons of her first marriage—Gautier III count of Amiens-Vexin (1035–63) and Ralf earl of Hereford (d. 1057)—and with her brother, Edward the Confessor, king of England (1042–1066). Eustace I's alliance with the counts of Ponthieu also reinforced his ties into northern Normandy. Enguerrand I of Ponthieu had married his son Enguerrand II to

¹⁷⁹ (Bates 1982): 63.

¹⁸⁰ See Genealogies of Boulogne, Ponthieu, and Amiens.

¹⁸¹ (Searle 1988): 139. Goda or Godgifu was the daughter of Emma and Ethelred, king of England.

Duke Robert of Normandy's daughter and his daughter Adelaide to Count William of Arques. He himself married the daughter of a Norman border lord with lands in Amiens, after the death of his second wife Countess Adelvie.¹⁸² Dreux/Drogo (1024–35) count of Amiens and Vexin continued his father's ties with the Norman dukes. He was the first husband of Duke Richard's niece Goda, and there is a tradition that Richard granted him property in Normandy. Dreux and Duke Robert were close friends. Dreux made a couple of grants to Norman ducal abbeys and the two went on pilgrimage in 1035 where they both died.¹⁸³ Dreux's brother, Fulk bishop of Amiens, was also a patron of St Wandrille; he restored Waincourt and Dargnies to the abbey.

The southern kin and allies worked together on many occasions, primarily to defend their authority within their counties against Norman ducal expansion. Eustace aided his wife Goda's brother by providing Alfred men to claim the throne of England in 1036. In England in 1051, Eustace defended his interests against Earl Godwin and his sons by calling upon his step-son Ralf and former brother-in-law King Edward. In northern Normandy between 1052 and 1054, William of Arques called upon his brother, brothers-in-law Enguerrand and Guy of Ponthieu, and local allies to win ducal power in Normandy. Enguerrand in turn called upon his cousin Eustace, who sheltered the exiled count of Arques. Eustace's step-son Gautier III of Amiens-Vexin also joined the coalition, as did his cousin Raoul IV. At the battle of Hastings, Eustace fought with his cousin Hugh of Ponthieu and in his 1067 rebellion he was joined by his illegitimate son

¹⁸² (Bates 1982): 72. Enguerrand married the daughter of Guerenfrid, whose lands were on both sides of the border in the vicinity of Aumale. (Searle 1988): Tables 1 and 3 for the marriages of Enguerrand II and his sister Adelaide. See OV 2:12, 24; and (Faroux 1961): nos. 80 and 85 for the growth of Enguerrand's interest in Normandy. Enguerrand's growing influence in the area alarmed Gilbert of Brionne, Count of Eu but elicited no response from Duke Richard II, who was on friendly terms with both the counts on his northern border: Enguerrand of Ponthieu and the counts of Amiens-Vexin. For Gilbert's attack on Enguerrand, see (Douglas 1946): 135–40. Gilbert may also have been tied to the Flemish comital family, thus reinforcing the division within the region between supporters of the duke and those allied with the nobles of Picardy and Boulogne; see (Searle 1988): 318, n. 15. In addition, the viscounts of St Valery were allied with the Norman ducal family; Gulbertus of St Valery married Papia daughter of Richard II; (MacDonald 1971): 55–6.

¹⁸³ (Bates 1987): 36–7; (Lot 1913): nos. 7–8; (Faroux 1961): no. 63, AD Seine-Maritime 14 H 805; (Bates 1982): 66.

Geoffrey. In 1071, Eustace helped build the coalition against Robert the Frisian by calling upon his brother Bishop Godfrey, his brother-in-law Godfrey the Hunchback, and his friends the counts of St Pol, Guines, and Hesdin and Arnulf lord of Ardres. Eustace continued to oppose Robert and aid Baldwin of Hainaut with his brother-in-law, his cousin and ally Hugh I of St Pol, and his son Godfrey. We also see these men act together to maintain each other's honor, even if no personal territorial interests were concerned. In 1030, Eustace II's son-in-law, Bishop Fulk of Amiens, recommended his protégé Drogo for the bishopric of Thérrouanne. In 1056, Guy was with Eustace at the judicial duel over Harnes, as was his ally Roger of St Pol and his son. In 1064, Guy of Ponthieu incarcerated Harold Godwin's son who had dishonored his ally Eustace II. In all these ad hoc federations, the members were drawn together by shared territorial interests and the desire to preserve alliances that could prove useful in the future. Brothers and cousins did not always join the same warring factions because the placement of their lands necessitated different alliances, for example when Lambert II of Lens allied with Baldwin V and his uncle Eustace II focused his energies on preserving his southern alliance system. Or when Eustace and Lambert I chose not to support their brother-in-law Duke Frederic against Godfrey the Bearded in 1047.

The composition of these Boulonnais ad hoc kinship groups highlights the infrequent presence of the counts of Flanders and Normandy. Eustace II, despite his often friendly relations with Baldwin V, routinely pursued alliances and goals which were at odds with those of the Flemish counts. The dichotomy between Boulonnais and Flemish 'foreign policy' is most clearly seen during the reigns of Baldwin IV and Robert I: the 1019 conflict over the Ternois, the 1030 rebellion, the 1071 struggle over the Flemish countship and its aftermath. Although there were no other outbreaks of hostility after 1084, Eustace's alliance with William the Conqueror was at odds with Robert's support of William's Scandinavian rivals.¹⁸⁴ Even during the long entente between Eustace I and Eustace II and Baldwin V, the

¹⁸⁴ Eustace was not an active member of King William's curia; he did not witness any of the king's surviving acta nor is he among the addressees of royal writs or mandements after 1070. Between 1066 and 1087, Eustace was part of a lawsuit over Buxhall (Suffolk) with Frodo. The count's men had diseised him and William ordered the sheriff and Richard fitz Count to see justice done; RRAN1, no. 242.

courses of the Boulonnais and Flemish counts diverged in the period of 1050 to 1056. Eustace's defense of his own interests and those of his southern and English allies are in stark contrast to Baldwin V's alliances with Duke William and Earl Godwin's family. In addition, Eustace followed his father-in-law's decision to make peace with Henry III while Baldwin campaigned persistently against him.

While Dhondt, Ganshof, and others have acknowledged that the Flemish counts focused their attention on expanding eastward, leaving their southern neighbors in peace after 1019, they have also seen the friendship between Baldwin V and Eustace I and II as evidence of a feudal bond between the counts of Boulogne and Flanders.¹⁸⁵ They focus their attention on Boulonnais subscriptions to a series of charters which concern lands in Artois and St Bertin. Flemish expansion into Valenciennes and Hainaut allowed Baldwin V to assert his authority more thoroughly over the advocates and castellans in Artois, including Lens. The acta of 1047 and 1056 concerning the fisc of Harnes confirm that the Flemish counts were able to maintain their authority over this benefice which Arnulf II had granted to the Boulonnais count. This was still the case in 1070 when Eustace warned that anyone who attempted to disrupt his gifts to the canons of Lens would pay a stiff fine '*Philippo rege Francorum et Comite Flandrensium imperatum*'.¹⁸⁶ However, there is no evidence that the Flemish count intervened in the internal affairs of Lens, nor that there were any military or curial responsibilities attached to the benefice.

The attestation pattern of the eleventh-century Boulonnais counts for and with the Flemish counts demonstrates the friendship between Baldwin V and the Boulonnais counts, and their shared interests in Artois and St Bertin, rather than a feudal bond. Eustace I and Eustace II each witnessed three charters issued by Flemish counts concerning Marciennes (two different charters), Messines, Bergues St Winnoc, and St Bertin (two different charters). Five of these charters were issued by Baldwin V.¹⁸⁷ In addition, the Boulonnais count

¹⁸⁵ (Dhondt 1944): 57–58; (Ganshof 1949): 29–30. Robert Fossier is also in agreement on the lack of Flemish control over Boulogne and the southern Ternois and Artois; (Fossier 1968): 2:482–3.

¹⁸⁶ (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:161.

¹⁸⁷ For Eustace I see above. For Eustace II: (Guerard 1841): no. 14 (1056), (Miraeus 1723–1748): 511–12 (1067), (Vercauteren 1938): no. 8. Robert I's charter confirmation of the abbey of Messines' goods. Messines is in the arrondissement of Ypres. There are eleven surviving charters for Baldwin V, one for Arnulf III,

attested charters with Baldwin V on three different occasions for Phalempin, Hasnon and St Bertin.¹⁸⁸ Eustace I's and II's attestations of acta pertaining to abbeys and lands in the Artois reveal their landed interests in the region and their status as powerful lords. Similarly, their presence in the subscription lists of charters pertaining to St Bertin and Bergues St Winnoc, which had been founded with the aid of Abbot Roderic of St Bertin, imply shared Boulonnais-Flemish interests in the abbey, based upon the Boulonnais counts' previous ties to the abbey, their proximity to St Bertin and its lands, and their power in the region.¹⁸⁹ In light of the absence of any surviving Flemish confirmations of Boulonnais grants to monastic houses, or any hint that the counts of Boulogne offered oaths of homage to the Flemish counts, these attestations can not constitute proof that the county of Boulogne was considered a fief of the Flemish counts.

Administrative Developments

While ad hoc kinship action groups provided the Boulonnais counts with the means to defend their interests and maintain their independence, kinship played less of a role in internal governance. Comital administration within Boulogne and Lens is more difficult to discern but it appears that there was less administrative innovation than in

and ten for Robert I. There are references to three donations made by Baldwin VI but none of his charters survive. For Baldwin V and VI see (Wauters 1886): v. 1. For Arnulf III see (Martène 1968): 1:487; witnessed by Duke Godfrey parvi, Count Arnulf, brother Baldwin, John of Arras, Guideric of Fageto, Fastradi of Tournai, Bernard of Lens, Hugh de Seiguin, Anself de Hosdene, Count Albert of Namur, Galter of Cimaco, Count Arnulf of Chisniaco, Gosuin de Monte, and Walter of Lens. For Robert's charters see (Vercauteren 1938): nos. 1–6, 10, 13–14, 16.

¹⁸⁸ See n. 56 for Eustace I and Baldwin V signatures of Bishop Hugh's 1039 charter. Baldwin V and Eustace II signed (1063) Abbot Bovo's charter, Philip's confirmation for Hasnon (1065); (Haigneré 1886): no. 80 and (Miraeus 1723–1748): 3:305–6. Abbot Bovo's charter confirmed a usufruct grant for Gerbod the advocate's brother. Eustace's presence at the royal court may also reflect the elevation of his brother Godfrey to the bishopric of Paris in 1061, after Baldwin became regent. See (Maur 1856–1865): 7:49–52 for a discussion of Godfrey's career.

¹⁸⁹ There is no evidence that the Flemish counts exercised control over Guines in the eleventh century, although they were the master of St Omer and St Bertin after 1019. Under Baldwin VII of Flanders (1111–1119), however, the counts of Boulogne's alienations in Merck were confirmed by the Flemish count, but it seems untenable to argue backwards from this evidence and posit Flemish overlordship in this region.

Flanders. None of Eustace I's charters have survived, nor were any new castles erected. While the Flemish counts used monastic reform as a means of bringing the castellan-advocates under their jurisdiction, Eustace I did not initiate any monastic reform within Boulogne. He was, however, a patron of ecclesiastical institutions. St Wulmer, Samer, appears to have been a beneficiary of his largess, for there is a tradition that he is buried there. Eustace II and his wife Ida made a gift to St Amand, and confirmed the possessions of two of the family's colleges of canons, one in Lens c. 1028 and the other at St Wulmer, Boulogne c. 1032.¹⁹⁰ Both foundations reflect the family's piety, but the one at Lens also served to buttress their authority which had been challenged by the Flemish count's acquisition of Valenciennes and the extension of his power in the Artois.

Lens underwent an economic surge between 1030 and 1070 and this growth was a product not only of a regional upswing but was also, in all likelihood, encouraged by Eustace and his successors. Lens lay on the Roman road between Arras and Cassel and had a port on the river Souchez.¹⁹¹ The count collected tolls and taxes, minted coins, and garrisoned troops in its castra, and these activities were probably conducted by the count's castellan.¹⁹² Eustace II's coins carried his name and a 'LENS FISCUS' legend but otherwise remained in the Carolingian style.¹⁹³ Although Watier II castellan of Lens and Cambrai and his successors were a constant source of trouble for the bishops of Cambrai, there is no evidence that they usurped Eustace's power in Lens.¹⁹⁴ Eustace's efforts were aided by the addition of Countess Matilda's dowry which included property in Ostrevant.

¹⁹⁰ The gift to St Amand is known through Abbot Malbod's confirmation charter; (Duvivier): 37–9. For Lens college see (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:159 and N (Paris) L964, pièce 46, p. ii. For St Wulmer, Boulogne see (Haigneré 1882–6): 95. The college in Boulogne was founded by 944, and the one in Lens between 965 and 995; (Meijns 2002): 24–27.

¹⁹¹ (Feuchère 1952): 101.

¹⁹² Baldwin castellan of Lens first appears in 1023; (Feuchère 1948): 466.

¹⁹³ (Richebé 1963): 61. These coins weighed more than Baldwin IV's coins: .80–.90 grams versus .70 grams.

¹⁹⁴ *Gesta ep. Cam.*, 7:453–4, 467, 481–3, 485; (de Moreau 1945): 2:12–19. The problems began under Bishop Tetdo (972–9) and continued into the 1050s. Watier I (d. 1007) and his ally Otto of Vermandois carried out depredations around Cateau-Cambrésis, where Watier built a castle. His son Watier II allied with Robert de Peronne to seize the episcopal palace and tax the citizens of Cambrai. Despite giving hostages in 1012, Watier continued to cause trouble for Bishop Gerard (1012–51). Eustace I, Otto of Louvain, Baldwin IV, and King Robert intervened in 1023 with only limited success.

The disruptive warfare in the Cambrai region and in northern Flanders, so vividly described in the miracles told in relation to the Peace of God movement, does not seem to have troubled Boulogne or Ternois.¹⁹⁵ Nor do we have complaints from the bishop of Théroutanne about depredations against ecclesiastical holdings in Boulogne or St Pol. There is some evidence that Abbot Roderic of St Bertin had trouble recovering land as part of his reform efforts. St Bertin's chronicler states that it was the inhabitants of these villes, not Count Eustace, who opposed Abbot Roderic.¹⁹⁶ Only one of the properties, Etaples (Stapulas), lies in the Boulonnais; the remainder appear to be in the Ternois. Roderic sought Bishop Baldwin of Théroutanne's aid (who was formerly a monk of Corbie) through an exchange of properties in 1026. The exchange was witnessed by the advocates of St Omer and the abbots of Wolmer and Bergues St Winnoc. The absence of ecclesiastical complaints suggests that Eustace was able to effectively maintain the peace.

Eustace II's success was most likely the product of the smaller size of his territories and the lack of non-comital castles within his lands. Although his father was unable to prevent Baldwin IV's southward expansion, Eustace used his ties of kinship to lords in Picardy and Lotharingia and friendship (perhaps patronage) of Roger of St Pol to secure himself against future Flemish aggression. The few glimpses into the internal governance of Boulogne suggest effective lordship. Eustace's power was founded in his castles at Boulogne and Lens, mints in both towns, his demesne lands, and the tolls he collected. The latter may have been significant since Eustace controlled the ports of Boulogne and Wissant, primary conduits of traffic between

¹⁹⁵ This is not to say that there were no outbreaks of violence. Bishop Drogo of Théroutanne proclaimed a new peace in his diocese in 1042–3, and Boulogne was part of the diocese; (Platelle 1971): 117. There were also problems with pirates; for example, the passengers on board a ship bound from Wissant to England (in 1113) were saved from pirates by the relics of N.D. de Laon and the confession of those on board; (Platelle 1971): 142.

¹⁹⁶ (Guerard 1841): 174–6. Roderic gave Laurentia (super fluvium Agniona), Casmera, Stapulas (?Etaples), and Davlas, in return for the altars of Harbela, Torbodeshem, and Petresse. I have not located Casmera, Davlas, or Torbodeshem, but if Stapulas is Etaples, this lies on the southern border of the Boulonnais; Harbela, Laurentia, and Petresse are in northern Ternois: Harbela (?Herbelle) is just north and west of Théroutanne; Laurentia is north and east of St Omer and Petresse is just south of what is now Calais. Lot has identified Turbodingheim (also referred to as Estargingum and Turhilugam) with Turginheim, near Portel. Torbodeshem may be Turbodingheim. (Lot 1913): xix.

England and the continent, and the Roman roads which connected these ports to Amiens and Paris, in addition to the river port at Lens.¹⁹⁷ The administration of Boulogne itself does not appear to have changed significantly under Eustace I, though he did create a castellany in Lens, which mirrors the creation of new Flemish administrative structures.¹⁹⁸ In his conduct of affairs outside his lands, which is almost as obscure as his actions in Boulogne, Eustace I's main achievement was the construction of amicable bonds with his neighbors to the south and east.

In late 1046, the need to create administrative officers was avoided by the division of Eustace I's patrimony between his sons. The absence of documents for the period 1047–1056 prevents an analysis of how Lambert governed; my presumption is that he ruled directly and in a manner similar to his father. Eustace II probably also followed in his father's footsteps in the early part of his reign. After 1056, he began to administer his territories with the help of household officers who were not kin, which parallels the Flemish administrative development.¹⁹⁹ Initially this practice stemmed from the lack of male kin to call upon. Later it reflected the succession of his second son to his brother-in-law's properties and his youngest son's designation for an ecclesiastical career. The outlines of this change can be seen in the four surviving charters of Eustace II. In 1070, he and

¹⁹⁷ (Grierson 1941): 93–5 and 113 (map).

¹⁹⁸ Baldwin IV is credited with the creation of administrative districts or castellanies within Flanders; (Dhondt 1944): 62–3. The texts of 993–4 indicate that Baldwin created three comitatus—of Gent (including the former pagus of Waas), Courtrai (including Tournai), and Flanders (the Bruges region); (Nicholas 1992): 47. Each comitatus had a castle in which a castellan succeeded by hereditary right but exercised his office by designation of the count. The castellan was responsible for leading the militia of the castle, rendering justice (with the aid of a court of *échevins/scabinis* at least post 1030), and executing the count's orders. Ganshof argues that Zeeland was also made into a castellany in 1012; (Ganshof 1942–3): 116. The extension of this system into the south of Flanders and Artois occurred during Baldwin V's reign. The castellans of Béthune, Lillers, Douai, Aubigny, St Omer, Bergues St Winnoc, Arras and Furnes were added to the administrative units of Gent, Bruges, and Courtrai between c. 1020 and c. 1045; (Dhondt 1946): 54; (Blommaert 1915): 42–3; (Feuchère 1947): 67; (Feuchère 1951): 258; (Dhondt 1947): 43–51.

¹⁹⁹ Like Eustace, Baldwin V had a seneschal and a butler. Under Robert I we see the addition of a chamberlain, a constable, a marshal, and a chancellor; (Ganshof 1957–1962): 2:379–81; (Vercauteren 1938): lxxx–lxxxi. The comital curia becomes more prominent after 1050; its members included not only the count's family, but also provosts from the collegial chapters, the household officers, and castellans; (Ganshof 1957–1962): 2:386.

his wife Ida confirmed the college of Lens' properties and granted additional gifts.²⁰⁰ The grant was a substantial one that they made for the remedy of their souls, in honor of Eustace I and Matilda, and to display their beneficent authority. The charter reveals that Lens had three churches, a castle, a tollhouse (to serve the port and the Roman road), a garrison, a market, six malt-houses, a grain storehouse, a cemetery, and in the suburb, a mill and an oven. There was also a viscount and a castellan. In addition, the mint continued production in Lens. The coins carried Eustace's name and either the name of the mint or the word *MONETA*.²⁰¹ As advocate of St Peter's Gent in Harnes, Eustace was required to hold three courts per year in Harnes and keep only a third of the fines.²⁰² The presence of a viscount indicates that Eustace delegated this judicial responsibility. Eustace and his predecessors had also exercised the right of ecclesiastical presentation and precarial grants.²⁰³ In 1070, he agreed to forgo this practice and that of *corvée* labor. Lesser lawsuits would be handled by the monks' provost or steward but Eustace retained the right to hear greater suits. Abbot Folcard paid forty livres and three silver marcs for the agreement, which was distributed to the count, countess, and several of their household officers. The subscription list of this charter reveals that in addition to the castellan of Lens, the Boulonnais count had a seneschal, a constable, and a minister.

In Boulogne itself there are no surviving charters, only later references to grants made by Eustace and Ida. Although the evidence is limited, it corroborates the picture revealed in Lens of the comital system of governance. The cartulary for Notre Dame de Boulogne notes that Eustace gave a privilege of exemption to the canons of Notre Dame of Boulogne (22 October 1067) and that Ida also made several gifts to N.D. de Boulogne, including the land the tithes of Avion near Lens.²⁰⁴ An original charter of Eustace III and his brother

²⁰⁰ (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:159–161; AN (Paris) L964, pièce 46, i–v. Bishop Lietbert confirmed their gift; (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:161–162. For a more detailed description and map see (Feuchère 1952): 103–6.

²⁰¹ (Richebé 1963): 61–3, plate II, nos. 36–7.

²⁰² His judicial authority did not extend to the abbey's men, and the monks were to hold the ville freely. However, the men of Harnes would work three *ebdomadibus* per year at Lens castle.

²⁰³ (Gysseling 1950): no. 116.

²⁰⁴ (Haigneré 1882–6): 95–6. There is no specific date for these gifts other than the late eleventh century.

Baldwin granting the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury some of the market customs at Wissant, issued c. 1088–1096, survives and helps illuminate the administrative system in Boulogne in the late eleventh century.²⁰⁵ The witness list includes two dapifers, Haimo and Godfrey de Parenty, Wenemer the constable (who may be the castellan of Lens), and William, the count's *nepos*. William was the son of Eustace's illegitimate son, Geoffrey. He, and his father before him, were granted the castle of Tingry by the count. Tingry is one of three castles Eustace II built in Boulogne; Fiennes (built in 1049) and Bellebrune were the others.²⁰⁶ Fiennes was held by the brother-in-law of Eustace's seneschal Arnulf I d'Ardres; it is unknown who held Bellebrune. In addition to these household officers and castellans, there was in all likelihood toll collectors for the port of Wissant.²⁰⁷ Hariulf describes Wissant as a bustling place, filled with military men, merchants, and ecclesiastics traveling to and from England.²⁰⁸ The foundation of a new parish church dedicated to St Nicholas outside Boulogne's walls also suggests economic growth, not only because a new church was needed, but the dedication reveals contacts in the Mediterranean. In 1087, the relics of St Nicholas, patron saint of sailors and pilgrims to Jerusalem, were transferred to Bari and the cult spread to European ports quickly.²⁰⁹

The proliferation of household officials, castellans, and toll collectors in Boulogne and Lens acted in concert with the comital family and their kin to govern Boulogne. Since none of the surviving charters directly concern the Boulonnais it is impossible to discern the role of Eustace II's eldest son in the governance of the family's lands. However, Eustace III and Baldwin helped their brother Godfrey secure his inheritance of the Ardenne family's patrimony and honors.²¹⁰ Eustace II also relied upon his illegitimate son Geoffrey and his descendants to hold the castle of Tingry, near the count's foremost religious house St Wulmer, Samer. Countess Ida also appears to have played an important role in the governance of the family's lands. She may have been a moving force behind the reconciliation between

²⁰⁵ Canterbury Cathedral Archives F130.

²⁰⁶ (Salch 1977): 584, 586.

²⁰⁷ (Deschamps de Pas 1859): 48–9.

²⁰⁸ (Hariulf 1894): 241.

²⁰⁹ (Lottin 1983): 48. There was a wine trade in St Omer; the wine probably reached there via Wissant; (Lewis 1958): 477.

²¹⁰ See chapter 4.

her husband and William the conqueror; Domesday Book reveals that she held five manors directly from the king.²¹¹ She may also have been the one to suggest to Bishop Drogo and his successor archdeacon Hubert of Thérouanne to establish St Jean au Mont as a dependency of the Norman ducal abbey of Jumièges.²¹² In the early 1080s, she too lent her support to her son Godfrey's efforts to govern Lorraine. She acted from her landed base around Tongres and her dowry of Gennapes.

Countess Ida was also active in building the family's prestige and solidifying their authority through ecclesiastical patronage. Ida had a wide circle of ecclesiastical friends, including St Anselm of Bec, St Hugh of Cluny, and even Bishop Osmund of Astorga (Spain). Ida's relationship with Anselm and Bec abbey appears to have begun with its founder Herluin. Herluin was a knight of Gilbert of Brionne, who went into exile in Flanders with Gilbert in 1040, prior to his decision to become a monk.²¹³ Ida was introduced to Herluin either through the establishment of Cancy priory (founded either in 1036–1058 or in 1076), or upon one of his visits to England. He performed a miracle in Ida's presence while waiting at Wissant for the weather to turn.²¹⁴ The correspondence between Anselm and Ida concern her aid to the monks of Bec, particularly Dom Richard, and Anselm's intercession with King William concerning one of her foundations, perhaps Le Wast.²¹⁵ Ida also had contacts with Hugh

²¹¹ Kingweston (Dorset), Bockhampton, Swanage, and Winterbourne Monkton (Somerset), and Nutfield (Surrey); (Morris 1975–1984).

²¹² (Huyghebaert 1956): 461–7. The first abbot Flordius' origins are unknown but the second abbot Emmo/Englebert was from St Hubert-en-Ardenne where Ida's brother and then son were the advocates; (Huyghebaert 1956): 467, 469.

²¹³ William of Jumièges states that Herluin's father was Ansgot, a Dane or Norman, and his mother Heloise 'was closely related to the counts of Morini, who nowadays are called Flemings.' He was raised at Count Gilbert's court and was a warrior until he was thirty-seven; he became a monk at forty; WJ/GND, 2:60 and (Searle 1988): 311, n. 15. Searle suggests that Gilbert's mother may have been a member of the Flemish comital family based on the name of his son Baldwin.

²¹⁴ (Gislebert 1874): 201. The notice of Canchy's foundation is confusing. It gives the year 1076 but then goes on to say that Bishop Fulk of Amiens consented to Viscount Godfrey of Canchy's foundation; (Porée 1901): 1:384. Fulk's episcopate was from 1036–1058. I am inclined to the earlier date because of Anselm's letter to Ida (dated c. 1077/78) which refers to her many acts of kindness to the monks of Bec; (Schmitt 1946–1952): ep. 82; (Fröhlich 1990): 1:216–217. This suggests that she had frequent contact with monks of Bec which would be easiest to achieve via Canchy, which is near the Ponthieu-St Pol border.

²¹⁵ Six of Anselm archbishop of Canterbury's letters to Ida have survived; (Schmitt

of Cluny, whom she convinced to send monks to populate her new foundation of Le Wast (post 1084–1096).²¹⁶ A letter concerning a gift of Marian relics from the Bishop of Astorga to Ida has also survived; it was written between 1082 and 1096. Ida had written inquiring about the origins of the relics and was given some of the Virgin's hairs with the permission of King Alphonso VI.²¹⁷ Gaiffier suggests that it is via St Hugh that Ida knew of the Marian relics; however, it seems more likely that she learned of these Spanish relics from Baldwin of Guines who went to St James Compostello in 1079.²¹⁸ Alphonso may have been persuaded to make such a gift out of respect for their mutual friend Hugh of Cluny, or perhaps through the good wishes of his second wife Constance of Burgundy. Goeffrey of Semur, husband of Bishop Godfrey's *cognata* Adelaide of Guines, had earned acclaim in Burgundy according to Lambert d'Ardres.²¹⁹

This mixture of the development of a more administrative use of household officials and the continued reliance on relatives can be seen in the surviving acta for Eustace II's English lands and in his distribution of lands granted to him by King William. In the first, Eustace grants to St Martin le Grand, London lands which had been usurped by their former dean Ingelric and then granted by King William to Eustace.²²⁰ He indicates his decision was made with the counsel of certain wise and just men, and it is witnessed by his seneschal Arnulf and *multi alii de ejus familia*. The other act records a lawsuit decided in favor of G. son of T. de Masseberie. The case was heard in his court at Stanford (Essex) with his barons, and adjudicated a land claim.²²¹ The act reveals not only a baronial court in

1946–1952): nos. 167, 244, 247; (Fröhlich 1990): 1:216–17, 274–5, 307. The letters in Fröhlich's first volume date before Eustace II's death, and are respectively dated to c. 1077/8, no later than 1093, and post 1086. See chapter 4 for discussion of the other three letters.

²¹⁶ (monk 1675): 142.

²¹⁷ The text of the letter is in (de Gaiffier 1968): 71.

²¹⁸ (Lambert 1876): 24:575–6 and (William 1876): 24:690–1. Another source of her information could have been from the pilgrims from Liège who went to St James Compostello in 1056; (Joris 1970): 37.

²¹⁹ (Lambert 1876): 24:574; (de Gaiffier 1968): 75.

²²⁰ WA, Muniment 5, f. 18r–v; printed in (Kempe 1825): 34 and 179–80. For Ingelric see (Round 1909).

²²¹ WA, charter 968; printed in (Scott 1893): no. 3449, 772–3; 'in curiam meam Stanforda providentie baronum meorum derationavit.' Although Scott identified this charter as Eustace III's, Richard Mortimer, the Westminster abbey archivist, has established the date range of 1071–88, and therefore issued by Eustace II.

Essex, the county where he held the most land, but also the existence of a chamberlain and a butler. With lands in Artois, Ostrevant, Lower Lorraine, Boulogne, and in eleven counties of England, Eustace needed help to govern. His English lands, including the five manors granted directly to Countess Ida, were valued at £596 5s. per annum, prompting the establishment of a camerarius, or a chamberlain/treasurer.²²² His chamberlain would have the responsibility of overseeing the collection of his demesne revenues; Domesday Book reveals that Tring manor (Herts.) was valued in white pennies weighed by the Count's own standard.²²³ William's census also demonstrates that Eustace used his newly acquired wealth to benefice men from his lands in Boulogne and the heirs of his allies of 1051, Earl Ralf and Osbern Pentecost.²²⁴ These men include Adelulf of Merck and his brother Ralf, Arnulf I d'Ardres (the Boulonnais seneschal), Roger de Sumeri, Rumold of Doudeauville, Eustace II's son Geoffrey, his cousin Harold (Earl Ralf's son), and Alvred of Marlborough, Osbern Pentecost's nephew.

The changes in governance in Boulogne were made in the context of the French kings' efforts to reassert royal power in northern France. Henry I's struggle to secure his succession led to a significant loss of territory—Burgundy to his brother and the French Vexin to Norman duke.²²⁵ He was also threatened by the Blésein count's bid for Burgundy and the Angevin-Norman conflicts after 1049. Royal acta reflect his diminished position; the witnesses are drawn primarily from the lesser nobility, the geographical distribution of the beneficiaries is limited, and references to *consuetudines* rather than royal law predominate.²²⁶ The counts of Boulogne, Flanders, and Picardy were infrequent witnesses of Henry's charters.²²⁷ Only Raoul of Valois

²²² Eustace kept under his direct management fifty-two of the 140 grants William made to him.

²²³ VCH (Hert.) 1:320.

²²⁴ (Tanner 1992): 276.

²²⁵ (Dunbabin 1985): 73 and 79 for map of royal demesne.

²²⁶ (Lemarignier 1965): 534–8; (Lemarignier 1965): 68–76 and tableau d'ensemble des catégories sociales de souscripteurs; (Dunbabin 1985): 92.

²²⁷ (Lemarignier 1965): tableau. Baldwin V attests one of Henry's charters, no. 80 (1048), Robert the Frisian no. 125 (1060); Enguerrand of Ponthieu, nos. 47 (1036), 79 (1048), and 80 (1048), his son Hugh no. 47 (1036), son Robert, no. 108 (1057); and Guy of Ponthieu, no. 125 (1060); Raoul of Valois, nos. 65 (1043), 79 (1048), 80 (1048), 81 (1048), 92 (1052), 105 (?1056), 112 (1058), 114 (1058), 123 (1059/60), 125 (1060) Gautier, Raoul's son, no. 105 (?1056); Gautier of Amiens and Vexin, nos. 80 (1048) and 102 (1054/8).

appears regularly. Eustace II, in the company of Baldwin V of Flanders, Enguerrand of Ponthieu, Gautier of Amiens and Vexin, and Raoul of Valois witnessed Henry's Christmas 1046 charter. Enguerrand also attests two other charters, once with his son Hugh; his sons Robert and Guy attest only one of Henry's charters. Gautier of Amiens and Vexin subscribes only one other time after 1046. The limited presence of the counts of Picardy and Boulogne in Henry's acta illustrates the restricted nature of royal authority in the region. Henry did have the support of the episcopate and maintained his authority over several abbeys.²²⁸ Once again, the Picard bishops were rarely among the witnesses of royal acta and the Flemish bishops never appear.²²⁹ Royal administration resembled that found in Boulogne and Flanders. In the 1040s, there are references to a royal constable and butler, and shortly thereafter a seneschal and chamberlain.²³⁰ There were few assemblies which attracted large numbers of magnates, although Henry's court of Christmas 1046 was a distinguished one. Henry was successful in consolidating his power and authority in the Île de France, gains which were protected during the minority of his heir Philip under the guardianship of his uncle Baldwin V of Flanders (1060–7).

Philip had more success than his father. He began to turn the tide with Robert the Frisian's rebellion in 1071. He received Robert's homage, something Baldwin V and VI had not offered, as well as the restoration of the rights in Corbie. Philip's main concern was William the Conqueror. He allied with the counts of Anjou and Flanders against him and fostered the conflicts between William and his eldest son. He also, as I discussed earlier, extended his influence in Picardy acting on the opportunity provided by Simon of Valois and Amiens' monastic retirement. As a result, Philip extended the royal influence to the bishoprics of Thérouanne, Amiens, Chalon-sur-Saône, and the archbishopric of Tours.²³¹ The bishops of Amiens

²²⁸ (Dunbabin 1985): 86–7; his ecclesiastical domain included Chartres, Orleans, Paris, Meaux, Beauvais, Senlis, Troyes, Auxerre, Mâcon, Châlons-sur-Marne, Soissons, Noyon-Tournai, Laon, Langres, Le Puy, and the archbishoprics of Sens and Reims. Fleury, St Corneille, Compiègne, Saint-Martin-des-Champs, St Riquier, St Germain des Pres were royal abbeys.

²²⁹ (Lemarignier 1965): tableau. Baldwin of Noyon witnessed nos. 80 (1048) and 108 (1057); Fulk of Amiens nos. 80 (1048) and 114 (1058); Guy of Amiens, no. 125 (1060); and Enguerrand of St Riquier no. 47 (1036).

²³⁰ (Dunbabin 1985): 96.

²³¹ (Dunbabin 1985): 93.

and Noyon witness Philip's acta frequently.²³² The Flemish bishops are essentially absent from royal subscription lists; the bishop of Thérouanne appears as a witness twice, in 1066 and 1084, as do the bishops of Cambrai. There were few changes in royal administration prior to the 1090s in Philip's reign. Household officers become more prominent in the witness lists of the royal acta in the 1080s and they were now drawn from the most powerful castellans of the Île de France.²³³ The northern counts appear more frequently in Philip's acta, particularly between 1065 and 1067. Raoul IV of Valois-Amiens-Vexin, Baldwin V, and Guy of Ponthieu witnessed the most often with fourteen, seven and five attestations respectively.²³⁴ Eustace II, Roger of St Pol, Baldwin of Guines, Baldwin of Hainaut, and Simon of Valois and Amiens witness two charters each.²³⁵ It is also in the 1080s that royal prévôts received *mandements* from the king.²³⁶

By the second half of the eleventh century, the importance of kinship for the internal governance of counties and even the royal principality was declining with the establishment of household officers. However, ad hoc kinship action groups were the primary means of gathering the manpower to pursue territorial acquisition and to defend one's status. Through the careful and clever extension of kinship ties and cultivation of the friendship of the counts of St Pol, Eustace I and Eustace II became significant figures in the political arena of

²³² (Lemarignier 1965): tableau: Guy of Amiens witnessed nos. 19 (1065), 21 (1065), 23 (1065), 27 (1066), 30 (1067), 32 (1067), 61 (1071), 65 (1073); Raoul of Amiens, no. 81 (1076); Fulk III of Amiens, no. 84 (1076); Rorgon of Amiens, no. 110 (1084); Baldwin of Noyon, nos. 23 (1065), 26 (1066), 27 (1066); Radbod, nos. 39 (1068), 61 (1071), 78 (1075), 81 (1076), 86 (1077), 110 (1084), 134 (1095); Lietbert of Cambrai, no. 26 (1066) and Gerard of Cambrai, no. 110 (1084); Drogo of Thérouanne, no. 27 (1066) and Gerard, no. 110 (1084).

²³³ (Lemarignier 1965): 538–40; (Lemarignier 1965): 133–9.

²³⁴ (Lemarignier 1965): tableau: Baldwin V witnessed nos. 19 (1065), 20 (1065), 21 (1065), 23 (1065), 27 (1066), 30 (1067), 32 (1067); son Baldwin, 30 (1067); Raoul count Valois, nos. 5 (1060), 10 (1061), 19 (1065), 20 (1065), 21 (1065), 23 (1066), 27 (1066), 32 (1067), 39 (1068), 51 (1070), 61 (1071), 62 (1072), 65 (1073), 66 (1074), his son Gautier, no. 23 (1066), his son Simon, nos. 23 (1066) and 66 (1074); Guy count Ponthieu, nos. 19 (1065), 21 (1065), 27 (1066), 32 (1067), 62 (1072); and Hugh Guy's brother, no. 110 (1084).

²³⁵ (Lemarignier 1965): tableau: Eustace II witnessed nos. 23 (1065) and 72 (1075); Baldwin count of Guines, nos. 24 (1066) and 116 (1081–5); Baldwin count Hainaut, nos. 24 (1066) and 116 (1081–5). Gautier count of Hesdin, Herbert of Vermandois, and William the Conqueror witness only one charter each, nos. 23 (1065), no. 62 (1072), and no. 94 (1079) respectively. Roger attested (Prou 1908): nos. 22 and 23, both of which were issued in 1065 for Corbie abbey.

²³⁶ (Dunbabin 1985): 96.

northern France, Lower Lorraine and England. In the late 1040s, they joined their Louvain kin in Duke Godfrey's rebellion. In the process they moved from ad hoc companions in arms to kin through the marriage of Eustace II and Ida of Lorraine. This marriage added dowry lands to their holdings, prestige to the Boulonnais lineage, and further strengthened their kinship alliance with the counts of Louvain. In the 1050s, they called upon their kin in Ponthieu, Amiens-Vexin, and England to defend their power and independence upon several occasions. In 1071, Eustace II, prompted by his territorial interests, threw his support behind Arnulf III of Flanders. He called upon his southern kin, friends, and allies, as well as his wife's Lotharingian kin to fight Robert's usurpation. The campaign drew Eustace II and Duke William back together. Their shared hostility to Robert's countship, rooted in their territorial interests, fostered the bond first established during the conquest of England. William's patronage made Eustace II one of the wealthiest men in England, and a force to be reckoned with in France. These English lands and the alliance with the Normans drew Eustace III and his descendants into the dynamics of Anglo-Norman politics.

CHAPTER FOUR

EUSTACE III AND HIS GRADUAL AMALGAMATION INTO THE ANGLO-NORMAN POLITY

While the eleventh-century counts of Boulogne were characterized by their deft creation of alliances which propelled them into the center of the political struggles in Lorraine, England, and northern Normandy, the key characteristic of Eustace III's rule (c. 1089–1125) was his increasing enmeshment in the Anglo-Norman polity. The first decade of Eustace III's rule was dominated by the succession crises which engulfed England and Normandy in 1088 and again in 1101. Eustace III's decision to support Robert Curthose in both these crises led to the loss of the family's English lands during the reign of William Rufus. Robert Curthose's failure upon his second attempt to seize the English crown in 1101 led Eustace to abandon his Norman alliance, in favor of an alliance with Henry I of England. Henry rewarded him with the restoration of the Honour of Boulogne. King Louis VI's persistent attacks on Henry in the company of his allies, the counts of Ponthieu and Flanders, did not lead Eustace to abandon his Anglo-Norman alliance. Eustace's position as the tenth largest landholder in England and Henry's successes in his wars against Louis VI brought Eustace III more firmly into the Anglo-Norman realm that Henry had fashioned. The Boulonnais count's incorporation into the Anglo-Norman polity was effectively completed by the marriage of Eustace III's daughter and heir Matilda to Henry's nephew Stephen of Blois.

This amalgamation was the result of two main factors. First, building upon his father's success, King Louis VI (1108–1137) extended royal authority both within the Île de France, southeastern Picardy (Vermandois and Beauvais), the Gatinais and Bourges. Working from his extended power base, Louis sought to limit the power of his territorial princes, particularly King Henry I as duke of Normandy. Growing centralization within the Île de France, Normandy, and Flanders limited the options available to the counts of Boulogne and Picardy. The Boulonnais and Picard counts could and did determine which prince to support in any given engagement, but the continued

success of the neighboring princes minimized their opportunities to significantly reshape the political map. Second, the counts of Boulogne lost two longstanding allies by 1101. The decision of Eustace III's younger brother Godfrey, duke of Lower Lorraine to remain in the Holy Land meant the loss of the Lotharingian ducal alliance, for Godfrey's successor was chosen from among the German king's curiales and not Eustace's maternal kin. The alliance with Ponthieu also came to an end when the new count, Robert of Bellême and his son pursued their family's interests in southern Normandy, which placed them at odds with Henry I of England, Eustace III's new ally.

The loss of allies in Lorraine and Ponthieu was exacerbated by the limited number of kin and affines Eustace III could rely on. The decision of his brothers Godfrey and Baldwin to remain in the Holy Land deprived Eustace of allies at home, and the lack of sisters meant a corresponding lack of brothers-in-law.¹ His illegitimate sons, Raoul and Eustace, died as youths, and therefore could not be used to establish ties to new allies. The narrowed range of kin-based alliances or temporary coalitions was not alleviated by Eustace's marriage to Mary of Scotland in 1102. Although the marriage conferred a great deal of prestige, for Mary's mother was of Anglo-Saxon royal blood and a saint and her father the king of Scotland, it did not expand Eustace's circle of allies beyond Henry I of England. Mary's brother Edgar king of Scotland was immersed in Scottish affairs, and her brother David was one of Henry's curiales. Eustace and Mary had only one child, their daughter Matilda. The lack of children also had the effect of circumscribing Eustace's ability to create non-Anglo-Norman alliances.

The first mention of Eustace III in contemporary sources is William of Poitiers' reference to his father leaving him as a hostage at the Norman court prior to the crossing to England in 1066.² This sojourn at the Norman court apparently provided the foundation for the friendship between Eustace III and William's eldest son Robert

¹ See Boulonnais genealogy.

² WP/GG, 182. Duke William II took a number of precautions to prevent any troubles disturbing Normandy in his absence, among which was the taking of hostages from his non-Norman allies. See (Douglas 1967): 181–191. In addition, Eustace II had been among the consistent opponents of Duke William, therefore, he was required to leave his eldest son as hostage at the Norman court as a token of his good faith during this campaign.

Curthose. Eustace does not appear to have joined Robert Curthose in either his 1078–80 or 1083–87 rebellions. Robert's actions during these two periods of exile are difficult to trace, but his choice of the Flemish court as a place of refuge in 1078 probably precluded any support from either Eustace II or Eustace III. The counts of Boulogne and Flanders were at odds at this time, and their hostility had been reinforced by the 1076 assassination of Godfrey duke of Lower Lorraine, brother-in-law and ally of Eustace II, at Robert I of Flanders' command. Duke Godfrey's death introduced a political free-for-all in Lorraine as the German king sought to gain greater control of Lorraine by granting the duchy to his infant son, and allowing Duke Godfrey's heir, Eustace II's second son Godfrey, to inherit only the county of Antwerp and the Ardenne family's patrimony.³ Godfrey of Boulogne spent a decade securing his inheritance; his efforts were supported by his brothers, Bishop Henry of Verdun (who may have been a relative), Baldwin II of Hainaut, Bishop Henry of Liège, Conon of Montaigu, Warner of Grez, and Baldwin de Bourcq's grandfather. Godfrey's mother also lent her support through her presence; in the early 1080s, Countess Ida was living at Genappes and Brussels.⁴ In 1082, Godfrey's brothers Eustace and Baldwin brought an army to Stenay, and chased away the forces of Albert of Namur and Bishop Thierry of Verdun. Peace was established when all the combatants agreed to support the Peace of God proclaimed by Bishop Henry of Liège on 27 March 1082. Over the next three years Godfrey consolidated his position. The three brothers fought on behalf of Bishop Thierry of Verdun circa 1086.⁵ The emperor ratified Godfrey's position in June 1085, and again in May 1087 when Henry IV officially granted him the ducal title.⁶

Eustace III became enmeshed next in the succession crisis which followed William the Conqueror's death in 1087.⁷ William had

³ See (Dorchy 1948): 961–99; (Andressohn 1947): 30–41 for a discussion of Godfrey's career in Lorraine. See also (Dupont 1981).

⁴ (monk 1675): 142; Genappes was part of the dowry of Matilda of Louvain. Her daughter Gerberga was given it as part of her dowry but it was restored to the Boulonnais comital family at her death. Eustace II assigned this property to his wife. See (Dupont 1981): 231–2.

⁵ (Pertz 1841): 10:494.

⁶ (Sigebert 1844): 6:366 (under a. 1089).

⁷ There is no evidence which will allow us to determine the date of Eustace II's death, although it is typically given as c. 1093. Eustace III's first known charter as

bequeathed Normandy to his eldest son, Robert Curthose, and England to his second son, William Rufus. The dying duke had sent William Rufus to England to secure the throne, and the news of his father's death reached William Rufus in Wissant.⁸ Thus, the Boulonnais comital family was quickly aware of the duke's disposition of his lands. In the spring or summer of 1088, the magnates of England and Normandy met to discuss the divided succession and decided to depose William Rufus.⁹ Orderic Vitalis states that Bishop Odo of Bayeux, Eustace count of Boulogne, and Robert of Bellême were among those at this meeting and it was they who informed Duke Robert of the decision to install him as king.¹⁰ The duke's supporters were men with trans-Channel holdings, but they were also drawn together by the bonds of friendship and kinship.¹¹ Shortly after Christmas, these men crossed over into England and fortified their castles.¹² Eustace III and Robert of Bellême, with the aid of Robert's brothers and Odo bishop of Bayeux, held the castle of Rochester against William Rufus. Robert Curthose dallied in Normandy, which gave his brother time to gather his forces and to compel the rebels to surrender.

Although the king wanted to execute his enemies, his supporters pleaded for mercy for 'these presumptuous youths and blindly ambitious old men,' arguing family ties in the case of Odo of Bayeux and Robert of Mortain, and that 'Count Eustace also was loyal enough to your father, and was his helper and comrade in arms in many tight places.'¹³ None of the conspirators were executed, but

count was issued, with his brother Baldwin, before their departure on crusade in 1096; Canterbury Cathedral Archives, DCC Ch. Ant. F130. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle' account of the 1088 siege of Rochester refers to 'Eustace the Young and Earl Roger's three sons.' This statement and Orderic Vitalis' report that Eustace II was defended by William's advisors when the king rendered judgment on the rebels indicates Eustace II was still alive. There is no other information which would allow us to narrow the date range from the summer of 1088 and the spring of 1096.

⁸ OV, 4:96.

⁹ OV, 4:120; WM/GR, 1:544; (Henry 1996): 412-4; (John 1995): 2:48-56, for Eustace's role (John 1995): 2:50.

¹⁰ OV, 4:124.

¹¹ (Mooers (Christelow) 1981-2): 10 and Appendices A and B. Robert of Bellême's brother Roger the Poitevin was not among the rebels; (Lewis 1989): 572-3. His lands were in England and he threw his support behind William Rufus and was rewarded with the honours of Eye and Lancaster; (Lewis 1989): 576-80.

¹² OV, 5:211; WM/GR, 1:546-8; ASC, 166-68; (John 1995): 3:48-50.

¹³ OV, 4:128 and 4:132.

the Honour of Boulogne was forfeited and Eustace III exiled.¹⁴ Despite the loss of their English lands, the Boulonnais comital family did not abandon Robert's cause. In February 1092, Eustace III attested Robert's confirmation grant to the abbey of Bec.¹⁵ He and his father were also witnesses of a grant to Bec by William of Breteuil made sometime between 1087 and 1093.¹⁶ Although they did not have lands in Normandy, the Boulonnais comital family were friendly with William fitz Osbern and his son William of Breteuil. Evidence for this friendship can be seen in the attestations for William of Breteuil's gift and in his choice of the name Eustace—a very rare name in France and unknown in Normandy before this time—for his illegitimate son. Countess Ida was also a friend of Abbot Anselm of Bec. It may be in this period that Ida granted land in Boulogne to Bec.¹⁷ Although not an active member of Duke Robert's entourage, Eustace III's attestation of Robert's gift to Bec and the presence of his younger brother, Baldwin, at the de Tosny court in 1090–1 suggest continued Boulonnais interest in maintaining the Norman alliance.¹⁸ The connection to the de Tosny family may have come through the friendship with William fitz Osbern who was the brother-in-law of Ralph II de Tosny. Baldwin of Boulogne not only fought with the de Tosny family in the 1090s, in 1096 he married Ralph II and Isabel's daughter, Godehilde. The ties to the de Tosny clan may also be reflected in Eustace III's choice of the name Raoul/Rodulfus for his illegitimate son.

Although the Flemish count had aided Robert Curthose in his conflicts with his father, Robert I was preoccupied with his affairs to the north and east in the late 1080s and early 1090s. Both he

¹⁴ Orderic states that the king spared the older rebels because they had faithfully served his father and knew that death would soon remove them from the political scene. Chibnall indicates that this probably refers to Hugh of Grandmesnil, Eustace count of Boulogne and Roger of Montgomery. *OV*, 4:134 and n. 2. The date of the forfeiture is unknown since Eustace II's date of death is not known. The honour appears to have remained in William's hands.

¹⁵ (Haskins 1918): 68.

¹⁶ *AD Eure H* 91 f. 75. The witness list of of Breteuil's charter includes Count Eustace II, and a latter confirmation by his son Eustace and Eustace's wife. The original gift dates to before 1093. My thanks to Julie Potter for her transcript of this charter.

¹⁷ *RRAN* 3, no. 76. In this confirmation, Queen Matilda indicates that her grandmother's gift was made while Anselm was abbot, or between 1078 and 1093. See chapter 3 for Ida's relationship with Herluin and Anselm of Bec.

¹⁸ *OV*, 4:218.

and his son, Robert II of Flanders (1093–1111), focused their efforts on expanding into the Cambrésis and separating the Quatre Métiers region from the diocese of Utrecht.¹⁹ Robert I supported his step-son Thierry V of Holland in his efforts against the bishop of Utrecht, which allowed him to eliminate episcopal overlordship of the Quatre Métiers region.²⁰ Although Bishop Gerard II's troubles with the castellan of Cambrai between 1078 and 1080 provided an opportunity for Robert to intervene in the Cambrésis, the mutual support of the bishop and the count of Hainaut and Godfrey of Boulogne (Bouillon) stymied his efforts to extend his authority in the region.²¹ The division of the dioceses of Cambrai and Arras in 1092, and the subsequent contested election to the Cambrai bishopric provided Robert another opportunity to move into the Cambrésis. Duke Godfrey and the count of Hainaut supported Gaucher (an imperialist) while Robert backed Manasses (a Gregorian).²² However, the Flemish count's attention was distracted by a concurrent crisis—the repudiation of his step-daughter Bertha of Holland by her husband Philip I in 1092.²³ The Flemish count retaliated by embracing a friendship with the English king, William Rufus. His choice of ally reflects not only his longstanding concern over the power of a single ruler of England and Normandy, but also Philip's support of the Norman duke. Their different choice of allies did not give rise to armed hostilities between the counts of Boulogne and Flanders. In general, neutrality was the *modus vivendi* followed by both men. Eustace III's interactions with Robert I were limited and like his predecessors primarily confined to affairs involving Lens, the nearby territory in Artois, and St Bertin abbey. Eustace III did attend the Flemish court in 1091 after an eleven-year Boulonnais hiatus and again in 1096; in both cases he acted as a witness in negotiations involving the abbey of St Bertin.

¹⁹ (Ganshof 1949): 50–55.

²⁰ (Dorchy 1948): 969.

²¹ (Dorchy 1948): 970, 982; *Gesta epis. Cam.*, 7:499. Baldwin II of Hainaut put an end to a communal revolt in Cambrai between 1078 and 1080; the dating clauses of the bishops' and Baldwin's charters refer to Godfrey as duke. The abbey of St Hubert provided sanctuary for Countess Richilde from Arnulf II of Chiny. Godfrey witnessed two of her transactions, one with Abbot Thierry and the other with the bishop of Liège; (Hanquet 1906): 121.

²² *Gesta epis. Cam.*, 7:500, 502–5; (Bethman 1846): 7:544–5; (Dorchy 1948): 990–1; (Dereine 1983): 145.

²³ (Vercauteren-Desmet 1937): 413–414.

The 1091 act issued by Abbot John recorded a decision in favor of St Bertin and against Manasses of Guines, and the 1096 act of Abbot Lambert registered the sale of land by the brother of the former advocate, Gerbod.²⁴ The succession of Robert II of Flanders (1093) does not appear to have changed Boulonnais-Flemish relations significantly.²⁵ Robert II campaigned with William Rufus against Robert Curthose in 1094–1095, but there is no evidence of Eustace campaigning with the Norman duke although he maintained his allegiance to Robert Curthose's cause until the summer of 1101.²⁶

Urban II's call to crusade in 1095 mobilized many French noblemen, including the sons of Eustace II and Ida of Boulogne—Eustace, Godfrey, and Baldwin—Robert Curthose, and Robert II of Flanders. The crusaders spent most of 1096 preparing for their bellicose pilgrimage: choosing regents and gathering funds and men for the long expedition. Unlike Robert Curthose who pawned Normandy to his brother William Rufus for 10,000 marcs, or Godfrey of Boulogne and Robert II, who made pious donations or exchanges to raise cash, we do not know of any similar transactions for Eustace III.²⁷ Like Robert II, Eustace left his mother as regent of the county, and Godfrey designated his brother Baldwin his heir in Lorraine.²⁸ Godfrey

²⁴ (Haigneré 1886): nos. 87 and 96. Eustace was in the company of his allies Guy count of Ponthieu and Hugh I count of St Pol in 1091.

²⁵ Robert II had been associated in his father's governance since 1080, and ruled Flanders as regent during his father's pilgrimage to Jerusalem between 1086 and 1089. See Flemish genealogy.

²⁶ (Vercauteren-Desmet 1937): 417.

²⁷ For Robert's donations see (Vercauteren 1938): nos. 20–22. To finance his pilgrimage, Godfrey made several donations and sales to the church in Lorraine which were witnessed by his brother Baldwin. (Vanderkindere 1900): 43; (Kurth 1903): 1:85 (sale of castle of Bouillon to Bishop of Liege); (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:365 (Godfrey and Baldwin grant Stenay to church of St Dagobert); (Gysseling 1950): no. 236; (Despy 1981): 74, no. 12 (grant of 2/3 the tithes of Anvers parish to St Michael's, Anvers). Bishop Othbert's methods of raising the money to pay for his purchases infuriated the monks of St Hubert and Lobbes. Othbert also ousted the St Hubertine monks from the priory of Bouillon. In response, Ida of Boulogne granted church of Sensreuth to St Hubert to build a priory there, and in the process forestalling Godfrey's excommunication; (Hanquet 1906): 338–40. Ida also contributed to her sons' funds by granting the revenues and tithes of Genappe to Affligem and revenues from various allodial sources to the church of Munsterbilzen; (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:77–78; (Gysseling 1950): no. 225. For a discussion of the financial preparations for the crusade see (Riley-Smith 1997): 109–135.

²⁸ Murray argues convincingly that Baldwin was Godfrey's designated heir between the Council of Clermont (November 1095) and their departure on crusade; (Murray 1998): 92–7. However, the mortgage of Bouillon castle for 3,000 gold marcs to

left for Jerusalem (c. 15 August 1096) joined, as Alan Murray has argued, by his supporters of 1076–84: Baldwin of Boulogne and his wife Godehilde de Tosny, Baldwin II of Hainaut, Conon de Montaigu and his sons Lambert and Gozelo, Warner de Grez, and Baldwin de Bourcq.²⁹ A few of these men were tied to Godfrey by kinship, and all shared territorial interests as *fideles sancti Lamberti*. Their experiences campaigning to preserve Godfrey's power and in defense of the bishops and emperor during the Investiture controversy in ad hoc coalitions had strengthened the bonds between these men. And as imperialists they felt secure enough to leave their lands for several years.³⁰

Bishop Othbert reserves Eustace's right to redeem the mortgage if Godfrey did not return; (Kurth 1903): 85. Murray and others have argued that Godfrey did not intend to return to Lorraine, citing as their evidence the extent of his sales and mortgages, and that discouraged by these financial maneuvers, Baldwin decided that his future lay in the Holy Land rather than as his brother's heir. Eustace's right to redeem Bouillon castle puts this interpretation into question. Why mortgage Bouillon when Godfrey could have sold it? The mortgage suggests that the family was leaving their options open, and the choice of Eustace, rather than Baldwin, as redeemer of the mortgage in Godfrey's absence is a reflection of his superior resources as heir to Boulogne.

²⁹ (Murray 1992): 302–9.

³⁰ (Murray 1992): 303–5, 309. Baldwin de Bourcq (later Count of Edessa and Baldwin II of Jerusalem) was the son of Hugh I of Rethel and Melisende of Montlhery. Baldwin was called Godfrey's kinsmen but the connection is unknown. Baldwin's grandfather supported young Godfrey in the disputes over his inheritance; he invaded the bishopric of Verdun and lost his castle of Ste Meneshould. Conon count of Montaigu's father was Gozelo count of Behogne. Conon held Huy and its castle from the bishop of Liège and was the advocate of Dinant. Orderic Vitalis states that Conon was married to the sister of Duke Godfrey; OV, 5:166. C.G. Roland has rejected the identification of Conan's wife Ida as the daughter of Eustace II, and argues that she was the daughter of Lambert of Fouron. Roland bases his analysis on a thirteenth-century chronicler and charters which have Conan and Lambert as witnesses; (Roland 1893): 109–111. I prefer Orderic's evidence as a contemporary and because Baldwin of Boulogne's presence at the de Tosny court gave him access to Boulonnais news. It is possible that Conan was originally married to Eustace II's daughter and then to Ida de Fouron. Regardless of the identity of Ida, Conan's father's name—Gozelo—does suggest some blood relationship to the Ardenne-Verdun dynasty since it and his brother's name, Godfrey, figure prominently in the naming pattern (*leitnamen*). Warner count of Grez is also called a kinsman, although the nature of the tie is unknown. Grez lay between Louvain and the episcopal territory of Liège. Notably absent from the crusade were Albert of Namur, Arnulf de Chiny, Henry of Arlon and Limburg—all of whom were members of the anti-Godfrey coalition in 1076. In addition, Henry III count of Louvain (a rival to the Ardenne-Verdun house and the bishop of Liège), Thierry V of Holland, and the count of Luxembourg also did not join the crusade. Henry of Louvain was married to Gertrude daughter of Robert I of Flanders. Murray argues that those who were hostile to the emperor or pro-papal reform stayed at home to protect their lands, whereas the imperialists felt secure enough to leave the duchy.

Although Eustace was with his brothers prior to Godfrey's departure, it is unclear whether he traveled to Jerusalem in the company of his brothers or Robert Curthose.³¹ He brought with him a much smaller contingent: Hugh I of St Pol and his son Enguerrand, Udelard of Wissant and his nephew Pincellus, Guynemer of Boulogne (a pirate), Peter of Lens, Anselm de Parenty, and possibly a bastard son, Godfrey. Eustace Grenier, Aaluns de Beaurain, and Azo de Drouvin were also associated with Eustace, although they may have followed Count Hugh since their lands are found within the county of St Pol.³² The Boulonnais family's longtime ally Guy I of Ponthieu did not join the crusade, probably because of his age, nor did his son-in-law, Robert of Bellême. Baldwin I of Guines and his four sons (Manasses Robert, Fulk, Guy, and Hugh) may have been part of Eustace's contingent; Murray has argued that Fulk received the lordship of Beirut through his connections to Eustace and his brother, Baldwin.³³ In addition, Baldwin was on good terms with the Boulonnais comital family.³⁴ Throughout the crusade, Eustace worked closely

³¹ Throughout William of Tyre's account, Eustace appears at Godfrey's side; (Guillaume 1986): 1:215, 252, 407, 409. Baldwin appears to have accompanied Godfrey throughout Lorraine to gather men to fight in the Holy Land and to have departed with Godfrey in the early summer; (Aube 1985): 132. Eustace appears only once in Godfrey's peregrinations through Lorraine. Orderic Vitalis reports that Eustace traveled to Jerusalem in the company of his brothers, as does Robert the monk; OV, 5:34 and (Robert 1844–95): 3:732. However, Henry of Huntingdon includes him in Robert Curthose's party and William of Tyre states that Eustace wintered in Calabria with the Norman duke; (Henry 1996): 422; (Guillaume 1986): 1:191. Fulcher of Chartres, a member of Robert Curthose's entourage, never mentions Eustace, but this may be because he was almost invariably with Godfrey throughout the crusades; (Fulcher 1941): 24–5; (Hagenmeyer 1973): 49. For a discussion of Robert's entourage see (Riley-Smith 1997): 90–92.

³² (Murray 1989): 287–8. For the identity of Godfrey *nepos nothus* of Baldwin I of Jerusalem, see (Murray 1996): 397–9. For Udelard and Guynemer see (Riley-Smith 1997): 210, 223.

³³ (Murray 1989): 288; (Lambert 1876): 24:580–1; Versus, 5:539–40. This anonymous verse lists men from the diocese of Thérouanne who went and stayed in the Holy Land. It includes Eustace II's sons Godfrey, Baldwin and Eustace, Arnulf of Chocques, Hugh of Fauquembergues who obtained the lordship of Tiberias in 1101, Eustace Gernirs, Fulk of Guines, Hugh of Rebecques, later lord of Hebron. Achard and Harel Ramensis have not been identified, although the poet names Harbel as the prince of Caesaria. None of the contemporary, or near contemporary sources indicate in whose entourage Fulk of Guines, Hugh of Fauquembergues, Hugh of Rebecques, Achard or Harbel traveled. Arnulf of Chocques was with Robert Curthose.

³⁴ See previous chapter. Lambert d'Ardres indicates there is a kinship relationship between the two families; (Lambert 1876): 24:574. Baldwin's daughter Adelaide was married to Geoffrey of Semur-en-Brionnais (dep. Saône et Loire) through the offices of Bishop Godfrey. Adelaide is called the bishop's *cognata and consanguinata*. Geoffrey was the brother of Abbot Hugh of Cluny; (Richard 1989): 410.

with his brother Godfrey, while their younger brother Baldwin consolidated his hold on Edessa. Hugh of St Pol and his son appear frequently in the company of Eustace and Godfrey in the crusade narratives; both were noted military men, although young Enguerrand died at Marra.³⁵ Although rarely mentioned by modern historians as a leader of the First Crusade, Eustace was regarded by contemporaries as a distinguished crusader and one of the leading princes of this crusade.³⁶

Leaving his younger brother Godfrey to rule Jerusalem and Baldwin the county of Edessa, Eustace returned home in 1100, stopping in Liège at Christmas where he renounced his claims on the castle of Bouillon.³⁷ Godfrey's decision to remain in Jerusalem brought an end to the Boulonnais involvement in Lorraine, since the German king appointed his own candidate as duke of Lower Lorraine rather than accepting Godfrey's designated heir. In the absence of the crusaders, the regents had maintained the peace quite well. There is no indication of conflicts in Boulogne, Hainaut, or St Pol between 1096 and 1100.³⁸ There was warfare in the Vexin in 1097 and 1098 as William Rufus tried to re-take this territory from the French king.³⁹

³⁵ (Albert 1844–1895): 4:451.

³⁶ See chapter 6 and (Tanner 2003); (John 1995): 2:82. (Runciman 1951): 1:146; Runciman characterizes Eustace as an 'unenthusiastic Crusader, always eager to return to his rich lands on both sides of the English channel.' Runciman condemns Eustace for bringing fewer men than his brother Godfrey and leaving Palestine soon after Robert of Flanders. However, Runciman's comments are without foundation. Eustace did not have any lands in England in 1095–6, and his indictment of Eustace does not seem to be based on the descriptions of Eustace's activities during the crusades given by the Anglo-Norman and French chroniclers or Willaim of Tyre. The lack of comment by the chroniclers from the south of France is unsurprising given the local bias of all the chroniclers. Nor does it seem just to condemn Eustace for bringing fewer men than Godfrey; Boulogne was a relatively small county and, as mentioned above, Eustace did not have any English lands in 1096.

³⁷ (Hagenmeyer 1973): 271; (Kurth 1903): 85.

³⁸ The Cambrésis was disturbed by the continued conflict between the supporters of ousted Bishop Manasses and his rival Bishop Walcher. However, Countess Ida of Hainaut, who continued to govern Hainaut until her son Baldwin III's majority in 1103, had the support of Bishop Walcher and her brother Count Godfrey of Louvain; (Vanderkindere 1900): 71, 75. Gislebert states that Baldwin either died or was captured after the taking of Antioch. In either case, he did not return from crusade.

³⁹ William Rufus focused most of his attention between 1097 and 1099 on taking Maine with the help of Robert of Bellême; (Barlow 1983): 376–96. The Vexin was defended by Prince Louis who was invested with the Vexin, Mantes and Pontoise in 1092. Guy of Ponthieu was loyal to Prince Louis, but his son-in-law Robert of

Ida remained aloof from English and Norman affairs, although she probably offered Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury her hospitality in November 1097 when he arrived in Wissant after being exiled by William Rufus.⁴⁰ Although Boulogne appears to have remained free of any violations of the Peace between 1096 and 1100, there were a few problems in Flanders—attacks on pilgrims in Baupaume, violence in Bruges, and an ecclesiastical conflict in Théroutanne. Countess Clemence, however, quickly restored order in Baupaume and Bruges. Comital authority and piety was iterated in Bruges when she founded, at her husband's behest, St André, Straten in 1099/1100.⁴¹ Her control was thorough, as witnessed by the coins issued in her own name during her regency and her role in the contested election to the see of Théroutanne.⁴² Urban II's 1097 deposition of Bishop Gerard pitted the church's canons against the diocese's abbots, and conservatives against reformers. It took two years for Clemence's reform candidate Jean de Warneton, archdeacon of Arras, to secure the see.⁴³ Ida's role in the conflict is unknown, although her friendship with Anselm and later with Bishop Jean suggests that she either

Bellême, was a supporter of William Rufus; (MacDonald 1971): 240 and (Dufour 1992): vol. 1, Appendice I, no. 1.

⁴⁰ (Eadmer 1964): 92. The next day Anselm went to St Omer.

⁴¹ (Adair 1993): 88; (Stahl 1990): 321–22; (Marneffe 1894–1901): 19–20. Robert had written his wife to found the abbey in honor of a promise he had made to God in Antioch.

⁴² Because the provost of Baupaume had been harassing pilgrims, Bishop Lambert of Arras wrote Clemence in 1097 asking her to bring him to heel since his own proclamation of peace and threat of interdict had produced no effect; (Adair 1993): 84–6; (Bouquet 1738–1876): 15:183. The provost of St Donatien, who was also the chancellor of Flanders used the relics of St Donatien to restore peace in Bruges in 1096; (Koziol 1987): 546; (Heinemann 1887): 15.2:858

⁴³ Gerard was deposed for wasting the wealth of the church and for selling prebends during his fourteen year episcopate; Moreau, 70–3. When the vacancy was not immediately filled, two factions formed: the clergy elected Obert (a canon of St Omer) and the abbots of the diocese elected John of Warneton; (Simon): 13:646–7; (de Moreau 1945): 72. Bishop Lambert wrote to Clemence at behest of Archbishop of Reims who had complained to Lambert about the pillaging of the church of Théroutanne and clergy's goods by a certain Robert; (Bouquet 1738–1876): 15:185. The Robert in question may be Robert of Béthune or Robert I of Crecques who was the bishop's viscount; (Bouquet 1738–1876): 15:185 note c; (Warlop 1975): 460, n. 37. In 1098, Clemence wrote Lambert stating that he should write the Archbishop Reims and advise him to do full justice to those who opposed her and John; (Bouquet 1738–1876): 15:187. In 1099, Abbot Lambert of St Bertin went with two other abbots and a letter from Clemence to meet with the papal legate Hugh of Die who reversed Obert's election. They then went to Rome; (Simon): 13:647.

explicitly or tacitly supported the reform candidate. Having secured the diocese for her candidate, Clemence, with the help of Abbot Lambert, reformed St Bertin abbey by transferring it to Cluny's authority.⁴⁴

In the absence of the Boulonnais and Flemish counts, Ida and Clemence pursued a subtle game of political maneuvering around Merck and Guines. Both women used ecclesiastical reform and patronage to preserve their family's political authority as well as to promote reform. Over the course of the second half of the eleventh century, Eustace II had reconquered the territory of Merck (a northern portion of Guines) and extended Boulonnais influence along the southern border of Guines, in part through the enlistment of Arnulf I of Ardres among his curiales.⁴⁵ Countess Ida of Boulogne's (1049–1113) patronage was also active in the territory of Merck and near the main Boulogne-Guines border. Ida founded the abbeys of Capelle (c. 1090) and Le Wast (c. 1096) and granted several gifts to Capelle within the territory of Merck.⁴⁶ While in Merck in 1098, she granted the *comitatus* of Ongyz and Berwold to St Bertin.⁴⁷ Ida's influence in Merck can also be seen in Viscount Eustace of Oye's grant to Capelle in 1112 for Ida's salvation as well as that of his family.⁴⁸ The foun-

⁴⁴ (Bruehl 1876–1903): 5:837–8. The transfer was confirmed at Rome, Easter 1099. Upon Robert II's return he confirmed the transfer but modified the agreement restoring his right as supreme advocate and reserving the bishop of Thérouanne's rights over the abbey; (Vercauteren 1938): no. 34, (De-Smet 1951): 160–4; (Sproemberg 1964): 1215. The charter is sometimes dated to 1106, but Adair and I follow De-Smet's argument for 1100; thus, this was Robert's first act once he arrived home.

⁴⁵ Arnulf I of Ardres (d. 1094) was Eustace II's seneschal; (Gyseling 1950): no. 116; WA, charter 968; (Lambert 1876): 24:613. Arnulf I of Ardres received six manors from Eustace II in England: Pavenham (Beds.), Turvey (Beds.), Little Odell (Beds.), Stevington (Beds.), Bromham (Beds.) and Trumpington (Cambs.), which were worth in total £18 90 s. His first wife was Matilda of Marquise (Boulogne). Arnulf I's children married into primarily Boulonnais families: the lords of Ode, Brunembert, Bellebrunne and Marquise. One daughter was married to the lord of Norhout (Guines) and Arnulf II of Ardres (1094–1139), the heir married Gertrude of Alost. Genealogical information based on Lambert of Ardres, 24:614, and summarized in the genealogy in (Shopkow 2001).

⁴⁶ (monk 1675): 142–143; AD (Lille), B1583, f. 2 (printed in (Miraeus 1723–1748): 2:1311–12); (Lambert 1876): 24:577–8.

⁴⁷ (Guerard 1841): 227–8. It is not known where Ongyz and Berwold were located.

⁴⁸ BNF (Paris), Collection Moreau 48, f. 120r; 'Notum vobis facio quod ego divino instinctu et uxoris mee Godildis assensu commonitus considerans paupertatem monachorum Beate Marie de Capella in villa Brocham volentata pro anima venerabilis Ide Boloniensis Comitisse et pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee et pro animabus predecessorum et suorum nostrorum per manum domini mei

dation of Capelle and the grants within the territory seem to indicate Boulonnais attempts to further secure their hold on this reconquered area. In addition to their use of ecclesiastical patronage to strengthen their influence in Merck, Eustace II and his son wooed the support of Baldwin of Osterwic, appointing him as their constable.⁴⁹ Osterwic lies on the coast just inside the border between Merck and Guines. The foundation of Le West, also along the border of Guines, again attests to the Boulonnais interest in extending their influence into Guines. As in Merck, we see the Boulonnais counts gain the support of border lords: Cono of Fiennes (Boulogne) and his sons Eustace and Roger, Hugh of Colesberg (Guines, near Le West) and Hugh of Longueville (Boulogne, south of Le West).⁵⁰ Resuming his governance of Boulogne in 1100, Eustace confirmed his mother's gifts and granted some of his own to Capelle.⁵¹ The abbey was also the recipient of Marian relics, a gift to Ida from Godfrey carried home by Eustace. Ida in turn granted them to Capelle.⁵² The relics were a potent symbol of the family's piety and

Comitis Eustachii. . . (I make note to you that I, by divine instinct, and with the consent of my wife, Godilde, having been reminded and contemplating the poverty of the monks of Blessed Mary of Capelle in the ville of Brocham willingly [grant] for the souls of the venerable Ida countess of Boulogne and for my soul and my wife and those of our ancestors and successors, through the hand of my lord Count Eustace . . .)'

⁴⁹ Baldwin of Osterwic (Austruy) became constable for Eustace II sometime between 1070 and 1088. In a 1070 settlement with Folkard abbot of St Peter's Gent, several of the Boulonnais comital household members are listed, including Arnulf constable; (Gysseling 1950): no. 116. A 'B . . . pincerna' attests Eustace's grant to St Martin le Grand; the charter can not be dated more closely than to 1072–1088; WA, charter 968. Baldwin of Osterwic was not among the tenants listed for the Honour of Boulogne in Domesday Book, which also indicates a post-1072 date for his introduction into Eustace's *familiares*. Baldwin attested one of Countess Ida's charters in 1096, and was a frequent attestor of Eustace III's charters: (Miræus 1723–1748): 1:77 (Ida); (Haigneré 1880–1892): 2:24, 27; (Moore 1897): 47; AD (Lille), B1593, f. 2; AM (Amiens), 1077C, f. 40; (Bruehl 1876–1903): no. 3984.

⁵⁰ The lords of Fiennes were tied by marriage to Eustace II's seneschal Arnulf I of Ardres; Arnulf's sister Adele married Eustace I of Fiennes. Their son Cono of Fiennes witnessed one of Countess Ida's 1096 charters and several of Eustace III's: (Gysseling 1950): no. 225; AD (Lille) 1593, f. 2; (Gibbs 1939): no. 198; (Haigneré 1880–1892): 2:24, 27. Cono's sons Eustace and Roger also witnessed Boulonnais comital charters: Eustace, (Haigneré 1880–1892): 2:24, 27, Bruehl, no. 3984, BN (Paris), Coll. Moreau 59, f. 156; and Roger, (Haigneré 1880–1892): 2:24, 27. For Hugh of Colesberg see: (Haigneré 1880–1892): 2:21; (Haigneré 1864–1872): 373. For Hugh of Longueville see (Haigneré 1880–1892): 2:27 and AM (Amiens) 1077C, f. 40.

⁵¹ AD (Lille) Ms. B 1593, f. 2.

⁵² (Pruvost 1875–8): 107.

military prowess and their gift reinforced the legitimacy of Boulonnais comital authority in Merck.

In counterpoint to Boulonnais activity in Merck, Robert and Clemence frequented Bourbourg more often, and generously patronized Watten abbey (c. 1072).⁵³ On October 23, 1097, Clemence and Bishop Lambert of Arras officiated at the consecration of Watten's church to the Virgin Mary and handed over the relics of the Virgin, the apostle Matthew and St Nicholas which Count Robert had received from his sister Adele duchess of Apulia on his way to Jerusalem.⁵⁴ Between 1096 and 1104, Countess Clemence founded the abbey of Bourbourg and continued to patronize it until 1121.⁵⁵ The choice of site was not random; Clemence's dower lands, which included the border town and port of Gravelines (north of Merck), were often given in or adjacent to areas of contested lordship.⁵⁶ Clemence's choice for abbess of her new foundation was the sister of the castellans of two of her dower towns—Bergues and Dixmude—and of Abbot Lambert of St Bertin.⁵⁷ Prior to Robert II's rule, Bourbourg does not figure in any of the Flemish comital acta, either as a place of issuance or the toponym of an attestor. Yet during Robert II's rule, three comital acta were issued from Bourbourg and Teinard castellan of Bourbourg attested seven of Robert II's charters.⁵⁸ Flemish interest in Guines is also suggested by the four attestations of Baldric of Culhem, one for Robert I and three for Robert II; Culhem is located in southeastern Guines, between the forests of Tourneham and Eperlecques, which was a Boulonnais possession.⁵⁹ The gift to Watten, the foundation of Bourbourg, and Clemence's

⁵³ The earliest known charter of Robert I places Watten under his protection and adds several gifts; (Vercauteren 1938): no. 1, charter was issued at St Omer in June 1072. For the foundation of Watten see (Holder-Egger 1883): 14:161.

⁵⁴ (Coussemaker 1860): 5:359–60.

⁵⁵ (Coussemaker 1882–9): v. 1, nos. 3, 5–10, 12–13, 22, 28, 38–9. All these gifts were made in conjunction with her husband or son with the exception of nos. 28, 38, and 39. Several gifts and ecclesiastical confirmations were made at Clemence's request; (Coussemaker 1882–9): v. 1, nos. 2, 4, 17, 23, 25–27, 30–32, 40, and 45.

⁵⁶ (Adair 1993): chapter 5.

⁵⁷ (Adair 1993): 69; (Warlop 1975): 127–32.

⁵⁸ (Vercauteren 1938): nos. 12, 25, 30, 31, 35, 36, 45, 47. Teinard remained a prominent attestor for Baldwin VII and Charles with eight and seven attestations, respectively: nos. 54, 60, 63, 64, 65, 71, 84, 87 for Baldwin VII; nos. 95, 98, 105, 107, 108, 109, and 112 for Charles. Teinhard's subscriptions follow the foundation of Bourbourg.

⁵⁹ (Vercauteren 1938): nos. 16, 21, 33, and 34.

success at securing Théroutanne for her candidate reaffirmed and strengthened comital authority along the Guines and Boulogne border which is reflected in Teinhard's and Baldric's attestations.

Upon his return Eustace was faced once again with the necessity of choosing between an alliance with Duke Robert Curthose, or the English king—this time Robert's youngest brother, Henry.⁶⁰ Eustace's decision to continue his support of Robert Curthose, a reflection of his longstanding friendship to Robert and the members of his entourage, is in direct contrast with Robert II of Flanders' decision to maintain the English alliance established in 1093.⁶¹ Although Henry and Robert had not started off on a positive note, each man sought the other's neutrality in order to pursue other goals.⁶² Robert wanted to resume his efforts in Cambrai, and the separation of England and Normandy continued to be in the Flemish count's best interests. In the first treaty of Dover, 10 March 1101, Robert agreed to aid Henry against his enemies, reserving his service to the king of France, in return for a money fief. The treaty specifically exempts Eustace from the terms of the agreement, thus highlighting Eustace's independence from Flanders and the strength of his ties to Robert Curthose.⁶³ Neither Eustace nor Manasses II of Guines acted as

⁶⁰ Henry had seized the English throne upon William Rufus's death in August 1100.

⁶¹ Manasses married Emma de Tancarville; (Stapleton 1866): 218; (Lambert 1876): 24:579. Lambert d'Ardres says that Manasses was frequently in the company of William Rufus in England.

⁶² Robert demanded a continuation of his annuity and Henry's reply was that it was not the custom of the English king to pay it; WM/GR, 1:728–730.

⁶³ (Vercauteren 1938): no. 30; see specifically sections 7 and 9. '§7. Et homines qui ad regem venerint, quiete et salve venient per terram et portus comitis Roberti, quicumque ipsi sint vel undecumque veniant. Nec naves defenduntur eis, si eas convenienter conducere voluerint, excepte terra comitis Eustachii. Et hominibus terre comitis Roberti, qui in servitium regis Anglie venire voluerint, non denogabit comes licentiam, et si venerint propter hoc non amittent terram, nec foedum, nec conventionem aliquam, quam habeant de comite. . . . (And men who come to the king shall pass freely and safely over land and through the harbors of Count Robert, whoever they are and from wherever they come. Nor will they be denied ships if they wish to rent them, except in the land of Count Eustace. And the count shall not deny permission to men of the land of Count Robert who wish to enter the service of the king of the English; and if they come they shall on no account lose land or a fief or any agreement which they have with him.) §9. Et inimici regis qui sibi werram per mare vel per terram facient, fiduciam non habebunt in comite, nec receptacula in terra sua, que comes R. defendere vel auferre eis possit, excepta terra comitis Eustachii. Et si aliquis homo comitis R., regi Henrico, vel hominibus ejus facere noluerit, in comite vel hominibus ejus fiduciam non habebit, nisi consensu regis, excepto comite Eustachio. (And the king's enemies who fight against

sureties for either Henry or Robert II. However, the Dover agreement reveals the desirability of an English-Boulonnais alliance; if Henry wanted to transport Flemish soldiers to England from the port of Wissant, as the treaty provided, he had to win Eustace's friendship.⁶⁴ Eustace was joined in his rejection of Henry I by the new count of Ponthieu, Robert of Bellême, and his brothers Arnulf and Roger.⁶⁵ The duke was also aided by his crusade companions

him on sea or on land shall not have the count's trust nor receive any place of refuge in his land which Count Robert can defend against them or take away from them, unless in the land of Count Eustace. And if any man of Count Robert offends King Henry or his men and refuses to make restitution to King Henry or his men on Count Robert's behalf, he shall not have the faith of the count or his men, unless with the agreement of the king, except for Count Eustace.' The dating of the charter has been controversial, but the weight of opinion seems to be for a 1101 not 1103 date. The 1103 date seems untenable given Eustace's specific exemption from the terms of the agreement, which would have been unnecessary in 1103 after Eustace had allied with Henry. In addition, one of the witnesses, William Giffard, is identified as chancellor. William had ceased to be chancellor by September 3, 1101; he had been elevated to the bishopric of Winchester. Robert's lack of authority over Boulogne is clear in sections 7 and 9, however section 2 implies a connection between the two men. 'Et naves istas salvas faciet comes Robertus de omnibus hominibus suis et nominatim de Eustachio comite et de omnibus aliis hominibus, a quibus eas salvare poterit, eundo, morando et redeundo. (And Count Robert shall bear the cost of shipping for all his own men, Count Eustace expressly, and all other men, for whom he shall pay for the duration of he stay [in the harbor] and for the crossing to and fro.)' The phrase 'de omnibus . . . hominibus' can be translated as 'for all his own men and in particular Count Eustace of Boulogne's men and all his other men' or as 'for all his own men, Count Eustace expressly, and all other men'. I prefer the latter reading. In addition while Vercauteren's edition uses *salvas* and *salvere*, Chaplais' edition, which is preferred, uses *solvere*; (Chaplais 1964): 1–4. In this case, Eustace's obligation to Robert stems from Lens which was held as a benefice from the Flemish counts, therefore Robert paid for the cost of shipping the men Eustace would supply if Henry invoked the treaty. For an English translation of the treaty see (Van Houts 1999): 169–74.

⁶⁴ (Vercauteren 1938): no. 30, §2. Et ante necessitatem infram XL dies, postquam comes Robertus, ex parte regis, legato vel litteris summonitus fuerit, comes praedictus mille equites habebit ad portus suos, paratos transfretare in Angliam in auxilium regis Henrici, quam citius potuerit. Et rex inveniet eis naves et mittet eas vel Graveninges vel ad Hwitland. . . . (And within forty days of Count Robert having been summoned by the king [of England] by a messenger or letters, the count shall have 1000 mounted soldiers in his harbors, ready to cross to England in support of King Henry as quickly as possible. And the king shall find them ships and send them to either Gravesend or Wissant.)

⁶⁵ (Lewis 1989): 576–87; (Green 1997): 280; (Mooers (Christelow) 1981–2): Appendix B. Henry's supporters were men with lands in the Contentin—Earl Hugh, Baldwin de Redvers, Rualon d'Avranches—the Bretons Alan fitz Flaad and Hasculf of St James, as well as Robert count of Meulan, Henry de Beaumont, Simon de Senlis, and Walter Giffard, the bishop of London, and the treasurer of Winchester; (Green 1997): 280.

Ivo of Grandmesnil, William of Ferrières, William count of Evreux, and Robert de Montfort, as well as new allies Eustace of Breteuil, William of Mortain (whose fathers had supported Robert in 1088), William and Reginald of Warenne, and Robert de Lacy. Territorial interests, kinship, and companionship in arms in previous coalitions united the duke's allies in 1101.

Robert and his allies arrived at Portsmouth in August 1101 and were met by a large royal army. However, men on both sides preferred that the brothers did not fight, and negotiated a treaty.⁶⁶ The duke received an annuity of 3,000 silver marcs, and each recognized the other as their heir in the absence of children of their own bodies. Henry then used patronage to win over some of his most powerful enemies. He won Eustace's allegiance through the restoration of the Honour of Boulogne. 'The chief men, however, went between them and reconciled the brothers on the condition that the king gave up all he was forcibly holding against the count in Normandy, and that all in England who had lost their land because of the count should have it again. And Count Eustace also should have his father's land in this country. . . .'⁶⁷ Henry's beneficence catapulted Eustace into the highest echelons of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy, a position which was further strengthened by the marriage of Eustace to Henry's sister-in-law, Mary of Scotland in 1102.⁶⁸ Eustace's rapprochement with Henry also brought renewed ties to the de Tosny family. Raoul II had been a consistent support of Robert Curthose, but his son and heir Raoul III (1102–c. 1126) had supported Henry in his conflicts with his eldest brother. Raoul III married Eustace's cousin Judith, daughter of Judith and Earl Waltheof, in 1097.⁶⁹ Eustace's alliance with Henry brought an end to his support of the Norman duke and broke the longstanding alliance between the counts of Boulogne and Ponthieu.⁷⁰ Henry exiled Robert of Bellême in 1101, and Robert's abiding interest in his lands in Normandy and Maine as well as his friendship with Robert Curthose kept him at odds with the English king. Robert remained in southern Normandy to protect

⁶⁶ (Henry 1996): 451; ASC a. 1101; (John 1995): 3:98; WM/GR, 716–18.

⁶⁷ (John 1995): 3:98; ASC, 177. See also (Mooers (Christelow) 1981–2): Appendix B.

⁶⁸ (John 1995): 2:102.

⁶⁹ (Mussel 1977): 63–4. Judith was the daughter of Lambert II of Lens (nephew of Eustace II) and Adelaide of Normandy (William the Conqueror's sister).

⁷⁰ See chapter 3.

his patrimony, while his estranged wife Agnes and later, their son William II Talvas governed Ponthieu from 1103.⁷¹ During William II Talvas' minority, the men of Ponthieu remained uninvolved in the conflict within Normandy.

Despite William Rufus' seizure of the Honour of Boulogne, very few properties of the Honour had been alienated to new tenants-in-chief, and thus Eustace III regained almost the whole of the territories his father had been granted. There are only two charters concerning readjustments of lands re-granted out of the Honour in the first decade of Henry's rule. In late 1101, Eustace, with Henry's consent, restored Cripplegate to St Martin le Grand, which William Rufus had taken from St Martin's because of the conflict between Eustace and William.⁷² Duxford (Essex) had been alienated to Hugh d'Envermeu by William Rufus.⁷³ Henry restored Duxford to Eustace between 1102 and 1107.

Between September 1101 and 1108 Eustace was an active member of Henry's coalition. Eustace was a frequent attestor of Henry's charters, and he was in attendance at the first meeting in Normandy of Henry's faction in 1104.⁷⁴ Also in attendance were Ralph III de

⁷¹ Agnes witnessed three of her father's charters in 1100; (Brunel 1930): nos. 8 (6 October 1100), 11 (25 Mar–13 Oct 1100), and 12 (before 14 October 1100). Her husband imprisoned her in his castle during the 1103–4 rebellion, but she escaped, first seeking refuge with Countess Adela of Blois; OV, 4:300. She remained in Ponthieu until her death which is thought to be c. 1105; (Loprete 1990): 582, n. 49. Her husband Robert issued only one charter as count of Ponthieu on 5 November 1101 (for Troan abbey); their son William Talvas issued his first charter as count of Ponthieu between 25 March 1110 and 24 March 1111 (for St Peter's, Abbeville); (Brunel 1930): nos. 15 and 17. Robert and William issued a joint charter in 1106 at Marmoutiers for the monks there; (Brunel 1930): no. 16.

⁷² RRAN2, no. 556.

⁷³ RRAN2, no. 818; Hugh later exchanged it with Abbot Gilbert of St Peter's Gloucester for Doddington. For Hugh's support of William see (Barlow 1983): 185, 296, 361.

⁷⁴ Eustace attested six of Henry's charters and two of Henry's supporters. Henry confirmed three donations made by the comital family of Boulogne and made one gift to Eustace. Eustace attested: RRAN2, no. 544 (3 September 1101) for Bath cathedral; no. 548 (3 September 1101) for Norwich; no. 730 (1103–5) for St Peter's, Gent; no. 802 (1100–1106) for Romsey; no. 825 (August 1107) for Montebourg; and no. 883 (May 1108) for Romsey abbey. Eustace attested Richard de Redvers gift to Montebourg abbey, no. 826 (1104–7, probably August 1107); and Archbishop of Rouen's charter regarding Bec abbey, no. 792 (1106). Henry confirmed Ida's gift to St Wulmer, no. 599 (1101–Michaelmas 1102); confirmed Countess Mary's and several other donors gifts to Bermondsey abbey no. 665 (?1104); and notified his officials in Essex of Eustace's gift to St Botulph's Colchester, no. 775 (1106). Henry restored Duxford to Eustace which had been held by St. Peter's Westminster,

Tosny, Robert of Meulan, Richard of Chester, Stephen of Aumale, Henry of Eu, Routrou of Perche, Robert fitz Hamon, Robert of Montfort and Ralph of Mortemer. Although it was almost a year later before the war broke out in earnest, Robert of Bellême and William of Mortain kept much of southern Normandy in arms.⁷⁵ Defeated at the battle of Tinchebrai (August 1106), Robert was incarcerated in England until his death in 1134. Orderic Vitalis' account of the war in Normandy between Pentecost 1105 and the battle of Tinchebrai does not mention Eustace, nor do any of the other Anglo-Norman chroniclers.⁷⁶ However, it seems likely that Eustace did campaign with his brother-in-law in light of the dating of Eustace's attestations of Henry's charters.

The pattern of pious donations of the Boulonnais comital family also reveals the trans-Channel nature of Boulonnais activity during this period. The dowager Countess Ida granted her manor of Nutfield (Surrey) to St Wulmer of Boulogne (1102), and Countess Mary made a grant to Bermondsey (1104?).⁷⁷ Ida carried on an active correspondence with her good friend Anselm of Bec.⁷⁸ It may be in this

and later exchanged for Doddington with Hugh d'Envermeu; no. 818 (1102–1107). For the 1104–6 campaign against Duke Robert see OV, 4:199–200; (Hicks 1979): 20–24.

⁷⁵ OV, 6:54–60.

⁷⁶ OV, 6:78–80, 88–92. Helias of Maine, William of Evreux, Robert of Meulan, William of Warenne, Ralph of Bayeux, Raoul III de Tosny, Robert of Montfort, and Robert of Grandmesnil fought with Henry. The duke's forces included Robert Bellême, William of Mortain, Robert of Stuteville, and William of Ferrières. William of Malmesbury casts Robert of Bellême and William of Mortain as the main rabble-rousers, and only names two of Henry's faction in 1105–6: Robert fitz Hamon and Roger of Gloucester; WM/GR, 718–24. Eadmer copies Henry's letter to Anselm listing the duke, William of Mortain, William Crispin, William of Ferrières, and Robert de Stuteville as his prisoners, but the letter does not name Henry's companions in arms; (Eadmer 1964): 196–7. Henry of Huntingdon states that Henry had 'all the nobility of Normandy and the flower of England, Anjou and Brittany,' (Henry 1996): 452–4. John of Worcester reports the hostility of Robert of Bellême and William of Mortain but does not list any of Henry's faction, although he does note Henry's use of gold and silver to win supporters; (John 1995): 2:106–10.

⁷⁷ RRAN2, nos. 599, 665. The editors have dated no. 599 to 1101–Michaelmas 1102, but the date can be narrowed further to September 1101–Michaelmas 1102 since Henry and Eustace were not reconciled until September 1101.

⁷⁸ Eadmer notes that Anselm 'went to Boulogne to confer with Countess Ida,' in the autumn of 1092; (Eadmer 1964): 30. Anselm had been avoiding England and his possible election to the archbishopric of Canterbury. Their longstanding friendship can also be seen in their correspondence. (Schmitt 1946–1952): nos. 82, 114, 131. Anselm wrote a letter of congratulations and advice to Baldwin upon becoming king in Jerusalem; he also advised the abbot of St Wulmer, Samer;

period that Eustace granted Bec abbey freedom from the tolls levied at Wissant.⁷⁹ Eustace granted Frencq to St Wolmer, Samer (1099–1112), restored Cripplegate to St Martin's le Grand (1101?), gave land to the canons of St Botolph's Colchester and St Paul's London (1106). Eustace and Mary founded the priory of Rumilly (1105) and granted St Wolmer (Samer) to Cluny in 1107.⁸⁰ Bishop Lambert of Arras confirmed the canons of Lens' possessions at the Boulonnais count's request in 1106.⁸¹

Eustace's presence at Henry's court is in sharp contrast to his complete absence from Robert II's. Eustace apparently did not campaign with the Flemish count in Cambrai between 1101 and 1103, nor did he aid Robert's opponents Ida of Hainaut, Godfrey duke of Lower Lorraine, or King Henry IV. His neutrality in this conflict stemmed from his desire to preserve Lens. Although Henry took several Flemish castles along the border, the two negotiated a settlement in 1103 which granted the Cambrésis to Robert as an imperial fief.⁸² Conflict erupted between the count of Hainaut and Flanders again in 1105–1107, this time over Douai; Robert once again emerged victorious.⁸³

(Schmitt 1946–1952): nos. 235 and 186. Anselm also wrote to Ida's brother-in-law Bishop Godfrey urging his clemency toward a cleric Waleran; (Schmitt 1946–1952): no. 186. The letters also give a glimpse at how the family administered their dispersed properties. For example, Ida's chaplain Lambert was sent to England to see to her affairs (c. 1101) and presumably her cleric Rainer carried out the same function in 1093; (Schmitt 1946–1952): 244. Rainer brought the confidential news of Anselm's affairs in 1093 to Ida, as well as carried the letter from Anselm to Baldwin; (Schmitt 1946–1952): nos. 167 and 235. See also chapter 3.

⁷⁹ RRAN3, no. 73. Eustace's gift is known through Stephen's confirmation of the gift.

⁸⁰ (Haigneré 1880–1892): 21.

⁸¹ BNF (Paris), Collection Moreau 50, f. 121r–v; (Kempe 1825): 35–6; RRAN2, nos. 556 (Henry's notification of Kempe charter), 599, 665, and 775; (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:81–2. The dating of the Moreau charter is based on the attestation of John bishop of Thérouanne's (1096–1130) and the confirmation of Frencq in Eustace's 1112 charter to Samer. Not all of the relations between Eustace and Lambert of Arras were positive; in 1104 Pope Pascal II wrote to Eustace ordering him to restore the altars his uncle Godfrey bishop of Paris held when he was a member of the Arras cathedral chapter. (Bouquet 1738–1876): 15:28.

⁸² (Sigebert 1844): 6:368; *Gesta epis. Cam.*, 7:505–6; (Bethman 1846): 7:545; (Hicks 1974): 36. Baldwin III did not reach his majority until 1103. Ida was threatened with excommunication by Manasses in 1101–2; (Dereine 1983): 145. Dereine argues that the gift of St Saulve, Valenciennes to Cluny is a gesture of reconciliation with Manasses and Rome; (Dereine 1983): 145–6, 152–3.

⁸³ Robert had acted upon the turmoil caused by the future Henry V's rebellion

Robert II and Henry I of England, concerned by each other's territorial and political gains of the preceding several years, entered into a diplomatic dance in 1108–1109 to neutralize the effects of these gains. Henry negotiated the betrothal of his daughter Matilda to Henry V in 1108 to counterbalance the renewed good relations between Robert II and the French king.⁸⁴ Sometime between 1106 and 1110, Henry won Manasses of Guines' friendship through the count's marriage to Emma de Tancarville, who had inherited her father's lands in England.⁸⁵ Henry had thus ringed Robert with his allies in Guines, Boulogne, St Pol (as Eustace III's ally), and Louvain and Hainaut via the imperial alliance. Godfrey of Louvain, now duke of Lower Lorraine, was a loyal and favored friend of Henry V, and uncle of Baldwin III of Hainaut. While Robert had no immediate fears from the east since his agreement in 1107 with Henry V and his sister's marriage to Thierry duke of Upper Lorraine, he responded to Henry's initiatives by betrothing his son to the daughter of Alan count of Brittany. Henry, in turn, convinced the pope to prohibit it on the basis of consanguinity.⁸⁶

When war broke out between the English and French kings over Gisors in 1109, the Flemish count joined the royal forces as did the counts of Ponthieu and Blois. However, Henry and Louis negotiated a temporary peace in March 1109.⁸⁷ Henry used the lull to renew

against his father; Hicks, 68. Although Henry V campaigned with Baldwin III of Hainaut and his uncle Godfrey of Louvain against Robert, they achieved only limited success. (Sigebert 1844): 6:372; (Fuhrmann 1986): 85–6.

⁸⁴ Henry V sent envoys to Henry I in Normandy in 1108, negotiations for the marriage alliance were complete in late 1108 or early 1109; see Henry's letter to Archbishop Anselm; (Schmitt 1946–1952): 5:410 and no. 461. Matilda left England in February 1110; she landed at Boulogne, and then traveled to Liège; (Chibnall 1992): 16–17.

⁸⁵ Emma's first husband, Nigel de Monville, was alive until c. 1106; RRAN2, no. 639 (1103–6). Emma had inherited her father William of Arques' English lands, including Folkstone castle, while her sister Matilda inherited the family's Norman lands; (Stapleton 1866): 218. Her mother Beatrix got the usufruct of Newington manor. Manasses served as a guarantor/hostage for Henry in the second Treaty of Dover, and witnessed one of Henry's acts in 1113; (Vercauteren 1938): no. 41 and RRAN2, no. 1015a. Manasses witnessed one of Robert I's charters in 1093 (Vercauteren 1938): 13; foundation of Ham abbey, two charters for Robert II in 1093 and 1096 (Vercauteren, nos. 17 and 21), and one for Baldwin VII in 1114–19, (Vercauteren 1938): no. 40.

⁸⁶ (Vercauteren-Desmet 1937): 419–22.

⁸⁷ RRAN2, no. 910; (Suger 1929): 102–4.

the Dover treaty with Robert.⁸⁸ Robert agreed, perhaps against his wife's advice, since he hoped to prevent Henry from aiding his son-in-law Henry V of Germany when Robert moved against the bishop of Utrecht's authority in the Quatre Metiers region.⁸⁹ Henry had an eye on the continuing war in the Vexin and the bordering region of Normandy. The second treaty reduced Robert's obligations as he was no longer required to provide 500 knights to fight in Normandy. Unlike the first treaty, Eustace acted as a witness and pledge for both Henry and Robert in the second Treaty of Dover, as did Manasses of Guines.⁹⁰ In addition, section seventeen reveals that Eustace's commitment to the Norman alliance was balanced by his friendly neutrality towards Robert II.⁹¹ If Henry summoned the Flemish count for breach of the treaty or because he had announced he was with-

⁸⁸ (Vercauteren 1938): no. 41.

⁸⁹ See the last sentence of §17 which states that 'Moreover the countess has promised to hold, as much as she is able, the count in this agreement, and in friendship with the king and in the aforesaid service faithfully through love.' In addition, 100 of the 500 marcs were given directly to Clemence. Robert only had to provide 250 knights for campaigns in Maine. The dowry of Henry's daughter Matilda, who would not formally marry Henry V until 1114, included land near Utrecht and in Lower Lorraine; see note 154. For Robert's activities in Utrecht see (de Moreau 1945): 418; (Pirenne 1929): 116; (Russell 1992): 56–9.

⁹⁰ (Vercauteren 1938): no. 41; In addition to Eustace, John chaplain of Bayeux, Robert of Bellême, William of Warenne, Gilbert de Aquila, Haimo dapifer, Ranulf Meschin and Roger fitz Richard represented Henry at this negotiation. Henry's pledges were Count Eustace, the count of Guines, Robert of Béthune, Baldwin of Lens, William castellan of St Omer, Roger castellan of Lille, Walter castellan of Bruges, Froald of Bergues, Richeward of Furnes, Baldwin son of Robert of Béthune. Robert's pledges were Count Eustace, Manasses of Guines, Robert of Bellême, Ranulf Meschin, Gilbert de Aquila, Henry count of Eu, Roger fitz Richard, Count of Warenne, and Simon de Molinis.

⁹¹ Vercauteren, no. 41; 'Porro si comes ab conventione exierit, et rex eum inde summonerit, afferentur hujus conventionis scripta Bolonia et ibi videbuntur si comes Eustachius tunc vixerit vel cum rege bene fuerit. Quod si mortuus fuerit comes Eustachius vel ab amicitia regis dixerit, ad Aucum deferentur scripta conventionis prefate, cum securitate et pace ex utraque parte. Si vero Robertus comes regem summonuerit, ad Doueram in Anglia praefata scripta ferentur et ibi videbuntur similiter cum securitate et pace ex utraque parte. . . .' (If moreover the count withdraws from the treaty and the king from that cause will summon him, it will be announced by these written agreements at Boulogne and be seen there if Count Eustace is living then and he is on good terms with the king. Because if Count Eustace is dead or has withdrawn from the friendship of the king, the said written agreements will be brought to Eu with security and peace on both parts. If truly Count Robert will summon the king the written agreements will be brought to Dover in England and be seen there similarly with security and peace on both parts . . .)

drawing from it, the written summons would be read in Boulogne, if Eustace was alive or still friends with Henry. If this was not the case, the summons would be read in Eu with a safe conduct for all parties.

After the 1110 Treaty of Dover, Eustace appears much less frequently in Henry's acta. The English king became enmeshed in a series of continental wars fought against Louis VI.⁹² Eustace's role in these wars is difficult to determine. None of the chroniclers mention Eustace at any of the battles, but this may just be a reflection of the local bias of the chroniclers.⁹³ Eustace's military aid to Henry in this period is also difficult to establish because there would be little reason for Eustace to attest Henry's charters concerning Norman lands since the Boulonnais count held none in Normandy. Although both Robert II (1093–1111) and Charles the Good (1119–1127) of Flanders fought with Louis, they did so within the provisions of their treaties with Henry. Baldwin VII (1111–1119), however, was an active campaigner in northern Normandy as a supporter of William Clito (Robert Curthose's son) and ally of Louis VI.⁹⁴ Prior to the 1117–19 war, Eustace would have little fear that his aid to Henry would jeopardize Boulogne or Lens. Young Baldwin VII did not fight in the 1111–13 war, and William II Talvas count of Ponthieu and his father, Robert of Bellême, fought primarily in southern Normandy in defense of their patrimony. Eustace's ally Hugh Candavene count of St Pol used the preoccupation of the counts of Ponthieu and Flanders with the war against Henry I, and later the disputed succession of Charles the Good, to aggressively enlarge his own territory.⁹⁵ In addition, Manasses of Guines appears to have held himself aloof from these series of conflicts. Since the death of Eustace's uncle, Bishop Godfrey of Paris (in 1095), there was apparently no contact with the French royal court; Eustace's territorial interests and Louis'

⁹² These wars between Henry and King Louis VI occurred in 1111–1113, 1117–1119, 1123–1124, and 1127–1128.

⁹³ Henry of Huntingdon provides a summary account of the warfare between 1111 and 1128; (Henry 1996): 458–478. Suger's account focuses on the Île de France and the Vexin; Suger (Suger 1929): 70–5, 105, 111–18. Orderic Vitalis on the Normans; OV, 6:158–162, 176–204, 216–42. William of Malmesbury gives no specifics about the campaigning; WM/GR, 732–4.

⁹⁴ See (Hicks 1974): 87–90 for Robert II, 120–146 for Baldwin VII, and 173–83 and 224 for Charles. For a briefer account see (Hicks 1979): 4–6, 11.

⁹⁵ See (Feuchère 1953): 131–3.

lack of patronage encouraged Eustace's active support of Henry's cause. In these circumstances, it seems likely that Eustace did fight with Henry, particularly if the action was in northern Normandy, which would be closer to Boulogne.

The 1111–13 war initially began as a conflict between Henry's nephew Theobald of Blois and Louis VI but expanded to include the Vexin and Maine. One key to the Thibaudian-Norman victory was the aid of Henry's sister and Theobald's mother, Countess Adela. Adela's adroit diplomacy and strategic use of marriage to her daughters allowed her to win over several of Louis' allies: Hugh III le Puiset, Amaury de Montfort, his son-in-law Hugh of Crécy, and Hugh's cousin Milo of Bray.⁹⁶ Although Robert of Bellême and Robert of Flanders were stalwart in their support of Louis, the Flemish count died at Meaux in October 1111, and the lord of Bellême was captured and incarcerated by Henry in 1112. After his father's death, Baldwin VII of Flanders attention was given to establishing his authority within Flanders. William Talvas' efforts were concentrated on the Bellême lands.⁹⁷ In late March 1113, Louis recognized Henry's suzerainty over Maine and Bellême. Henry rewarded his sister's support through the gift of the county of Mortain and the honour of Eye to her third son Stephen.⁹⁸

Despite the absence of evidence for Eustace's military role in the wars between Louis VI and Henry I, the persistence of the Norman-Boulonnais alliance can be adduced indirectly from the timing of Eustace's interactions with Baldwin VII and his successor Charles, and by Henry's continued patronage. Most of the interactions between Baldwin VII and Eustace, and all of those between Charles and Eustace, can be firmly dated to periods of truce or military inactivity in the wars of Henry I and Louis VI.⁹⁹ A series of grants made

⁹⁶ (Loprete 1990): 584. The lords of Puiset and Bray married daughters of Adela. In 1113, Milo was forced to annul his marriage; (Loprete 1990): 585.

⁹⁷ (Thompson 1994): 278–9; (Farrer 1919): 367.

⁹⁸ (Loprete 1990): 586 and (Lewis 1989): 571, 577–8. Adela's daughter Matilda married Henry's loyal ally Richard of Chester.

⁹⁹ Suger does not make any reference to Baldwin VII's support in 1112–1113; (Suger 1887): 67–80. Baldwin's absence is also corroborated by the evidence of his surviving charters. Of the eight charters known to have been issued by Baldwin VII between October 1111 to March 1113, the place of issuance indicates that the farthest south that Baldwin went was Arras where he and his mother Clemence received Robert II's body from King Louis VI. Baldwin issued two charters in Arras; the remaining charters from this period were issued from Bergues (October

by Eustace III in 1113 and confirmation charters issued by Henry I and Baldwin VII suggest that Eustace fought during the 1111–1113 war. A truce ending this war was negotiated in late March 1113 near Gisors, and Henry celebrated Easter at Rouen.¹⁰⁰ Eustace may have been present at these negotiations and at Henry's Easter court. Henry issued a confirmation of the gift of the farm of Verelwast to the bishop of Lisieux which Eustace attested.¹⁰¹ Although the charter can only be dated to 1111–1118, the attestation list suggests that it was granted in Easter 1113. Eustace's active participation in Henry's campaigns and the truce is also suggested by a gift made to St Martin des Champs. In 1113, Eustace and his wife petitioned Bishop Jean of Théroutanne to grant the church of Frévent (arr. St Pol) to St Martin des Champs.¹⁰² This is the only gift of the Boulonnais comital family to St Martin des Champs, which was also patronized by the Capetians, and as such gives the appearance of a peace offering to Louis VI.

Eustace's actions against Louis may not just have been in aid of Henry's campaigns; he may have encroached upon the royal enclave of Montreuil. Between 1094 and c. 1115, Eustace made a gift to priory of St Georges, Hesdin abolishing the labor service owed on the fisc of Verton which is in Montreuil.¹⁰³ Engelran of Montreuil is among Eustace's attestors of this grant and also in charters of 1107 and 1113. Engelran's brother Anscher of Montreuil also witnessed Eustace's 1113 charter. The timing of their attestations suggests Eustace's growing influence in this area, which was a product of the count of Ponthieu's absence. Guy of Ponthieu had established his authority in Montreuil towards the end of his rule as can be

1111–8 Feb 1112), St Omer (13 Feb 1112), Ypres (12 Apr 1112), Furnes (10 June 1112), Aire (2 or 19 Oct 1112) and Bourbourg (1112). (Vercauteren 1938): nos. 52, 54–60; no. 53 is a forged charter.

¹⁰⁰ (Farrer 1919): 366. For a more detailed itinerary see (Mooers (Christelow) 1996): 218–19.

¹⁰¹ RRAN2, no. 1022.

¹⁰² (Depoin 1912): no. 141. Louis VI issued twelve *acta* concerning St Martin des Champs between 1108 and 1125, (Dufour 1992): v. 1, nos. 37, 51, 56, 102, 103, 110, 117, 126, 160, 161, 187, 191. Two were his own gifts and eight were confirmations of gifts made by others. Louis granted St Martin's serfs the right to testify against free men and in another charter claimed a serf from the abbey who had married a royal serf.

¹⁰³ (Fossier 1988): no. 110; for Engelran see also, (Haigneré 1880–1892): 2:21, 27; for Anscher, (Haigneré 1880–1892): 2:27.

seen by his gifts to St Saulve, Montreuil and St Josse-sur-Mer in 1100, as well as in the subscriptions of Anscher, Hugh Vuamelin of Montreuil, and Watcelin viscount of Montreuil.¹⁰⁴

The truce between Henry and Louis apparently generated a rapprochement between Eustace III and the new Flemish count. Baldwin VII issued a confirmation charter for Eustace's gift of the sheepfold of Neuenna (in the territory of Merck) after July 1113.¹⁰⁵ The timing of Baldwin's confirmation and Eustace's recognition of the Flemish count's suzerainty in Merck suggests that the confirmation was part of the restoration of relations between the two houses and the general peace of March 1113.¹⁰⁶ Eustace had granted the sheepfold to St Wolmer prior to July 1112.¹⁰⁷ The July 1113 confirmation is for the sheepfold only, rather than a more general confirmation of the abbey's possessions, and is followed immediately in the cartulary by Baldwin VII's and Bishop Jean's confirmations. Thus, it seems likely that the charters of confirmation were acts re-establishing friendly relations between the counts of Boulogne and Flanders. The renewed ties between the two counts can also be seen in an 1113 letter of Lambert bishop of Arras. Lambert requested that Eustace make peace with a fugitive soldier from Nigella who had sought refuge in the church of Arras.¹⁰⁸ Lambert exhorted him to restore the knight to his former position in Eustace's castle. Lambert orders Baldwin VII, who is at Lens, to allow this restoration.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ (Brunel 1930): no. 8 (6 Oct 1100) gifts for the construction of SS Peter and Paul, Abbeville (Cluniac) witnessed by Hugh Vuamelin of Montreuil, Wadeselin provost of Montreuil; Brunel no. 10 (25 Mar–13 Oct 1100) charter for St Josse sur Mer (aquatias in Staples & Waben); (Brunel 1930): no. 11 (25 Mar–13 Oct 1100) Guy abandons all rights of ban and justice on the properties of St Saulve, Montreuil (including Beaurain and Écureux), witnessed by Wazelin viscount Montreuil and Rue; (Brunel 1930): no. 14 (25 Oct 1053–6 Oct 1100) Guy's confirmation of Adelelm Costard's gift of Villers and Douriez to Marmoutiers, witnessed by Anscher.

¹⁰⁵ (Vercauteren 1938): no. 62.

¹⁰⁶ (Miraeus 1723–1748): 4:191 for all three charters; (Vercauteren 1938): no. 62 for Baldwin's confirmation.

¹⁰⁷ (Haigneré 1880–1892): 2:24, 27.

¹⁰⁸ (Bouquet 1738–1876): 15:205; 'ut liberum faciatis et securum et ecclesiam Dei honoratis et castellum vestrum in libertate spiritus exoramus.' There are two 'Nigella' in the arrondissement of Arras: Noyelles-sous-Bellone, which pertains to Marchiennes abbey, or Noyelles-Godault, pertaining to Mont St Eloi. It is not clear which ville this soldier came from. I favor Noyelle-Godault since it is nearer to Lens.

¹⁰⁹ (Bouquet 1738–1876): 15:205; 'Et quoniam audivimus Comitem Flandriae apud Lens esse, mandamus ei per vos et litteris praesentibus supplicamus, ut eundem militem per terram suam securum abire permittat.'

The rapprochement between Eustace III and Baldwin VII did not represent a break with the English king. Henry I spent most of 1114 in England and it was during this year of peace on the continent that Eustace and his wife Mary visited England.¹¹⁰ In 1114, Countess Mary granted Kingweston manor to Bermondsey abbey.¹¹¹ The blending of Eustace's continental and English interests can also be seen in his confirmation of his chaplain Gervase's grant to Arrouaise abbey.¹¹² The abbey began as a hermitage founded c. 1095 by Roger of Transloy, who was joined by Conon and Richar, both chaplains of William the Conqueror according to the abbey's first chronicler. The reformed congregation was patronized by Odo lord of Ham, Lambert bishop of Arras, and Jean bishop of Théroutanne. By 1115, it had gained the support of other lords in southern Flanders and St Pol.¹¹³

Although Henry and Louis remained at peace until 1116, Picardy was the center of two conflicts between 1115 and 1117. The struggles between the count and bishop of Amiens and the preoccupation of the count of Ponthieu with his lands in southern Normandy created a power vacuum in the Amienois which aroused the ambitions of Louis VI, Baldwin VII, and Hugh II of St Pol.¹¹⁴ Hugh quietly encroached his way into Pas, Lucbeux, and Bucquoy and gained control over the advocacy of Corbie and with it the castellany of Encre.¹¹⁵ To the east, Thomas of Marle, taking advantage of the minority of Raoul of Vermandois, gained control of the castles of Crécy and Novions, and terrorized the countryside around Laon, Reims, and Amiens. Thomas' pretensions were temporarily squashed by Louis VI in the spring of 1115.¹¹⁶ Concurrently, Baldwin VII,

¹¹⁰ Baldwin VII did carry out a raid in Normandy in 1114, but it was not serious enough to generate any comment in the Anglo-Norman chronicles. Evidence for the raid is in the dating clause of a charter issued at Ypres in 1114, 'Acta Ipris, ubi conventus plurimum clericorum ac laicorum ad dispendendam expeditionem in Nortmanniam convenerat.' (Vercauteren 1938): no. 66.

¹¹¹ AMB, 3:432.

¹¹² AM (Amiens) Ms 1077C f. 40r, (Arrouaise abbey cartulary).

¹¹³ (Milis 1969): 93–104. By 1116 the canons had been granted the altars at Rocquigny, Gouy, Bucquoy and Bavincourt, villes controlled by lords of southern Flanders and St Pol.

¹¹⁴ (Suger 1887): 95, no. 189; (Feuchère 1953): 133. The power vacuum also provoked the creation of several communes: at St Quentin (c. 1090), Noyon (1110), Laon (1112–1128), and Amiens (1113–1117); see (Fossier 1974): 150–152.

¹¹⁵ (Feuchère 1953): 132.

¹¹⁶ (Suger 1887): 81–3. Louis' campaign was conducted from early March to 11 April 1115. Hugh had returned to France in 1098 but criticism of his early return

who hoped to install his cousin Charles in the Amienois, attacked Hugh of St Pol. Baldwin VII suffered a series of defeats in 1115–1116 in St Pol, but was more successful in his support of the new bishop of Cambrai.¹¹⁷ However, in 1117 Charles, Baldwin's cousin and commander, successfully besieged Hugh at St Pol. Eustace intervened at this point and negotiated a peace between Baldwin VII, Hugh, and Hugh's ally, Gautier of Hesdin in 1117.¹¹⁸ Eustace also confirmed a grant to St Georges d'Hesdin made in the peace settlement between Baldwin VII and the brothers Hugh and Robert Fretel, who had also joined Hugh II and Gautier in their war against the Flemish count.

The success of Louis VI and Baldwin VII allowed the king to grant the Amienois to the dowager Countess Adele of Vermandois, thereby securing his own influence in the region, and eliminating potential allies for the English king and his supporters. Louis used this influence to put pressure on Henry in the Vexin and in eastern Normandy in the renewed warfare of the summer of 1116.¹¹⁹ Although Baldwin had not fought in the later stages of the 1111–13 war, he had in the interim expressed his anti-Henry position through his patronage of Robert Curthose's son, William Clito.¹²⁰ Leaving his cousin Charles to complete the siege of St Pol, Baldwin VII joined Louis, who was his cousin Adelaide of Maurienne's husband, to campaign in Normandy. Once again, no mention is made of Eustace in the various battles; however, in 1116, after the May death of his wife, Eustace confirmed the countess' grant of Kingweston to Bermondsey.¹²¹ Although the confirmation cannot be dated to a specific month, it suggests that Eustace was at least neutral, if not

led him to gather a new expedition in 1101; (Bull 1996): 35–6. He died in the autumn of 1102 and was buried at Tarsus.

¹¹⁷ *Gesta epis. Cam.*, 7:506; (Bethman 1846): 7:546.

¹¹⁸ (Feuchère 1953): 133. Hugh had advanced as far as Lillers and Aire before Baldwin VII chased them back to St Pol and besieged them in the castle of that ville. For the peace negotiations see (Pertz 1844): 6:459.

¹¹⁹ (Luchaire 1964): nos. 203 and 207.

¹²⁰ (Smet 1837): 1:73. William Clito also had the support of William II count of Nevers and his sister Helvise countess of Evreux. The count of Nevers was seized on Theobald of Blois' order in 1115, in part because he had counseled Louis not to accept William aethling's homage as heir of the Norman duchy. Theobald was excommunicated in late 1115 for his refusal to release William, and open warfare began. Henry joined Theobald in April 1116. (Loprete 1990): 587–9; (Hicks 1974): 117–30.

¹²¹ *AMB*, 3:432.

an active Norman ally in this war. The warfare in St Pol and Hesdin and the powerful coalition of Louis VI and the counts of Flanders and Ponthieu made Eustace's position a tricky one in 1116–17. He does not appear to have aided Hugh II of St Pol in his fight against Baldwin VII or Charles, and he was therefore able to intervene as a peacemaker in 1117 after Charles had taken the castle of St Pol.¹²² As a result, Hugh and Gautier retained their counties. The restoration of peace in the Amienois, southern Flanders, and St Pol was matched by a lull in the fighting between Henry and Louis. With the exception of a brief excursion by Baldwin VII and Louis VI into Normandy, near Mortemer, 1117 was a period of calm. It is probably during this year that Eustace and Manasses of Guines attested Baldwin VII's charter in favor of Watten, issued at St Omer.¹²³

The war between Henry I and Louis was renewed again in earnest in 1118. While Fulk of Anjou attacked in the south and Louis in the Vexin, Baldwin VII campaigned successfully in northern Normandy with the aid of Stephen, count of Aumale, Henry count of Eu, and Hugh de Gournay. Baldwin reached the gates of Rouen in the summer, but soon after withdrew to Arques and was wounded at Bures-en-Bray in September. Baldwin returned to Flanders when it became clear that his wound would be fatal.¹²⁴ Baldwin put his affairs in order; he designated his cousin Charles as his heir, and arranged the marriage of Charles to Marguerite of Clermont, who brought the county of Amiens as her dowry.¹²⁵

None of the chroniclers mention Eustace's participation in the campaigns of 1118, and he may not have been in France during the late spring or summer of that year. Albert of Aachen reports that his brother Baldwin, after consultation with the nobles, designated Eustace as his heir to the kingdom of Jerusalem so long as he came quickly, and if he could not, then Baldwin of Bourcq should

¹²² (Feuchère 1953): 133.

¹²³ (Vercauteren 1938): no. 90. The charter can only be dated sometime after June 1114 and before Baldwin's death on 17 June 1119. However, 1117 seems to be the most probable date based on Baldwin's itinerary: Baldwin was busy campaigning with Louis between April and September 1116, in 1117 he made only one brief incursion into Normandy via Ponthieu, and 1118 was spent campaigning in northern Normandy until wounded in September. Hicks argues that there was very little warfare during 1117; (Hicks 1974): 128.

¹²⁴ (Bethman 1846): 7:546.

¹²⁵ (Ross 1982): 14–15. Marguerite was the daughter of Countess Adele of Vermandois, sister of Count Raoul of Vermandois, and cousin of Louis VI.

be elected.¹²⁶ William of Tyre recounts that when Eustace's brother Baldwin died in April, a delegation was sent to Eustace.¹²⁷ William goes on to say that Eustace accepted their offer, only to learn when he arrived in Apulia that Baldwin of Bourcq had been elected in the interim. Eustace refused to dispute Baldwin's election and returned home. There is no other evidence to corroborate or refute Eustace's trip to Italy; however, William had no motivation to fabricate this incident. Eustace had at least one son, Raoul, who would have been old enough to hold and govern Boulogne, so there was nothing to prevent him from accepting the delegation's offer.¹²⁸ If Eustace was absent in the spring of 1118, it was one of a series of setbacks for Henry. Three of his main supporters died between April and June 1118: William count of Evreux, Queen Matilda, and Robert count of Meulan. The only other evidence for Eustace's activities in 1118 is his signature, followed by that of his nephew's William aethling, on Baldwin VII's charter in favor of St Martin's, Tournai issued at Wattines (arr. Lille).¹²⁹ The dating clause only gives the year, so it is impossible to determine if Eustace was near Lille before his departure for Italy or in the autumn of 1118 after Baldwin had been wounded. William aethling's presence confirms that Eustace and Henry were on good terms.

Baldwin VII's slow death removed one threat to Henry, and contributed to the English king's successful counter-offensive in 1119 after the bleak year of 1118. Henry and his nephews were engaged in a terrific struggle along the Norman-Angevin-Maine border from the autumn of 1118, which concluded with a negotiated settlement between Henry and Fulk V of Anjou. Henry retained the border castles, William Talvas regained the Bellême lands, the rebel lords were pardoned, and William aethling was betrothed to Fulk's daughter Matilda. In August 1119, Henry won the battle of Brémule which marked a complete turn in the momentum of the war to Henry's

¹²⁶ (Albert 1844–1895): 4:707.

¹²⁷ (Guillaume 1986): 1:150.

¹²⁸ Eustace's son Raoul attested the following charters: Eustace's 1106 charter for St Paul's [(Gibbs 1939): no. 198]; Eustace's 1113 grant to St Wolmer [(Miraeus 1723–1748): 4:191–2]; and Eustace's 1122 grant of immunity in Merck to St Bertin [(Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:84]. The 1106 and the 1113 charters also list a Eustace son of Count Eustace. The death of his wife in 1116 and his longtime ally Hugh I of St Pol in c. 1118 may have contributed to Eustace's decision to assume his brother's position.

¹²⁹ (Vercauteren 1938): no. 86.

favor. The new Flemish count joined Louis' forces in September at Breteuil, Chartres and northern Normandy, but accepted a peace with Henry in late September.¹³⁰ Although the sources are silent about Eustace's role in the events of 1119, he probably campaigned in northern Normandy. The count of Ponthieu's alliance with Henry minimized the risks to loss of territory in Boulogne or Lens. This hypothesis is corroborated by Henry's grant of Eudo dapifer's lands to Eustace in 1120.¹³¹ Henry, from his position of strength before the White Ship disaster in November 1120, had no reason to reward those who had betrayed him or provided lackluster service.

Despite Baldwin VII's efforts to ensure a smooth succession, Charles' decision to abandon William Clito's cause triggered a revolt in Flanders, led by the dowager Countess Clemence.¹³² Clemence's allies, outside of Flanders, were her new husband, Godfrey duke of Lower Lorraine, his nephew Baldwin III of Hainaut, and Baldwin's son-in-law, Thomas of Marle, Hugh II of St Pol (c. 1118–c. 1141), and his friend Gautier of Hesdin.¹³³ None of the chroniclers identify Clemence's supporters within Flanders, but she enjoyed the aid of William of Ypres, whose candidacy she advocated for the countship. William was her nephew as well as married to one of her nieces.¹³⁴ The loss of Dixmude, Bergues, Aire and St Venant suggest that the nobles in these towns and the surrounding countryside probably supported Clemence's rebellion.¹³⁵ Charles appears to have quickly subdued the

¹³⁰ Charles fought at Breteuil (17 Sept 1119) with Louis and brought troops from Lille, Tournai and Arras; OV 6:242–9; 246 for specific list. P. Adair argues that this indicates Clemence's support of William Clito; (Adair 1993): 266–80. In late September, Charles led attack on Chartres, then joined Stephen of Aumule, but negotiated a peace; (Suger 1887): 198. The Hyde chronicle notes Henry restored English revenues to the Flemish count at this point; (Edwards 1886): 320–1.

¹³¹ Triumphant on all sides, Henry settled his affairs in Normandy and returned to England in the fall of 1120. Following Eudo dapifer's death in February, Henry granted several of Eudo's manors to Eustace. RRAN2, no. 1022 and (Moore 1897): 47, '... de decimis maneriorum suorum que mihi rex donavit.' The named manors were: Lillechurch (Kent), Gamelegeia (Cambridge), Neuselle (Herts), Roinges (Essex), Widham (Essex), and Ereswelle (Suffolk). For Henry's confiscations of property from lords of questionable loyalty see (Hollister 1986): 133–136.

¹³² (Adair 1993): 267–81. At the Council of Reims (Oct 21, 1119), held by Clemence's brother Pope Calixtus II, the case for William Clito was heard. A letter from Clemence was read and Louis VI spoke for him as well; OV 6:274.

¹³³ (Walter 1856): 12:541–3.

¹³⁴ William was the illegitimate son of Robert II's brother Philip of Loo; for the marriage to Clemence's niece see (Walter 1856): 12:541.

¹³⁵ See (Adair 1993): 67–71 and (Adair 1993): chapter 6. Theobald castellan of

revolt in Bergues and Bourbourg, two other towns associated with Clemence's dower. Despite his initial success, there are signs that pockets of conflict remained until late 1121. Eustace may have supported the counts of St Pol and Hainaut in this endeavor, since they were longstanding allies and friends of his family. His territorial interests would also have inclined him to the Countess' cause. He could expect some concessions, perhaps in Merck, from Clemence and William of Ypres if they won. In addition, it would be easier to protect his lands in Lens and Ostrevant from devastation if he joined forces with Clemence's allies in Louvain, Hainaut, and Aire. The discreet silence of the Flemish sources prevents any concrete knowledge of Eustace's role in this rebellion; the most unlikely scenario is his aid of Charles. If Eustace did not support the rebels, he probably remained neutral.

Having reasserted his power throughout most of Flanders, Charles then turned his attention to subduing Hugh II of St Pol.¹³⁶ Eustace's intervention on behalf of the count of St Pol, son of his ally and client Hugh I, secured a peace between Charles and Hugh II in 1120.¹³⁷ Charles' control of the Amienois, which was his wife's dowry, contributed to his military success against the expansionist count of St Pol. As a gesture of goodwill, Hugh granted Palendyck to the comital foundation of Bourbourg in 1123, and his gift was witnessed by the Boulonnais count.¹³⁸ Hugh held Palendyck from Eustace, which is curious since Palendyck had been given to the abbey between October 1111 and February 1112 by Baldwin VII and his mother Clemence. Vercauteren has identified Palendyck as being located in the environs of Bourbourg, and perhaps within the territory of Merck given the proximity of the two sites. This may explain how Palendyck came under Eustace's control between February 1112 and 1123 and in turn how Hugh II could restore it to the abbey. Hugh's ally,

Aire, Thierry castellan of Dixmude, Walter the butler, Conon of Dixmude, and Froolf castellan of Bergues may have been among Clemence's supporters.

¹³⁶ Charles besieged Hugh at St Pol during 1120; (Bouquet 1738–1876): 14:522.

¹³⁷ (Feuchère 1953): 133. Hugh attested two of Charles' charters in 1122; (Vercauteren 1938): nos. 108 and 109.

¹³⁸ (Coussemaker 1882–9): no. 34; (Vercauteren 1938): no. 54. The witnesses were Bernold minster, Baldwin the count's chaplain, Charles count of Flanders, Froolf castellan of Bergues, Eustace III, Gislebert Hugh's brother, Hugh castellan William's nephew, Lambert Drincam, Odger provost of St Omer, Robert advocate Bethune, Razo gaveren, Viscount Simon of Bourbourg, William castellan St Omer, and Walter Lacra.

Gautier of Hesdin, was not so lucky in 1120. Gautier was permanently expelled from his county for his role in the rebellion, and his former ally Hugh II seized control of Hesdin within the next two years.¹³⁹ The peace between Charles and Hugh allowed the Flemish count to strengthen his authority within Flanders. His southern borders were more secure through his control of the county of Amiens and the good relations he enjoyed with the counts of Boulogne and St Pol. Charles cultivated their friendship in part to mitigate Clemence's strength in the Artois and her ties to Louvain and Hainaut. Baldwin IV of Hainaut succeeded his father, c. 1120, and his mother's remarriage to Godfrey II lord of Ribemont and castellan of Valenciennes strengthened his authority in the contested region of Bouchain.¹⁴⁰ Charles and Godfrey II appear to have clashed in Valenciennes in 1122.¹⁴¹

For the next two years, Eustace was mainly occupied with the running of his estates. In his capacity as count of Lens, Eustace was present at Charles' court at Arras in April 1120 and acted as a juror in a dispute concerning St Peter's Gent.¹⁴² Eustace performed the same duty in 1122 at Arras in a dispute over the tonlieu of Arras between St Vaast and the townsmen of Arras, in the company of Hugh II of St Pol, Roger of Caieu, his constable Baldwin of Osterwic, and Walter Tirel.¹⁴³ In addition to his occasional presence at the Flemish court, Eustace granted four charters during this period. In 1120, he confirmed Eudo dapifer's grant to St John's, Colchester and made a grant to the Knights of St John of Jerusalem.¹⁴⁴ In 1121,

¹³⁹ (Fossier 1988): 25.

¹⁴⁰ Countess Yolanda of Hainaut had remarried Godfrey II lord of Ribemont and Bouchain, castellan of Valenciennes and son of Anselm of Ribemont, c. 1120. This marriage strengthened the ties between the Ribemont family and the comital family of Hainaut; (Delacambre 1927): 265. Godfrey II's son Godfrey III sold castle of Valenciennes and all Ribemont possessions in Ostrevant and Cambrai (i.e. Bouchain) to his half brother Baldwin IV; (Delacambre 1927): 267. Godfrey III was the advocate of St Amand (in 1117) and Marchiennes remained under Flemish influence.

¹⁴¹ (Vercauteren 1938): no. 108. The charter speaks of Charles returning from Arras 'with military glory, after a conflict of arms with Godfrey of Valenciennes.'

¹⁴² (Vercauteren 1938): no. 95. The Boulonnais comital family's longstanding relationship to St Peter's Gent as well as Eustace's position as senior 'statesman' of the region probably laid behind Eustace's participation in this case.

¹⁴³ (Vercauteren 1938): no. 108.

¹⁴⁴ (Moore 1897): 47; (Gervers 1982): no. 212. Both of these grants were signed by his sons Raoul and Eustace.

Eustace confirmed all the grants made by his ancestors to St Wulmer, Boulogne and in the following year, he granted freedom from all customs and exactions within Merck to St Bertin.¹⁴⁵

The political calm which followed Henry I's victories in 1119 was shattered by the White Ship disaster of 25 November 1120. Henry's son and heir and his companions drowned in a drunken attempt to beat his father's ship to England.¹⁴⁶ Although many Anglo-Norman families suffered losses, Eustace's sons Raoul and Eustace were not on board. William's death brought to an end the peace with Anjou and raised the specter of William Clito's succession. Henry quickly remarried, choosing as his bride Adeliza of Louvain, daughter of Duke Godfrey of Lower Lorraine. Henry's daughter and son-in-law Henry V of Germany may have advocated and help negotiate the alliance; Godfrey had long been loyal to Henry V.¹⁴⁷ In addition, the marriage provided Henry a means to put pressure upon Charles of Flanders if he joined Louis VI once again in support of William Clito. Louis acted swiftly and in concert with Fulk of Anjou to install William Clito in Maine. War did not break out until 1123, but Charles appears to have intervened to prevent Henry and his daughter Empress Matilda from conferring in May 1122, probably on the subject of the succession in England.¹⁴⁸

In 1123, the Vexin became the site of a rebellion against Henry I by nobles friendly to Louis and William Clito. Eustace, as before, is not mentioned in the accounts of this year-long war.¹⁴⁹ Eustace's absence was probably the result of his old age as much as the location of campaigning. Charles of Flanders also abstained from the fighting, abiding by the terms of his alliance with Henry. He may

¹⁴⁵ (Haigneré 1864–1872): no. 1; (Guerard 1841): 229; (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:84. The copy made by Miraeus includes seven additional witnesses: Rainald abbot of Andres, Mauger abbot of Capelle, Alulf chancellor, Lambert, Bernard, which are placed between Baldwin abbot of St Wulmer and Guerard's final witness, Raoul, Count Eustace's son. After Raoul are three more names: Arnold, Viscount Eustace, and Baldwin constable.

¹⁴⁶ OV, 4:418–19; (Simeon 1882–5): 2:259; WM/GR, 758–62; (John 1995): 146–8.

¹⁴⁷ (Leyser 1990): 225–30; (Chibnall 1992): 37. Chibnall suggests that Henry may have entered into discussions with Duke Godfrey by November 1119, and that the death of William æthling hastened the negotiations. Chibnall notes that a kinsman of Henry V, who had been attending the English king's court, was one of the victims; OV, 6:304.

¹⁴⁸ (Leyser 1990): 234; (Luard 1866): 2:218.

¹⁴⁹ (Hicks 1974): 224–7 or (Hicks 1979): 9–12.

also have been leery of leaving Flanders because of the strong presence of Duke Godfrey and Henry V to the east and north of Flanders.¹⁵⁰ Charles answered Louis VI's call to join his host against Henry V's invasion from Metz in August 1124, as did Henry's comrade-in-arms Theobald of Blois.¹⁵¹ Charles' appearance at Henry I's court in April 1125 suggests that the Norman-Flemish alliance was not strained by Charles' aid to Louis.¹⁵²

Shortly after the end of this war, Henry and Eustace entered into negotiations over the marriage of Eustace's daughter and heir, Matilda, and Henry's nephew, Stephen count of Mortain.¹⁵³ Eustace's sons Raoul and Eustace disappear from the documents post 1122, and Matilda's status as heir confirms that they died without heirs.¹⁵⁴ Eustace's decision to strengthen Boulonnais ties to the Anglo-Norman realm were probably motivated by several factors. First, Henry's continued victories against Louis VI had lessened the prestige and influence Louis had established earlier in his reign. The tide appeared to be swinging once again towards the Anglo-Norman king. Henry's power, combined with the favor he had shown to Stephen, would, through a continued Boulonnais-Anglo-Norman alliance, secure Eustace's vast estates in England and the independence of Boulogne for his daughter and her children. Second, Stephen's lands in Mortain would keep him closely allied with his brother Theobald in an anti-Angevin coalition, and this tie to the count of Blois-Chartres would help counter-balance the power of Raoul V of Vermandois. The marriage might also promote renewed ties with the count of Ponthieu, if Stephen and William Talvas worked together in southern Normandy. Finally, there was the possibility that Stephen might be chosen as Henry's heir. Henry and Adeliza had no children, and although Henry favored his recently widowed daughter Matilda, the feasibility

¹⁵⁰ (Leyser 1990): 234.

¹⁵¹ (Suger 1929): ch. 24. Leyser has argued that Henry V's threatened invasion was a means of diverting Louis' counter-attack after his father-in-law's victory at Bourgthéroulde (26 Mar 1124); (Leyser 1990): 239.

¹⁵² OV, 6:352.

¹⁵³ Stephen and Matilda witnessed Eustace's final grant to Rumilly in 1125; BNF (Paris), Collection Baluze 127, f. 320r-v; printed in (Bruel 1876-1903): no. 3984; (Haighneré 1880): 158; and (Martène 1968): 1:364.

¹⁵⁴ Orderic Vitalis and the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* specifically indicate that Matilda was the only child of Eustace's and Mary's marriage and that Stephen shared the inheritance of Eustace III's lands with Matilda as her husband; OV, 4:272-4 and GND, 2:262-4.

of this designation was an open question in 1125. Once Stephen and Matilda married, Eustace retired to Rumilly and died a Cluniac monk.¹⁵⁵

Administrative Developments

Despite Eustace III's relatively low profile after the First Crusade, his reign saw some significant achievements in the governance and preservation of his inheritance in France and England. Eustace III's surviving charters reveal an expansion of comital officers within the county. Among the witnesses of his grants are four viscounts: Eustace of Merck (or Oye), Hugh Marescallus of Frencq, Watcelin of Montreuil, and William who is not given a toponomic but may be his nephew, the son of his half brother Geoffrey.¹⁵⁶ His household officers included a butler, a chamberlain, a constable, a marshall, several chaplains, and possibly a chancellor.¹⁵⁷ Fifteen of Eustace III's charters have survived, with references to seven grants in others' charters.¹⁵⁸ Only

¹⁵⁵ (Bruel 1876–1903): no. 3984.

¹⁵⁶ (Miraeus 1723–1748): 2:1312; BNF (Paris), Collection Moreau t. 50, f. 121r–v; (Haigneré 1880–1892): 2:22, 24, 27; (Haigneré 1864–1872): 374; (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:84.

¹⁵⁷ (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:84, 2:1312; BNF (Paris), Collection Moreau t. 50, f. 121r–v; (Haigneré 1880–1892): 2:22, 24, 27; (Haigneré 1864–1872): 374; (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:84. AM (Amiens) Ms 1077C, f. 40r; (Fossier 1988): no. 110; (Bruel 1876–1903): no. 3984, 5:340; and Canterbury Cathedral archives DCC Ch. Ant. F 130 (which was issued with his brother Baldwin). In (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:84 and AM (Boulogne) Ms. 146A, f. 131v there are eight additional witnesses listed (Rainald abbot of Andres, Mauger abbot of Capelle, Alulf cancellarius, Lambert, Bernard, Arnold, Eustace viscount and Baldwin constable) which are not in AM (Boulogne) Ms. 146A, f. 46r–v, (Guerard 1841): 229, and (Haigneré 1886): no. 146 who based his cartulary on the copy made by Dom de Witt. The first six additional witnesses appear before the signature of Raoul (count Eustace's son) therefore, Alulf cancellarius might be a member of one of the ecclesiastics' entourage. However, an Alulfus clericus witnesses Eustace's restoration of Frencq to St Wolmer (BNF (Paris), Collection Moreau t. 50, f. 121v), and thus may be the count's chancellor. Henfrid dapifer and William camerarius also witness Eustace's 'English' charters: (Moore 1897): 47 and (Gervers 1982): no. 212.

¹⁵⁸ In addition to the charters listed in note 164 see: (Haigneré 1864–1872): 374, (Gibbs 1939): no. 198, (Kempe 1825): 179–80. For the charters referred to in other acts see: one, grand-daughter Ida II's confirmation of Eustace III's grant to St Berthe, Blangy of 7000 herring paid on the Feast of St Andrew; AN (Paris) K 187/1 (1). My thanks to Jean-François Niehaus for the transcription of this charter. Two, Eustace's gift of a mansura of land in the parish of Eperlecques given to ND de Licques in Alexander III's confirmation of goods (12 February 1174);

Eustace's earliest charter has a surviving seal.¹⁵⁹ Three of his gifts were made in conjunction with his wife Mary; none of her charters have survived although the Bermondsey annals record her gift of Kingweston manor. The grant of a separate court of *scabinis* to Capelle, the presence of Malger *judex* in the comital entourage, and the settlement of the dispute over Hatunmaisnil indicate an active extension of comital justice within Boulogne and into Hesdin.¹⁶⁰ Eustace's grants also reveal the extension of exactions on the peasantry—labor services, old and new *consuetudines*, taxes on fishing rights and dyke building (both labor service and a tax, *bisene*).¹⁶¹ Eustace collected tolls on the traffic through the port of Wissant, pontage, and taxes on fishing, whales, and sheepfolds.¹⁶² He also exercised the right to military service.¹⁶³ Like his father, Eustace minted coins in Lens and Boulogne, as well as in England. The coins varied in styles, and he appears to have had two designs for those issued in Boulogne. In Boulogne, the obverse has an abstraction of a castle surrounded by a legend +EUSTASHIVS.¹⁶⁴ The other celebrates his deeds during

(Haigneré 1889–1890): 52. Three, Bishop Jean's charter (1113) for the grant of Frévent church (arr. St Pol) by Eustace and Mary's to St Martin des Champs; (Depoin 1912): no. 141. Four, Henry's confirmation (1125–Dec 1135) of grant of £20 from the rents of the manor of Boughton Aluph (Butona) just as Count Eustace and then Count Stephen gave it to the hospital of St Mary, Magdalene of Boulogne; RRAN2, no. 1924. Five, Henry's (1106) notification of Eustace's gift to canons of SS Julian and Botolph, Colchester; RRAN2, no. 775. Six, Stephen's confirmation of his father-in-law's grant of the freedom from Wissant tolls to Bec; RRAN3, no. 73. Seven, in a case between the Prior of Le Wast and Thomas de Camville (Hilary term 1227), the prior presented the court a charter of Count Eustace granting the churches of Westerham and Boughton Aluph (Kent) and the manor of Winterbourne (Dorset) to Le Wast; (Maitland 1887): 2:216–7.

¹⁵⁹ Canterbury Cathedral archives, DCC Ch. Ant. F130. The seal is badly worn with no legend. It is decorated with the profile of a knight on horseback, carrying a kite shaped shield with a center ridge in his left hand. In the right hand is a lance with a triangular banner. This part of the seal is very faint so it is impossible to tell if the banner had any symbols on it. There is only one other surviving original charter that carried Eustace's seal, unfortunately only the silk bag for Eustace's seal has survived; (Vercauteren 1938): no. 62.

¹⁶⁰ (Miraeus 1723–1748): 2:1312; (Fossier 1988): nos. 110, 142.

¹⁶¹ (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:84, 2:1312; (Haigneré 1880–1892): 2:22, 24; (Fossier 1988): nos. 110; AN (Paris), K 187/1 (1).

¹⁶² (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:84, 2:1312; (Haigneré 1880–1892): 2:22, 24, 27; (Fossier 1988): nos. 110; AN (Paris), K 187/1 (1); (Haigneré 1864–1872): 372–4; Canterbury cathedral archives, DCC Ch. Ant. F130.

¹⁶³ (Haigneré 1880–1892): 2:24.

¹⁶⁴ (Deschamps de Pas 1838): Pl. II, no. 3. The reverse has a footed cross (with besants in each quadrant) surrounded by the legend VRBS + BOLONIE. The Os look like four petalled flowers.

the crusade with a lion passant above the walls of Jerusalem.¹⁶⁵ In Lens, his coins followed in the style of Baldwin of Hainaut's and Robert I of Flanders' artesian coins, substituting the word *MONETAE* for the place of issuance.¹⁶⁶ The English coins were minted by a moneyer in York and followed a Byzantine model: the obverse displays a standing warrior with an unsheathed sword, clothed in a tunic of mail and a Norman casqued helmet, with a whale's tail in the background.¹⁶⁷

Although none of his *acta* for Lens has survived, it is clear that Eustace remained active in Artois. Around 1104, Eustace and Bishop Lambert of Arras came to an agreement, with the intervention of Pope Pascal II, over the restoration of ten altars which his uncle, Godfrey bishop of Paris, had acquired during his service in the Arras diocese. Although he lost the revenues from these altars, he remained influential in Lens, Ostrevant, and Artois. In 1106, he sought Bishop Lambert of Arras' confirmation of the canons of Lens' possessions following the warfare between Robert II and Henry V. Lambert sought his clemency in the matter of the knight of Nigella in 1113. Eustace also participated at the Flemish court in Artois—he witnessed Baldwin's charter for St Martin's Tournai issued at Wattinie (arr. Lille) and served as a counselor in two lawsuits heard before Charles in Arras in 1120 and 1122.

Eustace's administration of his English lands is more difficult to deduce. Only four charters have survived concerning his English lands, of which only three have subscription lists.¹⁶⁸ There are also four of Henry I's charters which confirm gifts made by the comital family of Boulogne.¹⁶⁹ Eustace's and Countess Mary's patronage centered on abbeys in London and Colchester, (St Paul's London, St Martin le Grand, Bermondsey, St John's Colchester, SS Julian and Botulph's Colchester, and the Knights of St John of Jerusalem). Eustace and his mother also drew upon their English revenues and lands to endow Boulonnais religious houses.¹⁷⁰ The surviving docu-

¹⁶⁵ (Deschamps de Pas 1859): 51, 56–7.

¹⁶⁶ (Richebé 1963): 62–3, Plate III, no. 37.

¹⁶⁷ (Deschamps de Pas 1859): 52, 55–6.

¹⁶⁸ (Gibbs 1939): no. 198; (Moore 1897): 47; (Kemp 1825): 35–6; (Gervers 1982): no. 212.

¹⁶⁹ RRAN2, nos. 559, 665, 775, 1924.

¹⁷⁰ Ida granted Nutfield (Surrey) to St Wolmer. Eustace gave Boughton Aluph to St Mary Magdalene hospital, Boulogne and revenues from Fobbing manor to

ments only give us a glimpse of how the Honour of Boulogne was administered. Eustace relied upon the services of his major tenants in Essex and his kin to manage his estates. Lambert dapifer, who only appears in documents concerning the Honour, and Roger II de Sumeri played predominant roles in overseeing Eustace's estates. Roger de Sumeri appears as a witness in each of Eustace's three 'English' charters and attested Henry I's confirmation of the gift to St John's Colchester with Eustace.¹⁷¹ Both Lambert and Roger held property from Eustace in Essex, the heart of the Honour.¹⁷² Eustace's confirmation of a gift made to the Knights of St John was issued from his court at Stanford and addressed to Roger de Sumeri and William camerarius and all his ministers in England. William camerarius also witnessed both of Eustace's 1120 charters. This chamberlain may be Eustace III's nephew, son of his half brother Geoffrey and a daughter of Geoffrey I de Mandeville, who had inherited his father's property in Essex and Surrey.¹⁷³ William's maternal kin—William de Mandeville, his wife Margaret, and her father Eudo dapifer—were neighboring lords and their own connections would have made William quite useful in protecting Boulonnais interests in England. William was definitely a witness to Eustace's grants to Christchurch, Canterbury (c. 1089–96) and St Paul's London (1106), and it seems likely that he was a prominent member of his uncle's

Cluny and Rumilly. Eustace also granted the churches of Westerham and Boughton Aluph (both in Kent), and Winterbourne (Dorset) to Le Wast; (Maitland 1887): 2:216.

¹⁷¹ (Moore 1897): 47; (Gibbs 1939): no. 198; (Gervers 1982): no. 212, which is also addressed to Roger and William camerarius; RRAN2, no. 775 (Henry's confirmation). In addition, Roger witnessed Henry's notification of the resolution of a case between the abbeys of Romsey and Ely over Much Hadham manor (Herts.); RRAN2, no. 684. Roger's presence among the witnesses suggests that he was a local figure of importance in Hertfordshire, administering the affairs of Eustace's thirteen manors in this shire. Roger also attested a gift by Henry's physician Ranulf; RRAN2, no. 1307.

¹⁷² In 1086, Roger de Sumeri held Leebury, Crawleybury, and Elmdon; and Lambert held Runwell, Little Baddow, Boreham, and Little Waltham.

¹⁷³ Willelmus nepos comitis attests (Gibbs 1939): no. 198 (1106); Willelmus camerarius (Moore 1897): 47 (c. 1120) and BNF (Paris) Collection Moreau 50, f. 121r–v (1099–1112); and Willelmi vicecomitis, (Haigneré 1880–1892): 2:21, 24, 27 (1107, 1112, 1113). The tenant of Harlow (Essex) is only called Geoffrey but it seems probable that Eustace II granted his son at least one manor in England as well as the castle of Tingry in Boulonnais. Geoffrey's father-in-law, Geoffrey I de Mandeville, gave his daughter a dowry of three manors in Surrey: Clapham, Carshalton (*Aultone*), and Wanborough (*Weneberge*); (Round 1896): 145 and (Dugdale 1817–1830): 6:1017.

household. Baldwin of Osterwic, Eustace's constable who held Chiche and Shopland in Essex, appears in charters concerning both English and Boulonnais properties which suggests he helped govern the Honour of Boulogne.¹⁷⁴ Eustace also called upon his cousin Harold, Earl Ralf's son, to oversee his Somerset properties. Harold witnessed two of Eustace's charters and had inherited the lands held by Alvred de Marlborough from Eustace II (the Somerset manors of Chelwood, Belluton, Newton, and Combwich), and Harold's son, Robert, also witnessed the 1120 gift to St John's Colchester.¹⁷⁵

While the administrative system within Boulogne had developed since his father's reign, Eustace's innovations were not as extensive as those instituted by the counts of Flanders and Normandy. Robert II, Baldwin VII, and Charles were active promoters of peace within Flanders; they promulgated the Peace of God in 1092, 1111, 1119, and in 1124.¹⁷⁶ Of the 130 charters issued between 1071 and 1128, nine judgments and six acts of restitution have survived. The chroniclers also portray the firmness of comital justice, for example when Baldwin boiled a knight for robbery and for being the first to break the peace under his rule.¹⁷⁷ Under Robert I and his successors, the castellanies functioned as centers of comital revenue collection, justice, and defense.¹⁷⁸ There were seventeen castellanies spread throughout the county: Aire, Arras, Bapaume, Bergues, Bourbourg, Bruges, Cassel, Courtrai, Dixmude, Douai, Furnes, Gent, Lille, St Omer, Tournai, Ypres, and Zeeland.¹⁷⁹ Each castle had a tribunal of *scabini* and a notary who recorded revenue collection, which in turn was overseen by the provost of St Donatien Bruges. In comparison, Eustace only had at his command Bellebrune, Boulogne, Fiennes,

¹⁷⁴ See n. 49.

¹⁷⁵ (Gibbs 1939): no. 198, (Moore 1897): 47; (Round 1901): 156; (Keats-Rohan 1999): 142.

¹⁷⁶ (Ganshof 1949): 367.

¹⁷⁷ (Ganshof 1949): 368; (Hariulf 1887): 15.2: 889–90 for Robert II; (Herman 1996): 37–40 for Baldwin VII; Galbert, 4–6 for Baldwin and Galbert, 6–10 for Charles.

¹⁷⁸ (Ganshof 1949): 409.

¹⁷⁹ (Ganshof 1949): 395–6. Zeeland was quite independent of comital control since it had been assigned to the counts of Holland by Robert I. The castellans of Béthune and Lens worked closely with the Flemish counts but maintained a greater independence from comital authority: the Robertians of Béthune because they had established their power in the early eleventh century and Lens because it was a Boulonnais possession.

Tingry, and Lens.¹⁸⁰ There is no evidence for a centralized treasury or exchequer in Boulogne, nor is it clear how regularized the placement of tribunals of *scabini* in the Boulonnais was. The Flemish counts also had a chancery, headed by a chancellor with a staff of notaries.¹⁸¹ Thirty-nine acts of Robert II (in eighteen years) have survived, forty-one of Baldwin VII's (in eight years), and thirty-two of Charles' (in ten years), in comparison to twenty-two of Eustace III's (in thirty years).¹⁸² With this administrative system and the wealth that it generated, the counts of Flanders could command 1500 mounted warriors by 1100.¹⁸³

The system of governance in the duchy of Normandy underwent a similar transformation under Henry I. After his victory at Tinchebrai, Henry instituted a ducal peace by strengthening the administration of justice through the appointment of a chief justice who could act in his absence.¹⁸⁴ His *acta* routinely refer to his justices and ministers who had the power to enforce the duke's will.¹⁸⁵ Henry also established a more refined system of revenue collection with exchequers at Rouen and Falaise, and there appear to have been treasuries in ducal castles as well.¹⁸⁶ Henry's household officers played a fundamental role in the extension of ducal administration; his seneschals, chamberlains, and dapifers served at his itinerant court and in Henry's absence, with some assigned to Normandy and others to England.¹⁸⁷ These men were aided by viscounts and provosts. Like his Flemish counterpart, Henry vigorously enforced the ban on unlicensed fortifications and undertook an extensive castle building program to defend his borders, particularly in the Vexin and southern Normandy.¹⁸⁸ The wealth Henry derived from England allowed him to hire mercenaries who played a significant role in his campaigns.¹⁸⁹ Almost 1500 charters were produced during Henry's thirty-five year reign,

¹⁸⁰ (Salch 1977): 584–9. Eustace may have controlled the appointment of Nigella castle in Artois, see Bishop Lambert's 1113 letter.

¹⁸¹ (Ganshof 1949): 420–1.

¹⁸² (Vercauteren 1938): xx.

¹⁸³ (Ganshof 1949): 417.

¹⁸⁴ (Haskins 1918): 86–7, 89–92; OV, 5:296, 6:98.

¹⁸⁵ (Haskins 1918): 92–3.

¹⁸⁶ (Haskins 1918): 88–9, 105–112; (Mooers (Christelow) 1996): 206–7.

¹⁸⁷ (Haskins 1918): 112–118.

¹⁸⁸ (Suger 1887): 70; (Green 1984): 17.

¹⁸⁹ (Prestwich 1954): 19–43; (Hollister 1965): ch. 6; (Chibnall 1977): 15–23.

and approximately 70% of them have Norman beneficiaries, although only about 10% were issued in Normandy which is equivalent to the number produced for the counts of Flanders during the same period.¹⁹⁰

The fiscal and military resources produced by the administrative innovations in Flanders and Normandy strongly influenced Eustace III's relations with these neighboring princes. Between February 1071 and September 1101, and 1115 and 1120, the counts of Boulogne and Flanders allied themselves with opposing factions in England, Normandy, and Lower Lorraine. Their choices, however, did not produced armed conflict in the Boulonnais or Flanders. The counts chose to act only in the contested regions with their allies—Robert II because he was primarily concerned in securing his control over Cambrésis and Eustace out of respect for the size and might of the Flemish military resources. With the exception of his presence at a lawsuit concerning St Bertin (1096) and the First Crusade (1096–1100), Eustace appears only once more in Robert II's company: he was a witness and guarantor for both Henry and Robert in the 1110 renewal of the Dover treaty.¹⁹¹ Eustace III attested none of Robert II's thirty-nine surviving charters.¹⁹² However, he appeared twice in the sub-

¹⁹⁰ (Mooers (Christelow) 1996): 188 n. 5, 203 Table D. The calculation of Norman beneficiaries is from RRAN2, xlii–xlv–986 of 1450 charters and writs. As Christelow notes there are forty-four charters and writs not printed in RRAN2; Eustace does not appear in any of these charters.

¹⁹¹ (Vercauteren 1938): nos. 30 and 41.

¹⁹² There is a curious Flemish comital charter issued in 1093 by Robert II, in which he calls himself, 'Robertus, comitis Rotberti Hierosolimitani filius, gratia Dei Flandrensium, Bononiensium, Tornensium, Tarvannensium, Attrebatensium princeps . . .,' (Vercauteren 1938): no. 12. The charter survives only in a fifteenth-century copy of the cartulary of Watten and a 1446 *vidimus*, and no other charter of the counts of Flanders (original or copy) between 918 and 1168 claim the title of count of Boulogne or the county itself. The Flemish counts in the tenth and most of the eleventh century are generally referred to in the charters as 'marquis of Flanders;' after Baldwin V, the use of marquis is dropped. Charles Dereine has argued that the charter is authentic with some redactions by a monk of Watten; (Dereine 1983). Dereine's argument is, based on the similarities of style (elaboration of phrases, arcane vocabulary) with the *Exordium Watinsense* and corroborated by contemporary details about the community. He posits that the transformed intitula was in response to a charter of Baldwin II of Hainaut's for Hasnon (1089), which elaborated and extended his territories to include Douai, Ostrevant and Valenciennes; (Dereine 1983): 104–5. Dereine also emphasizes the scribe's concern about the count's protection of the abbey; (Dereine 1983): 104. Dereine's argument is plausible, but I would argue that the competing authority in Merck between the counts of Boulogne and Flanders was an additional source of concern and contributed to the false elaboration of the territories under Robert's control in the intitula.

scription lists of Baldwin VII of Flanders' forty-one surviving charters and twice in Charles the Good's thirty-two surviving charters.¹⁹³ These attestations concerned grants or settlements in the Artois and on the border of Merck.¹⁹⁴ Robert II's success in winning Henry V's recognition of his authority in the Cambrésis (1107) reinforced his and his successors' superior jurisdiction over Lens and Eustace's lands in Artois. Eustace III witnessed Flemish comital acts for St Martin's Tournai, St Vaast, and St Peter's Gent. In 1113, Baldwin appears to have visited Lens and may have placed Nigella castle under Eustace's jurisdiction. Although Eustace continued to hold and govern Lens, its castellan was drawn into the Flemish polity through their lands in Cambrai. Wenemar castellan of Lens attested two of Robert II's charters and acted as a guarantor of the second treaty of Dover.¹⁹⁵ His son and successor Baldwin attested five of Baldwin VII's acts, but none for Count Charles.¹⁹⁶ Neither Wenemar nor Baldwin attest Boulonnais comital charters. The other factor influencing Eustace's more circumscribed authority in Lens and Artois is the changing nature of Baldwin III of Hainaut's alliance system and Countess Ida of Boulogne's diminished holdings in Lower Lorraine after the first crusade. The hennuyer count was more strongly tied to the house of Louvain and Gueldres in his efforts to combat Flemish power on his western borders, and Eustace had only distant kin in Lorraine. His mother's extensive grants to help fund his and his brother's crusading activities diminished his landed interests in Lorraine and thus, the shared territorial concerns that prompted membership in kin-based action groups.

Flemish wealth, which funded the building of Bourbourg castle and the abbeys of Watten and Bourbourg, was also a factor in loosening the tie between the counts of Boulogne and Guines. Dyke building and the *bisene* had allowed Eustace II and his son to drain the marshes of Merck and extend their authority north of Guines and along the Guines and Flemish border. This expansion was

¹⁹³ (Vercauteren 1938): nos. 86 (1114–1119), 90 (1118), 95 (1120), and 108 (1122). For a tally of surviving Flemish comital acta see Vercauteren, xx.

¹⁹⁴ Baldwin VII's charters were for the church of Watten, near Merck and St Martin's, Tournai (in Artois). Charles' acts recorded settlements for St Peter's Gent and St Vaast, Arras. Eustace III was the advocate of St Peter's in Harnes (in Lens) and St Vaast's lands were scattered in the Artois.

¹⁹⁵ (Vercauteren 1938): nos. 12, 18, and 41.

¹⁹⁶ (Vercauteren 1938): nos. 52, 64, 65, 74, 86.

achieved in part through the enlistment of Arnulf I of Ardres among Eustace II's curiales and Baldwin of Guines' friendship.¹⁹⁷ Countess Ida and her brother-in-law, Bishop Godfrey of Paris, had witnessed Baldwin's foundation of Andres abbey in 1084, and Bishop Godfrey helped negotiate the marriage of Baldwin's daughter. In addition, Baldwin and his sons had crusaded with the Boulonnais comital family. As discussed earlier Countess Ida's foundations of Le West and Capelle and the family's donations to these houses contributed to Boulonnais authority north of Guines and on the southern Flemish border. Eustace III was somewhat less successful in maintaining his independent jurisdiction over Merck.

Boulonnais success in Merck and the resulting response from the Flemish comital family had encouraged lesser lords in Guines to challenge Count Manasses' authority. Manasses concentrated his attention on asserting his authority over the lords in Guines, which he achieved. His strengthened position can be seen in the attestation pattern of his charters. Robert of Hammes, Eustace of Bavelinghem, Baldwin of Licques, Guiffred of Campanies and his brothers Henry and Pagan, and Baldwin of Osterwic all attest Manasses' charters in the period between 1117–1120.¹⁹⁸ Part of his strategy was to work more closely with the Flemish counts while maintaining good relations with Eustace III and his ally Henry I.¹⁹⁹ For example, his daughter and heir Sybil married Henry castellan of Bourbourg, but their daughter married the English *curialis*, Aubrey de Ver. While Arnulf

¹⁹⁷ See n. 50.

¹⁹⁸ See map of Boulogne. For Robert of Hammes, (Miraeus 1723–1748): 2:367 (1097), (Haigneré 1886): 139 (1119) and 152 (1124); for Eustace of Bavelinghem, (Duchesne 1631): 41 (1124 and 1127); (Haigneré 1886): 139 (1119), (Miraeus 1723–1748): 2:381 (1130); for Baldwin of Lisques, (Haigneré 1886): 139 (1119), (Duchesne 1631): 41 (1127), (Haigneré 1886): 164 (1129); for Guiffred of Campanies, (Haigneré 1886): 139 (1119); (Duchesne 1631): 39 (1117–20); for Henry of Campanies, (Duchesne 1631): 39 (1117–20), (Haigneré 1886): 139 (1119) and, 152 (1124), (Duchesne 1631): 41 (1127); Pagan of Campanies, (Haigneré 1886): 139 (1119); for Baldwin of Osterwic, (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:381. Manasses' increased power is also reflected in his reduced attendance at the Flemish court. Manasses attested three of Robert II's charters but only one for Baldwin VII, none for Charles of Flanders, and one for William Clito.

¹⁹⁹ (Chanteux-Vasseur 1935): 60. Manasses was married to Emma, the daughter of William of Arques. Chanteux-Vasseur identified Emma as the daughter of Count William of Arques, Eustace II's pensioner. This identification appears to be erroneous; see Thomas Stapleton's persuasive exposition of the genealogy of the barons of Arques in (Stapleton 1866): 216–237. Manasses attested one of Robert I's charters and three of Robert II's; (Vercauteren 1938): nos. 13, 17, 21, 40.

II of Ardres defied Manasses' authority, his decision to ally himself to his wife's family undermined one of the supports of Boulonnais authority in Merck. Arnulf's marriage to Gertrude d'Alost, cousin of Robert II and sister of Baldwin of Gent, drew him into the Flemish polity. Arnulf II crusaded with his brother-in-law and the Flemish count and appeared consistently as a witness in Flemish comital charter.²⁰⁰ These subscriptions contrast sharply with his absence from Eustace III's charters. The patronage carried out by Countess Clemence, the change of allegiance of the lord d'Ardres, and Manasses' careful neutrality allowed Baldwin VII to reassert Flemish authority into territory of Merck.²⁰¹ Eustace, however, retained his control over Merck and the firm loyalty of the viscount of Merck as well Arnulf II's siblings, who had married into the Boulonnais families of Oudre, Brunembert, Bellebrunne and Marquise. He may also have hoped to lure Arnulf II back into his entourage by allowing him to continue to hold the English properties given to his father. The stewardship in Boulogne, however, passed to another lord, Henfrid.²⁰²

While Eustace III's influence was diminished in the north, he was much more successful in extending his authority south into Montreuil and exercising his patronage to the benefit of the counts of St Pol

²⁰⁰ Arnulf II was with the Flemish count at Reims (Vercauteren 1938): no. 22; see (Lambert 1876): 24:625–7 for more specifics. Baldwin of Gent (Alost or Aalst family) crusaded with his brother, uncle, and his brothers-in-law Arnulf II of Ardres and Engilbert of Cysoing; (Riley-Smith 1997): 99. For marriage to Gertrude of Alost see Lambert d'Ardres, 24:620. An Arnulf d'Ardres witnesses after Baldwin of Gent in Robert I's 1080 charter for Messines, and therefore is probably Arnulf II; (Vercauteren 1938): no. 5. As a witness in Robert II's charters, (Vercauteren 1938): no. 22; for Baldwin VII, (Vercauteren 1938): nos. 54, 62, 64; for Charles, (Vercauteren 1938): nos. 95 and 112. Arnulf II witnessed two charters of Manasses, in 1097 (for Andres abbey) and another in 1127; (Miraeus 1723–1748): 2:367 and (Duchesne 1631): 41. His father witnessed Baldwin's foundation charter for Andres in 1084.

²⁰¹ Baldwin's increased authority can be seen in his confirmation of an 1113 grant made by Eustace in that area and Eustace's subscription of Flemish comital charter for Watten; (Vercauteren 1938): no. 62.

²⁰² (Haigneré 1886): no. 95. Henfrid's family and place of power are not directly known. The witnesses of charter no. 95 are Baldric of Culhem, William of St Bertin, Alard of Menteke, Hugh of Arques, Elembert of Kelmes, 'Eli son of Henfrid', and Heremar Gartir. The toponomics of the other witnesses suggest that Eli and his son Henfrid were among the lords who lived near the Boulogne-Guines border. This suggestion is corroborated by the *Vita Godelieve*; the saint's father is Henfrid of Boulogne. However, Henfrid might be the brother of Alard Blingel and uncle of Henfrid (whose mother was Hildeburgis); (Vercauteren 1938): 340. Blangizel/Blingel is in the arrondissement and canon of St Pol. Alard de Blingel was a benefactor of Auchy abbey.

and Hesdin. As discussed above, three prominent men of Montreuil were added to Eustace's entourage, and Eustace made a grant from Verton fisc in Montreuil to St Georges d'Hesdin. The Boulonnais count also intervened in the settlement of a long-running lawsuit over Hatunmesnil between the Fretel family and St Georges d'Hesdin. Eustace's influence and authority in St Pol can be seen in several ways. First, the property that he and his wife gave to St Martin des Champs was in the arrondissement of St Pol. Second, his grant to St Berthe, Blangy, a house re-founded by the counts of St Pol, reveals his friendship with the founder's family.²⁰³ Third, the Boulonnais count's patronage preserved Hugh of St Pol on two occasions after extended campaigning between Hugh and the Flemish count. Neither Baldwin VII nor Charles were successful in attracting the loyalty or friendship of the counts of St Pol or Hesdin, who were scarcely represented in the Flemish counts' charters. Enguerrand of Hesdin and his nephew and successor Walter each attested one of Robert II's charters and none of Baldwin VII's or Charles'. Hugh II of St Pol witnessed none of Robert II's acts, and his son one of Baldwin VII's and one of Charles', and these subscriptions occur either in conjunction with Eustace III or his interests.²⁰⁴ In addition to Eustace's patronage and friendship, the two counts were drawn together by their interest in southwards expansion.

Their ability to do so was produced by several factors. First, the preoccupation of the counts of Ponthieu with their Bellême patrimony between 1100 and 1125 allowed Eustace to move into Montreuil and Hugh to seize Encre castle in their absence.²⁰⁵ Another consequence of Robert's and William Talvas' absence was that the Fretel family was drawn into the entourage of both Eustace and Hugh of St Pol.²⁰⁶ Second, the castellans and counts of southeastern Picardy

²⁰³ AN (Paris) K 187/1 (1).

²⁰⁴ For the counts of Hesdin, (Vercauteren 1938): no. 18. For the counts of St Pol see (Vercauteren 1938): nos. 62, 108, and 109. Hugh II's attestation was for Baldwin VII's confirmation of Eustace's 1112 grant to St Wulmer, Samer. Hugh III acted as a juror with Eustace III in 1120, and attested Charles' confirmation of a gift to St Vaast in 1122.

²⁰⁵ See discussion above. Robert of Bellême issued only one charter as count of Ponthieu for Troan abbey in 1101; (Brunel 1930): no. 15. William Talvas issued eight charters as count of Ponthieu; (Brunel 1930): nos. 15–22. The beneficiaries were Troan (2), Marmoutiers (2), SS Peter and Paul, Abbeville (2), St Sauveur-le-Vicomte, and the canons of Eu.

²⁰⁶ Godcelin Fretel and Hugh Fretel witnessed Guy's first charter of gifts for SS

and the Île de France were often at war with Louis VI and each other. Although Philip I had exercised an effective authority in Amiens, Vexin, and Beauvais between 1070 and the early 1090s, his conflicts with the papacy over Bertrada de Montfort and Norman challenges in the Vexin had opened the door for the castellans and lesser lords to grab territory. While Vermandois remained in the control of royal family, the minority of Louis' cousin Raoul V (1109–1117) provided Enguerrand of Boves and Thomas of Marle the opportunity to extend their power into the Amienois, Laonnais, and Remois. During Eustace III's career, Louis concentrated his energies on challenging Henry I's power and subduing the Île de France, Beauvaisis, Orléanais, Gatinais, and Berry.²⁰⁷ His actions in the Chartrain and Berry roused the ire of the house of Blois-Chartres and fostered their alliance with Henry I. It was not until 1118 that Louis restored royal authority to the Amienois and the region between Laon and Reims.

As a result prior to 1125, royal activity in northern France was very limited. Louis made only two visits to the north: in 1109, he retook Peronne castle and in 1111, he delivered Robert II of Flanders' body for burial in Arras. Louis did enjoy good relations with the Flemish comital family; he married Countess Clemence's niece, and Robert II, Baldwin VII and Charles all fought with the royal host. He only issued two charters concerning the region: the restitution of property to St Vaast (as rex designatus in 1108) and a gift of an arable field in Montreuil to St Victor's Paris (20 May 1113–3 August 1115).²⁰⁸ With Raoul of Vermandois' coming of age, the region was

Peter and Paul, Abbeville; (Brunel 1930): no. 8. And Robert Fretel witnessed the second charter of gifts for the same abbey, (Brunel 1930): no. 9. Both acts were issued in 1100. For their close association with Hugh of St Pol and Eustace see, (Fossier 1988): nos. 115 and 142. Robert, Hugh, and their brother Rorgo fought in the Holy Land, although it is not clear whether they went in 1096 or in 1101. If they went on the first crusade it is likely that they traveled and fought in Eustace's contingent.

²⁰⁷ (Luchaire 1964): 2:258–61. In the Île de France he fought the lords of Montmorency, Beaumont, Rochefort, Monthlery, and Mantes. He gained control of the Beauvaisis and its bishopric from the castellans of Mouchy. Louis had to defend Reims against the violence of the counts of Roucy. Hugh of Puiset was a frequent thorn in his side; he led expeditions against Hugh in 1111, 1112, and 1118. Louis was aided in his wars by the lords of Garlande and Montfort, and benefited from the lack of heirs in Corbeil, Ferté-Alaix, Puiset, Monthlery, and Châteaufort. Louis bought Yèvre-le-Châtel and Chambon from their viscounts and thereby extended his power in the Gatinais.

²⁰⁸ (Dufour 1992): nos. 16 and 112.

more stable, but Louis achieved only a temporary victory in the Amienois when he made the county his sister-in-law's dowry upon her marriage to Charles of Flanders in 1119. Within the ecclesiastical realm Louis sought to retain his power in northern France by successfully opposing the division of the diocese of Noyon-Tournai in 1114 and 1121 and championing the continued separation of Arras and Cambrai in 1124.

In his efforts to consolidate and extend royal authority, Louis relied first and foremost on military means. He besieged castles, confiscated property, and dispossessed heirs of the nobles who challenged his power. He also worked closely with the bishops and archbishops of the ecclesiastical provinces of Tours, Sens and Reims and successfully opposed initiatives that would diminish his power over these archdioceses.²⁰⁹ Louis, like the counts of Normandy and Flanders, expanded the administrative structures within the territory he exercised effective power over. The royal chancery regularized the king's acts and the subscription lists were restricted, with only a few exceptions, to the four grand household officers and the chancellor.²¹⁰ Approximately 345 of Louis VI's charters and letters have survived, and another 100 references to his acts are known from the letters and charters of others and from the chronicles. While the seneschal, constable, chamberlain, and butler were drawn from families of Chaumont, Montmorency and Clermont, the specific office changed from family to family in order to avoid making the positions hereditary.²¹¹ Louis was also active in extending royal justice.²¹²

Kinship and Politics

The administrative innovations in French royal territory, Flanders, and the Anglo-Norman realm allowed their rulers to more effectively

²⁰⁹ (Luchaire 1964): 2:263–4. In addition to his intervention in Noyon-Tournai and Arras, he wrote to Calixtus II in 1121 against the subordination of Sens to Lyons. See also (Dufour 1992): no. 212 and Appendix II, nos. 1, 10, 11.

²¹⁰ (Luchaire 1964): 1:169–70.

²¹¹ (Luchaire 1964): 1:171.

²¹² (Luchaire 1964): 1:281–5. Louis handled cases between lords over marriage negotiations, succession, and protection of dower. He also heard suits between ecclesiastics and between churchmen and the laity over property and jurisdiction, as well as cases concerning serfs and communes.

govern within their territories and gave them an edge in their maneuverings for power among their neighbors. On a smaller scale, the expansion of more systematic governance in Boulogne allowed Eustace III to achieve the same goals. These administrative developments did not replace the use of kin-based action groups; the two methods were used together. The importance of kin based action groups is very evident in the beginning of Eustace III's career. He and his brother Baldwin acted together to help their brother Godfrey secure his position and lands in Lorraine in the early 1080s. The Lotharingian nobles who joined Godfrey's faction were drawn together through their landed connection to St Lambert, Liège, ducal patronage under Godfrey's uncle, and kinship. The bonds formed in these campaigns came into play in the crusades. Godfrey's contingent was dominated by his brothers and his other allies of 1076–1084. Eustace, in turn, called upon his friends and allies. He was joined by Hugh I count of St Pol and his son Enguerrand, Baldwin I of Guines and his four sons, and Anselm II of Ribemont, whose father died fighting at Cassel (1071) in the company of Eustace II, as well as drawing men from his own county.²¹³ Ties of kinship and friendship extended into the Norman contingent—Raoul II de Tosny (Baldwin of Boulogne's father-in-law), William of Breteuil and his son Eustace, Robert Curthose, and Philip (Robert of Bellême's brother).

In a similar manner, Eustace III's support of Robert Curthose in 1088 was based in friendship as well as defense of his family's lands through a united Anglo-Norman polity. The duke's coalition was built through kinship with his uncles, friendship with men like Robert of Bellême who had shared his exile during his father's life, and their kin. The Boulonnais family's ties to this group of men came from several sources: Eustace II's military service with Bishop Odo of Bayeux, Robert of Mortain, and Roger of Montgomery; friendship and kinship to Raoul II de Tosny and the count of Ponthieu's son-in-law Robert of Bellême (son of Roger of Montgomery). These connections came into play again in 1101; Eustace's friendship with Robert Curthose and some of his supporters had been strengthened by their shared experiences during the crusades.

²¹³ See discussion above regarding Cassel. Eustace's and Mary's request was made in conjunction with Hugh of Ribemont, canon of Théroutanne, son of Anselm II, castellan of Ribemont (d. 1096); (Depoin 1912): no. 141, n. 342 for details.

Robert's inability to win England, and Henry's generous restoration of the Honour of Boulogne brought Eustace into a new network of alliances and strengthened different kinship bonds. His decision did bring an end to the longstanding alliance between Ponthieu and Boulogne. The commitment of Robert of Bellême and his son to preserving their southern Norman lands made them a natural ally of the Angevin counts. Eustace, on the other hand, deepened his ties with his cousins, Matilda and Adelaide/Judith, the daughters of Judith and Earl Waltheof, and to the de Tosny family. Henry's allies included Simon de Senlis, husband of Eustace III's cousin Matilda, and Raoul III de Tosny who was married to her sister Judith. Henry's and Eustace's alliance was cemented through their marriages to the daughters of Margaret and Malcolm of Scotland, Matilda and Mary. Eustace also strengthened the bonds with another cousin, Harold of Ewias, when Henry restored the Honour of Boulogne to him. Harold helped Eustace manage his English estates. His cousin William of Tingry-Boulogne's kinship to the de Mandeville family also drew the Boulonnais count further into the Anglo-Norman polity.

These renewed bonds of kinship and landed interests led Eustace to support Henry in his various wars with Louis VI. While we have no evidence of how Eustace brought his sons or allies to Henry's aid in these wars, kin-based coalitions and alliances were one of the keys to Henry's success. Eustace may have been instrumental in bringing Manasses of Guines into his brother-in-law Henry's network of allies. The English king was a master of using marriage to heiresses, such as Manasses' wife Emma of Tancarville, and his children to create alliances with the nobles in Normandy, Maine, and Germany. It was a skill his sister Adela of Blois-Chartres exercised equally well. The Angevin-Capetian alliance united Henry's nephews, Theobald of Blois and his brother Stephen, in his kin-based coalitions to fight the wars of 1111–1113, 1115–1119, and 1123–1124. This Anglo-Blésein alliance benefitted Eustace since Theobald's power countered that of Vermandois-Valois and indirectly aided his friends the counts of St Pol and Hainaut, and the lords of Ribemont.

The ties of friendship and alliance grew more important towards the end of Eustace III's life since the death of his illegitimate sons, Raoul and Eustace, between 1122 and 1125 deprived him of the opportunity of creating new kin for his successors to call upon. His brothers' decision to stay in Jerusalem had weakened the alliance

with the Lotharingian lords, including the count of Hainaut, as well as depriving him of nephews and nieces. While the count of St Pol was a staunch ally, the expansion into Merck had changed the very friendly relations with the counts of Guines to one which was much more neutral. His daughter and heir, Matilda, could count upon her father's friends and allies, as well as her relatives William of Tingry-Boulogne and his son, Faramus, in France. The scarcity of paternal kin was balanced to a degree by the number of maternal relatives in England: her uncle King Henry and his wife Adeliza of Louvain; her uncle David earl of Huntingdon, his wife Matilda, widow of Simon of Senlis, and her son, Simon II of Senlis; her cousin Empress Matilda now countess of Anjou; and her husband Stephen's family in Blois-Chartres.

Throughout Eustace III's career, the alliance first with Duke Robert Curthose of Normandy, and then with Henry I of England, dominated the fortunes of the Boulonnais count. The predominance of these alliances was the result of several trends within France. First, the continued growth of Flemish power and hostility towards the Anglo-Norman rulers, despite a series of treaties, reinforced the traditional Boulonnais policy of remaining relatively aloof from the Flemish court. Eustace's attestations of Flemish comital charters remained for the most part confined to transactions relating to lands in the Artois and Lens and the abbey of St Bertin. Although never openly at odds with the Flemish counts, the determined opposition of Baldwin VII to Henry I between 1116 and 1119 meant that Eustace's interactions with Baldwin VII and Charles were confined to periods of peace. Flemish interest in Merck and the Amienois further separated Boulonnais and Flemish interests. Second, the loss of the alliances with the count of Ponthieu and the duke of Lower Lorraine, both of which were fostered and maintained throughout the eleventh-century, diminished Eustace III's ability to maneuver among the growing political consolidation under the Flemish, Norman, and Capetian rulers. Third, the limited number of kin that Eustace could draw upon as allies in political schemes or other ventures reinforced his already limited options. Finally, the growing power of the French king changed the political dynamics within northern France. As in the tenth century, most of the Norman duke's neighbors had united in an attempt to rein in the increasing power of the duke-king. Although Louis VI reached the peak of his power in 1118, the

temporary low point in 1124 contributed to Eustace III's decision to align the fortunes of the comital house of Boulogne to that of the Anglo-Norman rulers. The marriage of Stephen and Matilda was the culmination of the Boulonnais counts' amalgamation into the Anglo-Norman.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE APEX OF BOULONNAIS POWER AND THE FICKLENESS OF FATE

Stephen's countship (1125–Christmas 1146), and those of his sons Eustace IV (Christmas 1146–August 1153), and William I (August 1153–October 1159), mark the final stage of the Boulonnais integration into the Anglo-Norman realm. Like that of his father-in-law, Stephen's countship was strongly influenced by the extent of his English land holdings, the disputed Anglo-Norman succession, the persistence of the Capetian kings' elevated authority, and their policy to limit the power of their territorial princes. Unlike Eustace III, Stephen was an Anglo-Norman noble. Prior to his marriage to Matilda of Boulogne in 1125, Stephen held considerable estates in England and Normandy—the honours of Lancaster and Eye in England, and the county of Mortain in Normandy. The addition of the Honour of Boulogne tied Stephen more closely to the Anglo-Norman realm which the small continental counties of Boulogne and Lens could not outweigh. Stephen's and Matilda's activities and alliances were thus predicated by events in England and Normandy rather than by the dynamics within Picardy and Flanders. However, he did call upon Boulonnais kin and allies to achieve his goals.

Once Stephen became king of England, the fortunes of Boulogne and the Anglo-Norman realm were inexorably linked. Although ultimately Stephen failed to secure the English throne or Norman duchy for his heirs, his success in maintaining his hold on the English throne during his own lifetime was, to a significant degree, the product of the support of his family and the dependents of the Honour of Boulogne and Eye, and the alliances he created in northern France. The predominance of Anglo-Norman concerns also characterized the countship of Eustace IV, who used Boulogne as a base of operations to act against his rival to the English throne, Henry of Anjou. The prevalence of Anglo-Norman determinants in the careers of Stephen and Eustace has led R.H.C. Davis and other experts on the reign to underestimate Stephen's and Eustace's continued use of continental allies and stratagems in their efforts to secure their hold on

the Anglo-Norman realm. Despite their failure to hold Normandy, both Stephen and Eustace consistently tried to advance their cause by enlisting the support of continental allies.

The succession of Henry of Anjou in 1154 placed Stephen's surviving son William in much the same position Stephen occupied prior to Henry I's death in December 1135. The majority of William's lands were in England and Normandy and his actions were therefore determined primarily by his Anglo-Norman rather than by his Boulonnais interests. This bias was reinforced by the successful extension of influence along the Boulonnais borders by the count of Flanders, specifically into Guines, southern Artois, and Hesdin. In addition, the relative independence of the counts of St Pol, which grew under Hugh II, did not abate under his sons Hugh III and Enguerrand, and there is no evidence of either man's association with Eustace IV or William. There were few opportunities for William to create alliances outside of England and Normandy because of the strength of the ties between Henry II and Thierry of Flanders, the relative weakness of Louis VII, and the massive territorial holdings of Henry II on the continent. He was also hampered by the lack of Henry II's favor. At William's death in October 1159, his Anglo-Norman lands escheated to the crown. His sister, Mary, was taken from her nunnery and married to Matthew of Flanders, with the connivance of Henry II but without the approval of Matthew's father or elder brother, Thierry and Philip of Flanders.

Shortly after the marriage of Stephen and Matilda in 1125, the issue of succession to the English throne began to shape Anglo-Norman politics. As hopes faded that a child would be born to Henry and Adeliza, the designation of an heir grew increasingly important. In addition to his daughter Empress Matilda, who became a viable candidate in 1125 at the death of her husband Henry V, Henry had four male relatives to choose from: his bastard, Robert of Gloucester, and his nephews Theobald of Blois, Stephen of Boulogne and Mortain, and William Clito.¹ William Clito, who had the strongest claim as Robert Curthose's son and heir, was strongly favored by

¹ Theobald had the advantage of his longstanding and well-honored alliance with Henry, a distinguished military career, and his position as an unbiased outsider. Both Robert and Stephen enjoyed preeminent positions in the Anglo-Norman nobility, and were well-liked and respected. Robert's illegitimacy made it unlikely that the king would designate him heir.

some of the Anglo-Norman nobility but was anathema to Henry. Despite Robert's, Theobald's, and Stephen's various qualifications and claims, Henry was determined to have his daughter inherit. His designation was not a popular one.² At the Christmas court of 1126, neither Robert earl of Gloucester nor Stephen were eager to swear the oath recognizing Empress Matilda's succession. Roger of Salisbury called Robert to come forward but Robert remained seated claiming that Stephen should swear first as he was the elder by birth.³ As Warren Hollister has shown, the issue helped split the court into factions, with Robert earl of Gloucester, Brian fitz Count, and David of Scotland in one camp favoring the succession of a future son of Empress Matilda, and Roger bishop of Salisbury, his nephews Alexander and Nigel, and Stephen in another which preferred a male candidate.

Henry I's designation of Matilda as his heir renewed tensions between the English and French kings. Upon hearing the news of the oath for Matilda, Louis called upon his barons to support William Clito in recovering his lawful inheritance. He then arranged a marriage between William Clito and his sister-in-law, Jeanne of Maurienne, and granted him the French Vexin (January 1127).⁴ Before Henry could react, news reached both courts of the assassination of Charles of Flanders on 2 March 1127. Charles' death sparked political turmoil not only in Flanders, but also throughout northern France. Charles left no heirs, which meant that the Flemish succession was Louis' to determine. Louis decided that William Clito's succession in Flanders, as the grandson of Matilda of Flanders, daughter of Baldwin V, would do more to curtail Henry's power than fomenting rebellion in Normandy. William's election would have the added benefit of reducing Flemish independence and eliminating the Norman-Flemish alliance, thereby increasing French royal influence.

² (Hollister 1986): 145–169; (Chibnall 1992): 50–63; (King 2000): 289–91. My thanks to Dr. King for allowing me to read the article before its publication.

³ (John 1995): 178–80. William of Malmesbury, writing in the 1140s, tells a slightly different tale. 'There was a noteworthy contest, it is said, between Robert and Stephen, who as rivals in distinction strove with each other for the honour of swearing first, the one claiming the prerogative of a son, the other the rank of a nephew.' HN, 8–9.

⁴ See (Hicks 1981): 42–45 and (Hicks 1979): 15–21 for full discussion of the 1127–28 war and the surrounding diplomatic maneuvering, as well as (Ganshof 1949).

Louis' candidate faced a number of rivals: William of Ypres, Baldwin IV of Hainaut, Arnold of Denmark, and Thierry of Alsace.⁵ William of Ypres acted immediately, securing the allegiance of Aire, Cassel, Bailleul, Bergues and Veurne.⁶ The Flemish nobility were besieging Bruges in an attempt to bring the assassins to justice. The king arrived at Arras around 13 March with a few knights.⁷ Louis summoned to Arras William Clito and the Flemish nobility to discuss the appointment of a new count. By March 23, all the candidates, except William of Ypres, were assembled at Arras.⁸ Louis played his cards close to his chest initially and Baldwin of Hainaut believed that he had secured the king's support.⁹ However, Queen Adelaide's negotiations with Baldwin d'Alost, including a payment of gold, won the support of the Flemish nobles for her brother-in-law, William Clito's, election.¹⁰ None of the sources indicate the presence of the counts of Boulogne, St Pol, or Guines among the nobles summoned to Arras. It may be inferred that Hugh of St Pol was there since he attacked William of Ypres at Aire by the middle of April 1127.¹¹

William's election and recognition by the nobility did not secure his control of the county; he still needed to win over the Flemish cities. Bruges, Gent, and St Omer all negotiated new liberties in return for their allegiance.¹² William's charter of liberties for St Omer, issued 14 April 1127, was witnessed by Louis, Stephen of Boulogne, Hugh II of St Pol, Manasses of Guines, Anselm of Hesdin, as well as the castellans of Arras, Lillers, Gent, Lille, and St Omer.¹³ The

⁵ See Flemish genealogy. William Clito claimed Flanders as the grandson of Matilda of Flanders, daughter of Baldwin V. Baldwin III of Hainaut was the grandson of Baldwin VI of Flanders (I of Hainaut), whose younger son Baldwin II of Hainaut was disinherited by his uncle Robert I. William of Ypres was the illegitimate son of Robert I's son, Philip of Loo; William was also married to one of Countess Clemence's nieces. Thierry of Alsace was the son of Robert I's daughter Gertrude, duchess of Upper Lorraine. Arnold of Denmark was Charles of Flanders' nephew; his mother (Ingertha) was the daughter of Adele, daughter of Robert I. For a summary of the candidates see Guerard, 298–300.

⁶ (Galbert 1994): 119; (Walter 1856): 12: 557; OV, 6:370.

⁷ (Ganshof 1949): 207–210; (Herman 1996): 46–7; (Walter 1856): 12:557.

⁸ (Walter 1856): 12:557.

⁹ (Herman 1996): 50–1; (Walter 1856): 12:557; OV, 6:370.

¹⁰ (Walter 1856): 12:557.

¹¹ (Galbert 1994): 119.

¹² (Ganshof 1949): 212–13; (Walter 1856): 12:558.

¹³ (Vercauteren 1938): 297–298, section 16: 'Si cum Boloniensium comite S. concordiam habuero, in illa reconciliacione eos a teloneo et sewerp apud Witsant et

charter clearly acknowledges the enmity between Stephen and William; §16 states that if William comes to a concord with Stephen, the citizens of St Omer will be free of the *teloneum* and *sewerp* of Wissant. Stephen's subscription reflects the traditional interest of the counts of Boulogne in St Omer and the importance of trade links between Wissant and St Omer, rather than any support of the new count. His uncle, King Henry, was in England in the spring of 1127 and it is clear that he and Stephen had not yet determined on a plan of attack.

Despite the election and royal confirmation, civil war erupted shortly afterwards. The initial resistance was led by William of Ypres and Baldwin of Hainaut. Baldwin fortified Oudenaarde and was attacked by Baldwin of Alost and Razo the butler.¹⁴ By the end April, William Clito and the king had captured William of Ypres and the cities allied with him.¹⁵ Henry marshaled a wide array of attacks upon William Clito with the aid of his allies in Boulogne and Lower Lorraine.¹⁶ He declared his own candidacy for the countship and financially supported the other claimants.¹⁷ He arranged a marriage alliance between his daughter and heir, the Empress Matilda, and Geoffrey le Bel, Count of Anjou. Henry also instituted an economic blockade which Godfrey of Louvain joined. Stephen acted as his uncle's emissary and agent provocateur in gathering adherents to Henry's cause, including Henry's father-in-law, Godfrey of Louvain, Baldwin IV of Hainaut, and Thomas of Coucy, count of Amiens.¹⁸ The longstanding ties between Boulogne and Hainaut helped foster the alliance between Baldwin and Henry. Baldwin brought his brother-in-law Thomas of Coucy's aid, and the coalition was strengthened

per totam terram ejus liberos esse faciam.' The attestors of this charter were: Louis VI, William count of Flanders, Raoul of Peronne (Count of Vermandois), Hugh II of St Pol, Osto castellan of St Omer, William his brother, Robert of Béthune castellan of Arras, William his son, Anselm of Hesdin, Stephen count of Boulogne, Manasses count of Guines, Walter of Lillers, Baldwin of Gand, Ivan his brother, Roger castellan of Lille, Robert his son, Razo de Gavera, Daniel of Dendermude, Helias of Saint Saens, Henry castellan of Bourbourg, Eustace advocate of Théroutanne, and Arnulf his son, castellan of Gand, Gervase, Peter dapifer, and Stephen of Seninghem.

¹⁴ (Galbert 1994): 105–6.

¹⁵ William of Ypres and Louis met on April 9 but failed to come to terms; (Galbert 1994): 105–6; for his capture see (Galbert 1994): 131.

¹⁶ (Hicks 1981): 42–5; (Galbert 1994): 147–8.

¹⁷ (Walter 1856): 12:557; (Vanderkindere 1900): 109; (Galbert 1994): 99–100; (Dufour 1992): Appendice II, no. 14.

¹⁸ (Walter 1856): 12:557; (Alberic 1870): 23:827; (Duchesne 1631): Preuves, 334.

by his kinship to Godfrey, who was his uncle and the dowager Countess Clemence's husband. Godfrey sought to protect his wife's dower and his own lands from the growing power of the lord of Alost and to thwart Thierry of Alsace's bid on the grounds that it would threaten his power in Lorraine.¹⁹ Stephen may also have convinced Hugh of St Pol to renounce his support of William Clito. Hugh disappears from Galbert's and Walter of Théroutanne's accounts of the civil war until he joins forces with Thierry on 30 March 1128.²⁰

In addition to coordinating Henry's diplomatic efforts, Stephen also carried out a military campaign against William Clito beginning in August 1127. Stephen fought not only in aid of Henry's goals but in all likelihood in response to William's grant of Montreuil to Helias of Saint-Saens which would infringe upon his influence in Hesdin and St Pol.²¹ William's fierce retaliation, combined with the attacks in southern Boulogne by William Talvas count of Ponthieu, forced Stephen to sign a three year truce with William Clito in March 1128.²² The Boulonnais-Flemish truce was also prompted by Thierry of Alsace's success in winning the support of several northern towns in early March 1128; William Clito needed peace on his southern border if he was to successfully challenge Thierry. The defection of the Flemish townsmen was a result of Henry's trade embargo and William Clito's exactions on the townsmen, in contravention of his charters.²³ William Clito's counter-offensive was highly effective in the ensuing months, and Thierry's position deteriorated rapidly even with Henry's financial support. Henry's presence in Normandy kept Louis VI tethered to the Île de France until early May, although his coalition was shaken by the defection of Godfrey of Louvain in June 1128 who had opposed Thierry of

¹⁹ Clemence may have favored William Clito, who had lived at the Flemish court during her son's reign and who had married one of her nieces, Jeanne de Maurienne; (Adair 1993): 284–287. When her husband broke with Henry over his aid to Thierry in June 1128, Clemence's ties to William Clito may have smoothed the way to their reconciliation.

²⁰ (Galbert 1994): 148. Ivan d'Alost and Daniel Dendermude brought Hugh to Bruges for the election of Thierry.

²¹ OV, 6:370. After reporting William's grant to Helias, Orderic immediately narrates the warfare between Stephen and William Clito.

²² (Louandre 1883): 1:135. Kathleen Thompson thinks he may have remained neutral in the 1127–8 Flemish conflict for fear of losing the Bellême properties which Henry had restored to him in 1119; (Thompson 1994): 172.

²³ (Herman 1996): 53–4.

Alsace's bid for the county.²⁴ The unexpected death of William Clito in July 1128 allowed Thierry of Alsace to secure the Flemish countship. Cordial relations between the Anglo-Norman king and the count of Flanders were formally restored in July 1129.²⁵

The Flemish succession crisis had several important effects on the power relations in northern France. On the broadest level, Thierry's accession reaffirmed Henry's eminent position and once again secured his northern border through not only his alliances with Stephen of Boulogne, Thierry of Flanders, and Godfrey of Louvain, but also his southern border with the marriage of his daughter to Count Geoffrey le Bel of Anjou. Although Louis VI had not lost the allegiance of the counts of Flanders and Anjou, Henry's allies controlled most of northwestern France and Louis had lost, in William Clito, a powerful focal point around which to rally support against Henry.

In addition, Thierry's succession meant that the power of the Flemish count had diminished, at least in the short term. Thierry had to gain the support of those towns and lords within Flanders who had supported his rivals.²⁶ Thierry's preoccupation with internal affairs allowed Baldwin IV of Hainaut to extend his influence into the Ostrevant and Cambrésis, regions which Robert I and Robert II had brought into their control.²⁷ Although Thierry had gained the allegiance of the Flemish castellans, including the castellan of Lens, in the early years of his rule, most of his internal support came from the north.²⁸ Thierry's relative weakness in the south of Flanders can also be seen in the absence of Manasses of Guines and Stephen of Boulogne from the Flemish court. The Count of Guines had very

²⁴ (Herman 1996): 54; OV, 6:372; (Hicks 1981): 45; (de Hemptinne 1991): 87.

²⁵ The Dover treaty was renewed in July 1129; (Hicks 1981): 47; (Galbert 1994): 89; OV, 6:378; (Simeon 1882–5): 2:283.

²⁶ Thierry confiscated the land of those involved in Charles' murder, and appointed the coastal castellannies to families of proven loyalty. Thierry also rewarded Ivan of Alost who had supported his cause from the beginning. (de Hemptinne 1991): 88–92.

²⁷ (de Hemptinne 1991): 88, 92, 96–7.

²⁸ For example men like Gervase castellan of Bruges, Roger provost of Bruges, Wenemar castellan of Gand, Razo of Gavere pincerna, Ivan of Alost, and Daniel of Dendermude. Thierry also had the strong support of Gilbert castellan of Bergues, Henry castellan of Bourbourg, and William II castellan of St Omer. See Map 3. Hemptinne and Parris argue that Gertrude countess of Holland, Thierry's half sister, helped him win the support of Bruges. In addition Daniel of Dendermude and Ivain d'Alost had strong financial interest in Bruges which traded with Holland; (de Hemptinne 1991): 85.

infrequently attended the Flemish court after Robert II's death (autumn 1111), and was completely absent from Thierry's.²⁹ Following in the footsteps of his Boulonnais predecessors, Stephen also remained aloof from the Flemish court, attesting none of the charters of either Charles or Thierry, despite the friendly relations between Henry I and these Flemish counts.³⁰

The final change which resulted from Charles the Good's death and William Talvas' frequent absences from Ponthieu was the successful expansion into the Amienois, Hesdin, and southern Artois, carried (by Hugh II of St Pol (c. 1118/1123–1141)) out between 1128 and 1137.³¹ Although he had originally supported Thierry's cause, Hugh opportunistically used Thierry's relative weakness and preoccupation with internal affairs to resume his drive to incorporate the county of Hesdin and at least part of the county of Amiens into St Pol.³² Hugh gained control of Encre and Corbie, in part through his marriage to Charles of Flanders' widow (whose dowry was Amiens), and continued to press southwards.³³ In 1130, Hugh began a war on the lords of Beaurain and Argoules, and in the following year campaigned in Ponthieu, besieging and destroying the abbey of St Riquier.³⁴ Little is known about the response of William II Talvas count of Ponthieu or his son, Guy II, to Hugh's aggression, but it seems likely that they devoted their energies to rebuffing Hugh's incursions.³⁵ Ignoring the excommunication placed upon him and

²⁹ Manasses attested only one of Baldwin VII's charters and one of William Clito's (the 1127 charter of liberties for St Omer). Manasses ruled Guines until c. 1137.

³⁰ Thirty-two of Charles' charters have survived, and one hundred seventy-three of Thierry's; (Vercauteren 1938): xx and (de Hemptinne 1988): nos. 1–173. Stephen's avoidance of the Flemish court may also have been influenced by Thierry's success in winning the allegiance of Baldwin I castellan of Lens. Baldwin I castellan of Lens attested two of Thierry's charters before Stephen's succession to the English throne: (de Hemptinne 1988): nos. 24 (1133), 25 (1133). Baldwin castellan of Lens should not be confused with Thierry's dapifer Baldwin of Lens (1114–1146) who attested four of Thierry's charters: (de Hemptinne 1988): nos. 3 (1128), 30 (1136), 57 (1141), and 90 (1146).

³¹ Thomas de Coucy preyed upon the Amienois from the south, where he was opposed by Louis VI.

³² Hugh was a supporter of Thierry of Alsace's candidacy for the Flemish countship. Galbert of Bruges reports that he accompanied Thierry, with Ivan of Alost and Daniel Dendermude, to Bruges in late March 1128; (Galbert 1994): 148.

³³ (Feuchère 1953): 133.

³⁴ (Feuchère 1953): 134.

³⁵ After June 1119, when Henry I restored his father's lands in Normandy to him, William II Talvas disappears from the Anglo-Norman sources until December

Louis VI's wrath, Hugh continued to attack his neighbors and incorporated the Aubigny pays into St Pol.³⁶ Although Ganshof has given 1127 to 1131 as the date for the loss of Aubigny, the pattern of Hugh's attestations of Thierry's charters suggest that the Artois campaign was carried out between 1134 and 1136.³⁷ The loss of Aubigny caused a rift with the Flemish count, and although Hugh submitted in 1137 to the various lords he had plundered, he remained unrepentant. Hugh joined Thierry's enemy, Baldwin IV of Hainaut, on a campaign into Flanders in 1139–1140.³⁸

Stephen does not seem to have aided or prevented Hugh's expansion, but he may have benefitted from it. The surviving evidence suggests that the relationship between Stephen and Hugh II was cordial. Hugh attested Stephen's foundation charter for Furness abbey (1125–1127), and he and Stephen later joined in Baldwin IV's attack on Flanders in 1139–1140.³⁹ In addition, much of the surviving evidence for Stephen's activities as the count of Boulogne concerns southern Boulogne and Montreuil. Nineteen of Stephen's charters issued before he became king have survived, eight of which reflect

1135. William only appears once in sources for Louis VI, in 1126 when William and Louis were combating the townsmen of St Riquier's attempts to form a commune; (Luchaire 1890): no. 372. He attests three Flemish comital charters; one for Baldwin VII (1113), one for Charles (1123) and one for Thierry (1134); (Vercauteren 1938): 138, 290 and (de Hemptinne 1988): no. 26. William passed his authority in Ponthieu to his son c. 1129, although he continued to play a minor role in the county; (Thompson 1994): 172–3.

³⁶ (Dufour 1992): no. 334; (Ganshof 1949): 348–9. Aubigny (southern Artois) lies between St Pol and Arras.

³⁷ Hugh attested charters issued in 1128, 1130, 1134, 1136–7; (de Hemptinne 1988): nos. 3, 9, 26, 37, and 61. He and his son Hugh III also attested another acta which Hemptinne and Verhulst have given a date range of 1143–44, no. 73. The letter does not contain a date. The other attestors include Ivan of Alost (1117–1145), Anselm dapifer (1120–1147), Christian of Aire (1142–63), and Roger dispensarius (Christmas 1137–1164). Although Christian of Aire (also known as Christian of Strazele) does not appear in the sources before 1142, I would argue that the letter, referring to a gift made to Clairmarais (founded between 1137–1141), was issued between 1137 and 1141. Since Hugh is known to have submitted and offered recompense for his sins, secular and religious, in 1137, it seems likely that the loss of Aubigny occurred between 1134 and 1136.

³⁸ (Grierson 1937): 166.

³⁹ (Farrer 1902): 301; (Loyd 1950): no. 423. Incorrectly dated to 1123–7, Stephen (who calls himself count of Boulogne and Mortain in the charter) only became count of Boulogne in 1125. Therefore, the date range should be 1125–1127. For Hugh's role in the joint invasions of Flanders in 1139–40 and 1141 with Baldwin IV of Hainaut and Hugh of St Pol, see discussion below.

his position as count of Boulogne (equally divided between Boulogne and the Honour of Boulogne).⁴⁰ The Boulonnais acta include an 1132–1135 judicial decision for St Josse-sur-Mer (south of Montreuil), two general confirmations for St Wulmer (Samer) (1125–35), a grant of the market customs of Wissant to Christchurch, Canterbury (1125–35), and the foundation of Longvilliers abbey (1135). Longvilliers, a Savignac house, was located near to Etaples and thus the Boulonnais-Montreuil border. Two attestors of Stephen's comital charters—Hermer of Tota Avena and Robert of Crevecoeur—resided in regions newly incorporated into St Pol.⁴¹ In addition, the abbot of Longvilliers and two men of the ville witnessed the St Josse charter. An 1128 charter of the bishop of Amiens, recording the settlement of a dispute over the tithes of the altar of Wabben between St Josse-sur-Mer and Manasses of Seiles, refers to Stephen's participation in the case as well as that of Hugh Tirel and Clarbold of Tiembronne whose lands were adjacent to Boulogne and St Pol.⁴² Stephen and Matilda's activity in southern Boulogne was balanced by the continued loyalty and service of lords who had served Eustace III, Henfrid dapifer, Eustace de Fiennes and his brothers, and the lords of Caieu. They also issued coins from Boulogne and Lens, which carried both of their images.⁴³

⁴⁰ See Appendix 1a for the Boulogne and Honour of Boulogne charters. For Mortain, Eye and Lancaster see Appendix 1c.

⁴¹ Hermer of Tota Avena attested the St Josse-sur-Mer charter in the company of Folbert abbot of Longvilliers, Baldwin abbot of St Wulmer, William of Belvoco monk, Eustace of Corton, Gonfrid of Longvilliers, Baldwin of Longvilliers, Godbert of Vacaria, Aldemer of Peninghetun, and Walter of Protentia. Longvilliers is located just north of Montreuil. Robert Crevecoeur attested Stephen's and Matilda's Canterbury charter with William Richard's son, Hugh Fulbert's son and 'multis aliis.'

⁴² AD (Arras), Serie H 2 Mi 50, Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint Josse-sur-Mer, f. 132v. 'Ego Guarinus dei gratia Ambianensis Episcopus tam futuris quam praesentibus notum facio; Quod quidam miles Manasses videlicet de Seiles, auditus me quadam die apud Sanctum Judocum aduenisse in aqua procerum comitatus cetera praesentium meam adijc duasque partes altaris a Waben cum decime & appendicij suis annuente Hugone Tirel de quo laicis tenuivai coram Stephano Boloniensium comite & Clarboldo a Tienbrona & multis alijs in manu mea reddidu...'. The predecessors of both Hugh and Clarbold had ties to Eustace III; Walter Tirel also had Anglo-Norman connections as well. Tiembronne (southern Flanders) is near the borders of Boulogne and St Pol; Hugh Tirel's lands lay in Hesdin, Amiens, and Ponthieu.

⁴³ (Richebé 1963): 63; (Deschamps de Pas 1839): 284–90 and (Deschamps de Pas 1859): 58–9.

While Hugh II of St Pol disturbed the continent, the Anglo-Norman polity continued to be preoccupied with the Anglo-Norman succession. The nobility's reluctance to accede to Henry's plan for his daughter's succession was compounded by the marital difficulties of Empress Matilda and Geoffrey of Anjou between 1128 and 1131. Henry called together his nobles to Northampton in 1131 to discuss the situation; another oath was taken by both those who had sworn in January 1127 and by those who had not been in attendance at that court.⁴⁴ It was also agreed that Matilda must return to her husband.⁴⁵ While Empress Matilda's marriage provided the hope of male grandchildren to succeed Henry I, Geoffrey's role in the governance of England and Normandy was a vexed question. There is evidence to suggest that the nobility preferred that Geoffrey only rule in the absence of male heirs; the birth of Henry's grandson and namesake in March 1133 and a second grandson at Whitsun 1134 shifted the question to Geoffrey's role, if any, in a regency council.⁴⁶ The issue came to the foreground again in 1135, when a quarrel arose between Henry and Geoffrey over the transfer of the castles which made up his daughter's dowry. When Henry refused Geoffrey's request, the quarrel escalated into Angevin attacks along the southern border, and the defection of Roger III de Tosny and William Talvas II of Ponthieu to Geoffrey's camp.⁴⁷ Henry maintained a high profile in southern Normandy throughout the year, and the situation remained tense at his death on 2 December 1135.

What was Stephen's position on the issue of succession between January 1127 and his uncle's death in December 1135? It is clear that Stephen was not an enthusiastic supporter of the Empress' succession, and as E.J. King has shown Stephen was not often at Henry's court between 1127 and 1132.⁴⁸ He promoted his own and his uncle's

⁴⁴ HN, 18–21.

⁴⁵ (Henry 1996): 486–8.

⁴⁶ The Durham chronicler makes this statement directly; Henry of Huntingdon and the chronicler of Le Mans indicate that Geoffrey and Matilda jointly claimed England on the basis of the oaths of 1127 and 1131; (Simeon 1882–5): 2:281–2; (Henry 1996): 708, and (Ledru 1902): no. 2. William of Malmesbury states that Henry reiterated Matilda's succession upon his deathbed despite his vexation at his son-in-law; HN, 24. John of Marmoutier confidently states that Geoffrey would rule jointly with his wife; (John 1913): 178–80.

⁴⁷ OV, 6:444–447.

⁴⁸ (King 2000): 285–6, 291.

affairs in Flanders between 1127 and 1128, but his actions following William Clito's death and Christmas 1132 are obscure. Stephen resumed his attendance at the royal court between Christmas 1132 and August 1133, and again in late 1135.⁴⁹ He was not, however, at his uncle's deathbed. Exactly when he formed the plan to claim England and Normandy is unknown; his brother, Henry bishop of Winchester, was clearly a party to it and perhaps so was Roger bishop of Salisbury. The *Liber Eliensis* states that Stephen crossed into England with a large retinue of soldiers, which suggests advanced planning of at least a few months.⁵⁰ His circle of confidants must necessarily have been small. Henry was no fool and Orderic's description of the Norman nobility's actions at Henry's death reveals their ignorance of Stephen's plan.⁵¹ However, Stephen could count on the dissatisfaction that Henry's succession plans had engendered and the difficulties raised by the conflict between Henry and Geoffrey in December 1135 in gathering support for his recognition as king and duke.⁵²

Among Stephen's assets in this bid for power was his longstanding friendship and alliance with Hugh II of St Pol, Baldwin IV of Hainaut, and his brother, Theobald of Blois-Chartres which protected Boulogne and Lens and thus, his ability to transport mercenaries into England. He gambled that if he could swiftly secure coronation and control of the major administrative centers of London and Winchester, he could count on the desire of the most powerful

⁴⁹ RRAN2, nos. 1740, 1830, 1757, 1761, and 1795; (King 2000): 291.

⁵⁰ (Blake 1962): 285.

⁵¹ OV, 6:450. William II de Warenne, Robert of Gloucester, Routrou of Mortagne, Waleran of Meulan and his twin Robert earl of Leicester were named as present. The role of Waleran of Meulan and Robert earl of Leicester in the meetings discussing the succession following Henry's death is unknown; (Crouch 1986): 29. Their step-father William II de Warenne took control of Rouen and the Pays de Caux and their half-sister was married to Roger earl of Warwick. Waleran and Robert were highly favored by Henry between 1129 and 1135. Robert was the more active curialis; he attested fifteen of Henry's acts as compared to his brother's eight between 1130 and 1135, (Crouch 1986): 27. Waleran and his brother joined Stephen in the early months of 1136 in England; (Crouch 1986): 29.

⁵² Warren Hollister has argued that the core membership of the civil war factions were formed at the Christmas court of 1126; Roger of Salisbury, his nephews Alexander and Nigel, William of Corbeil, archbishop of Canterbury, and possibly Payn fitz John were drawn together in their opposition to Empress Matilda's succession, and Robert of Gloucester, David of Scotland, and Brian fitz Count were united in their desire to see the succession of Henry's grandson. See n. 38.

of his uncle's curialis, men who had large trans-channel estates, for a single ruler in England and Normandy.⁵³ In England, his and his wife's estates gave him substantial control in Essex, East Anglia, and Lancaster. The estates of the Winchester see and Glastonbury abbey, under Bishop Henry's control, would help extend Stephen's power into Hampshire and Somerset. Stephen also enjoyed the friendship of William of Corbeil archbishop of Canterbury and Thurstan archbishop of York, securing him the support not only of the English episcopacy but also Kent and Yorkshire.⁵⁴ He may also have hoped that Payn fitz John, sheriff of Shropshire and a member of the anti-Matilda faction, and his wife's cousins, Robert of Ewias, John of Sudeley, and Simon II de Senlis would champion his cause.⁵⁵

News of Henry's death at Lyons-la-forêt reached Stephen in Boulogne quickly, and he promptly set out for England from Wissant.⁵⁶ Denied entrance into Dover and Canterbury, held by Robert of Gloucester's men, Stephen traveled to London, where the Boulonnais counts held an enclave of properties near St Martin le Grand and St Paul's. Stephen was welcomed warmly and the Londoners elected him king and in return he issued them a charter of liberties. Stephen then traveled to Winchester where his brother Bishop Henry came out openly in favor of his cause. Bishop Henry and Roger bishop of Salisbury, Henry's regent, persuaded William Pont de l'Arche, keeper of the royal treasury, to accept Stephen as king of England.⁵⁷

⁵³ Orderic gives this as the explicit reason that the Norman magnates withdrew their offer to Theobald of Blois; OV, 6:455. See also (LePatourel 1971); (Bates 1989): 871. While trans-channel estates were a concern of the magnates, this line of argument should not be pushed too far as local loyalties also played a substantial role in the nobility's political decisions; see (Crouch 1994), (Green 1989): 129–32 and (Green 1984).

⁵⁴ (King 2000): 293–4. William had been prior of St Oysth's Chiche before his advancement. Chiche, part of the Honour of Boulogne, was given to St Oysth's by Baldwin d'Osterwic constable of Boulogne and confirmed by Stephen and Matilda. In addition, the letter from Stephen to William concerning gift of Gamlingay to St John's Colchester reveals the warm friendship between them. Thurstan had enjoyed the patronage of Adela and Theobald of Blois, and he and Stephen had worked together in the foundation of Furness in the mid 1120s.

⁵⁵ (Hollister 1986): 153 and n. 35.

⁵⁶ OV, 5:56 and RT, 4:128–129.

⁵⁷ (Davis 1990): 16–17. Davis sees Henry as the key to Stephen's success. 'There can be little doubt that the man who was really responsible for Stephen's success was his brother, Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester. It was he who secured the government machine and treasury by winning over Roger of Salisbury and William Pont de l'Arche, and it was he who gave the archbishop the biggest inducement

The two then allayed the archbishop of Canterbury's concerns.⁵⁸ On the 22nd of December, Archbishop William anointed Stephen king of England. Although few had attended Stephen's coronation, his acta of January and February 1136 reveal that Henry's officers—stewards, constables, sheriffs—and 'new men' of the later part of Henry's reign accepted Stephen's authority.⁵⁹ Thus, quick action and the mobilization of family and friends secured Stephen's coronation and control of royal administration.

With his coronation, Stephen and Matilda focused their efforts upon securing the throne and later the succession to the English throne of their son, Eustace. Boulogne and the Honour of Boulogne played a key role in the successes they enjoyed during Stephen's reign, but Matilda's French lands were no longer the main concern of the comital family. Between 1136 and the summer of 1139, Stephen emerged generally victorious against Empress Matilda and her sup-

to anoint Stephen, by going surety for the solemn oath which Stephen took to restore and maintain the freedom of the Church.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ This was greatly aided by the sworn testimony of Hugh Bigod and two knights that Henry had chosen Stephen as his successor shortly before his death; (Blake 1962): 285. This account was written under Bishop Roger's nephew's episcopate, and thus, represents the pro-Stephen account of contemporary affairs. William of Malmesbury states that Henry reaffirmed his designation of his daughter; HN, 24–5. Jim Bradbury has argued that there is no evidence that Hugh Bigod gained by his oath concerning Henry's deathbed designation and that Hugh archbishop of Rouen who was there at Henry's death accepted Hugh's oath, as did Arnulf archdeacon and later bishop of Lisieux; (Bradbury 1996): 18–19.

⁵⁹ RRAN3, nos. 46, 271, 341, 451, 944 (for January 1136); nos. 99, 255–7, 355, 373a, 465, 716–7, 832, 904–7, 919, 942, 979 (for February 1136); (Newman 1988): 166–8. The witnesses of Stephen's acta are: Hugh Bigod (royal dapifer), two members of the Clare family—Robert fitz Richard (military tenant of Peterborough abbey), and Walter fitz Richard (son of Richard fitz Gilbert who had extensive honor in Suffolk; (Hollister 1994): 41—Pagan fitz John, sheriff of Shropshire (and possibly Herefordshire), Ingelran de Sai, Robert de Ferrars (who held lands in six counties—Notts., Staff., Berks, Leics., Northants., Lincs.; Newman 77), Miles of Gloucester (royal constable and sheriff Gloucs.), William Martel (royal dapifer), Roger de Fécamp, Walter Espec (lord Helmsley, Yorks.), William Maudit (chamberlain; was listed as marshal in *Constitutio domus regis*. He received the Hanslope lordship via marriage to Michael de Hanslope's daughter), Robert Musard (? of Staveley Derbs. family), Robert d'Oilli (heir of constable Nigel, ?sheriff Oxon), Robert de Ver (royal constable and hereditary constable in Normandy; married to Adela de Montfort heiress of Haughley lordship in Suffolk), Robert Avenel (related by marriage to de Redvers family), Henry de Sully (Stephen's nephew), Thurstan de Bayeux, Robert de Courcy (new man), Geoffrey de Trailli (only appears once, married to Albreda sister of Walter Espec), William de Trailli (only appears once; possibly a relative of Geoffrey de Trailli), Robert fitz Walter de Chesney (?sheriff Norfolk), Audoin bishop Evreux and John bishop Sécz.

porters. With the exception of the Welsh incursions and the siege of Bristol in 1138, Stephen successfully suppressed the rebellions against him, and the Scots negotiated settlements in 1136 and 1139 after their defeat at the Battle of the Standard.⁶⁰ In 1137, he won the support of Louis VI, negotiated a truce with Geoffrey of Anjou, and subdued a Norman rebellion. But the Norman-Breton border and the Contentin remained a difficulty. Once the civil war broke out in the summer 1138, Stephen slowly gained the advantage until his capture at the Battle of Lincoln (2 February 1141).

For the next seven months, Queen Matilda assumed control of royal government. Her successes in 1141 were based not only on her shrewd political sense, but also on the abiding loyalty of the tenants of the Honour of Boulogne, the Londoners, Simon II earl of Northampton, William III of Warenne and Surrey, William Martel, and William of Ypres.⁶¹ She faced the defections of the bishops, including her brother-in-law Henry bishop of Winchester, Geoffrey de Mandeville, castellan of London, and the defection of some of the earls.⁶² Queen Matilda pursued several different tactics in her efforts to have Stephen released from prison: appeals to the whole kingdom to honor their homage to the king, military force, and

⁶⁰ (Bradbury 1996): 27–42, 55–59; (Crouch 1994): 260–74; and (Barrow 1994): 244–7.

⁶¹ Waleran, William III de Warenne and Simon of Northampton swore that they would stand by Queen Matilda; OV, 6:546; (Davis 1990): 54. Following the battle William of Ypres and the queen withdrew into Kent, William Martel held Sherbourne castle, and Waleran of Meulan defended the king's interests from Worcester while his brother was in Normandy. Davis indicates that the earls of Sussex, Hertford, Derby and York did not appear to have joined the Angevin cause; (Davis 1990): 54, n. 6. John of Hexham reports the role of Matilda's kin in 1141; JH, 310; 'Rexit autem familiaris regis Stephani Willelmus d'Ipre, homo Flandrensis, et Pharamus nepos reginae Matildis, et iste Bononiensis.' Richard de Lucy was presumably one of the loyal supporters, however the chroniclers do not note his activities in this year, probably as a result of his status as a lesser noble. His attestations of Stephen's charters indicates that he was with Stephen at Oxford, Norwich, and London in 1139–40, at Lincoln (Mar 1140–Feb 1141), and at Canterbury Christmas 1141; RRAN3, nos. 293, 478, 690, 477, 479, 85, and 276. Richard first witnessed Stephen's charters in 1138 and he held Falaise castle for Stephen in 1139; RRAN3, no. 802; OV, 6:526.

⁶² After two weeks of negotiations, Bishop Henry welcomed Empress Matilda into Winchester on March 2, and transferred control of the royal treasury to her. Although the bishops of Lincoln, Ely, St David's, Hereford, Bath, and possibly Chichester were there, Archbishop Theobald chastised them for abandoning their allegiance to Stephen without seeking his permission. The bishops were formally freed from their oath to Stephen after visiting him at Bristol.

gifts.⁶³ Her letter, read by one of her chaplains, disrupted the legatine council called by Henry of Winchester and prompted the London delegates to leave the conference without accepting Empress Matilda as their lawful monarch.⁶⁴ It was the defection of Geoffrey de Mandeville, castellan of the Tower of London and the Londoners' enemy, which allowed Empress Matilda to enter London. Even then, the Londoners resisted the Angevin countess' financial demands.⁶⁵

Queen Matilda then used military force to re-take London and diplomacy (persuasion and gifts) to win back the allegiance of Henry of Winchester and Geoffrey de Mandeville.⁶⁶ 'The queen was admitted into the city by the Londoners and forgetting the weakness of her sex and a woman's softness she bore herself with the valour of a man; everywhere by prayer or price she won over invincible allies; the king's lieges, wherever they were scattered throughout England, she urged persistently to demand their lord back with her. . . .'⁶⁷ Chased from London, Empress Matilda and her men regrouped in Oxford, and began a siege of Winchester. Aided by almost 1000 Londoners, Simon II earl of Northampton, William III de Warenne,

⁶³ GS, 127; (Gervase 1879): 1:119; (Blake 1962): 322. Or as John of Hexham relates, 'The queen made supplication to all, importuned all with prayers, promises, and fair words for the deliverance of her husband.' JH, 310.

⁶⁴ GS, 55; JH, 310. The Londoners only promised to report the council's decree which recognized Empress Matilda as Lady of the English; HN, 96.

⁶⁵ Geoffrey's defection allowed Empress Matilda to enter into London, but her actions in early June alienated her close supporters and her new adherents. Empress Matilda offended Henry bishop of Winchester by ignoring his advice in ecclesiastical affairs and refusing to grant Eustace, Stephen's eldest son, the Honour of Boulogne; GS, 55. She also ignored the advice of her uncle, King David of Scotland and her half-brother Robert of Gloucester; GS, 55-57.

⁶⁶ HN, 100. In the first task she was aided by the Empress who alienated Henry of Winchester by refusing to recognize his nephew Eustace's right to hold the lands his father held under Henry I. Bishop Henry met secretly with Queen Matilda in Guildford, who persuaded him to help free Stephen. The Queen's army then began to harass the City's suburbs. The Londoners, encouraged by this action, made a pact with the Queen to restore Stephen and then chased the Empress out of London on 24 June 1141. Encircled by the Londoners, Geoffrey held the Tower of London and Queen Matilda's daughter-in-law Constance in it. Queen Matilda entered into negotiations, securing Geoffrey's support and Constance's freedom by trumping Empress Matilda's grants. (Round 1892): 114-122. Queen Matilda's charter is lost, but Stephen's charter of Christmas 1141 and Empress Matilda's second charter refer to it; RRAN3, no. 276 'Et preterea quicquid carta regine testatur ei dedi et concessi;' and no. 275 'quas Rex Stephanus et Matildis regina ei dederunt . . . sicut habet inde cartas illorum.'

⁶⁷ GS, 126.

and William of Ypres, the queen's army began the counter-siege.⁶⁸ Robert of Gloucester was captured on 14 September during the retreat of Empress Matilda's forces.⁶⁹ He was given into William of Ypres' charge and incarcerated at Rochester. Queen Matilda conducted the negotiations, which lasted for two months, and on 1 November 1141 Stephen was released.⁷⁰ From November 1141 through 1146, Stephen substantially recovered his authority in eastern and southern England, but western England remained under Angevin control and Normandy was lost by 1144.⁷¹ There was a lull in the civil war between 1147 and 1149; Robert of Gloucester, commander of the Angevin forces, died in October 1147, and many French lords and some English nobles went on the second Crusade.

In 1149, Eustace IV and Empress Matilda's son, Henry of Anjou, renewed the campaigning. While both young men demonstrated skill as warriors, each winning battles, neither side could win the war.⁷²

⁶⁸ GS, 130, 133; (John 1995): 3:298–302; HN, 100–106. The Empress' forces at Oxford included: David of Scotland and Robert of Gloucester, the earls of Devon, Cornwall, Chester, Warwick, the new earls of Hereford and Dorset, Miles of Gloucester, William de Mohun, Geoffrey Boterel of Brittany, John the Marhsal, Roger de Oilli, Roger de Nunant, and William fitz Alan; GS, 128.

⁶⁹ HN, 58; WN, 1:45.

⁷⁰ HN, 61; GS, 133; (Gervase 1879): 2:74; (Florence 1848–1849): 1:134. Matilda, their son Eustace, and two magnates served as security for the exchange. Robert was released on 3 November, and both sets of hostages were released two or three days later.

⁷¹ Between 1144 and 1148, Stephen gradually made inroads into the west country and against the Angevins in general. Henry of Huntingdon and the *Gesta Stephani* author describe Stephen as pre-eminent in 1146–7; GS, 182; (Henry 1996): 746; RT, 4:150; Bradbury, 139. Stephen's success was such that Robert of Gloucester's son, Philip, became a royalist. Henry of Anjou's visit in 1147 accomplished little and ended ignominiously; GS, 204–6. The death of Robert of Gloucester in October 1147 and Empress Matilda's departure for Normandy in early 1148 brought a period of relative quiet to England, but not a complete victory for Stephen.

⁷² In 1149, Henry of Anjou gathered an army with the aid of his uncle David of Scotland and began his campaign against Stephen at York. Leaving Eustace in charge of London, Stephen advanced on York, and after chasing Henry's army off, ordered Eustace to attack Henry in Gloucestershire; GS, 143. Eustace failed to engage Henry, but ravaged the Bristol area and then returned to Oxford to carry out attacks on Devizes, Marlborough, and Salisbury; GS, 144. Later in the year, Eustace campaigned with some success against Hugh Bigod and other Angevin supporters in Bedfordshire, while his father campaigned in Lincolnshire; GS, 146. Stephen's appointment of Gilbert de Gant as earl of Lincoln roused the ire of his ally William of Aumale, earl of York. William allied with Ranulf of Chester against Gilbert, and Ranulf's brother William de Roumare died in the fighting, c. 1151. (Dalton 1991): 12–15. In the autumn, Henry of Anjou returned from France and landed in Devon; GS, 146. After taking Bridport and attacking Henry de Tracy,

This inability stemmed from the unwillingness of the nobles to push for outright victory. They realized that Henry's succession would secure their landholdings in Normandy and England. For members of Stephen's faction, the goal was to prevent Henry's outright victory so that Henry would not be able to dispossess them of their lands as traitors. The papacy's unwillingness to acknowledge Eustace as the legitimate heir to the English throne also eroded support among the Anglo-Norman nobility and episcopacy.⁷³ The Angevin and royal armies met at Malmesbury and later at Wallingford, but their armies were unwilling to put matters to a test.⁷⁴ Pushed by the nobility, a truce was negotiated in July 1153.⁷⁵ It was a bitter blow to Eustace, who had been buoyed by Louis VII's renewed campaign against Angevin forces in Normandy.⁷⁶ Eustace left Stephen's camp in a rage and pillaged Cambridgeshire in the hopes of drawing Henry into a decisive encounter. His unexpected death at lunch on August 10, 1153 added weight to the continued peace efforts spearheaded by Archbishop Theobald and Henry of Winchester.⁷⁷ Some time during the autumn Henry of Anjou met with William of Boulogne at Colchester, probably to take each other's measure and to discuss terms of the peace.⁷⁸ His resolution weakened by the deaths of his

news of Eustace's arrival sent Henry back to his stronghold of Devizes; GS, 147. Eustace's attack on Devizes was surprised by Henry's advance troops, and Eustace beat a prudent retreat; GS, 148. Shortly afterwards, Henry returned to Normandy.

⁷³ Stephen appealed to Eugenius III in 1148 and 1150 to allow Eustace to be crowned. Eugenius refused basing his decision on Celestine II's injunction that no change should be made concerning the English throne; (John 1956): 78–9; (Holdsworth 1994): 211; (Chibnall 1988): 121–3. Stephen called a council in April 1152 asking the English bishops to crown Eustace; they refused under Archbishop Theobald's leadership; (Gervase 1879): 150–151. Stephen temporarily incarcerated the bishops to induce them to change their minds, but Theobald escaped and his lands were confiscated.

⁷⁴ GS, 230–2.

⁷⁵ GS, 238; (Gervase 1879): 1:154–5; (Henry 1996): 766; RT, 4:174.

⁷⁶ The campaign began in April with the aid of Thierry of Flanders. RT, 4: 172, 174–5; (de Hemptinne 1991): 93; (Sassier 1991): 242. Louis made attacks on Vernon in April as well as July. In September he burned Verneuil. A quarrel between Simon of Evreux and the sons of Ascelin Goel, William Lupellum and Roger Balbum, disturbed Normandy in the fall of 1154.

⁷⁷ GS, 238; (Henry 1996): 768; (Gervase 1879): 1:155, RT, 4:176. Gervase and Robert add that Eustace ravaged the lands of Bury St Edmunds' lands, and was thus struck down for his impiety. He was buried at Faversham next to his mother.

⁷⁸ (Leland 1907–10): 5:171. The meeting is recorded in William de Ver's *Vita S. Osithae* and copied by John Leland. 'Henricus filius Matildis Imperatricis Colecestriam venit ubi diem pacis et concordia cum Gul. comite Warrenae, filio Stephani regis, praesente Theobaldo archiepiscopo Cantuari: et reg: baronibus.' (Henry son of

wife Matilda (3 May 1152) and Eustace, Stephen agreed to renounce his family's claim on the throne. On 6 November, Stephen and Henry met at Winchester to ratify the peace.⁷⁹ Henry was adopted as Stephen's son and heir, allowing Stephen to remain king until his death. Stephen's son, William, was endowed with everything his father held at Henry I's death—the honours of Boulogne, Lancaster, Eye, and the county of Mortain—and he retained control of his wife's inheritance of earldom of Surrey and the Warenne estates as well as his father's grants in Norfolk. There followed an exchange of homage—Henry to Stephen, William of Boulogne to Henry, and the magnates of each party to Stephen and Henry.

The amicable surface of the peace was broken only twice: Stephen and Henry disagreed at Dunstaple over the razing of castles, and William of Boulogne appears to have been part of a conspiracy to kill Henry.⁸⁰ The attempt on Henry's life was to be made in Kent, where he and Stephen had gone to meet with Thierry of Flanders. However, William fell from his horse, breaking his leg, and his accomplices failed to take any action. After Stephen and Henry met with Thierry at Dover, probably to negotiate the return of the Flemish mercenaries, and perhaps to re-establish the 1120 Treaty of Dover, Henry returned to Normandy in March 1154.⁸¹ Stephen toured England, re-establishing his authority throughout the kingdom. After a meeting with Thierry of Flanders in October, he fell ill at one of his estates in Kent and died.⁸² He was buried at Faversham with

Empress Matilda came to Colchester for a day of peace and concord with William count of Warenne, son of King Stephen, in the presence of Theobald archbishop of Canterbury and barons of the king.)

⁷⁹ (Holt 1994): 295–6. The terms of Winchester were formally promulgated by Stephen in an act issued at Westminster. The destruction of adulterine castles and the restoration of lands are not included in this document, but were reported in the chronicles; (Henry 1996): 772; RT, 4:177; GS, 240. Holt argues that the details of the land settlement were worked out individually and on an ad hoc basis, with the guide line that inheritances were to be restored, unlawful acquisitions revoked, and other acquisitions negotiated with Henry; (Holt 1994): 297–316.

⁸⁰ (Gervase 1879): 1:157, 158. Between the peace at Winchester and early March 1154, Stephen and Henry held six courts; (Henry 1996): 770; (Gervase 1879): 1:157. The acta issued by the two men, as Holt has argued, reveal that there was little joint action on the part of Stephen and Henry; Holt, 307–8. The witness lists rarely reveal shared attestors, even when simultaneous confirmations were issued. Henry only referred to Stephen in his acta when regalian rights or property were concerned; (Holt 1994): 308–9.

⁸¹ (Gervase 1879): 1:158.

⁸² (Gervase 1879): 1:159.

Queen Matilda and Eustace, survived by his son, William, and daughter, Mary abbess of Lillechurch.

William's countship, like that of his father's before 1136, was shaped by the dictates of his Anglo-Norman land holdings, which were even more extensive than his grandfather Eustace III's. William's alliances and political opportunities were constricted by Henry II's vast land holdings, Louis VII's weakness in comparison to Henry II, and the limited number of kin he could call upon to advance his interests. He was also hampered by the strengthening of bureaucracy within the Angevin realm and the continued desire for peace among the Anglo-Norman nobility. Shortly after his accession, Henry moved to minimize William of Boulogne's power in Essex and East Anglia. Breaking the terms of the Winchester peace, he revoked Stephen's grants to his son in Norfolk (with the exception of Norwich castle) and made Hugh Bigod earl of Norfolk.⁸³ In addition, the exchequer deferred action on his danegeld and county *donum*.⁸⁴ Henry tempered his harshness with retroactive pardons on danegeld and donum, and a grant of an allowance from the king's revenues in Surrey.⁸⁵ Henry also elevated Geoffrey III de Mandeville to the level of earl, confirming all his hereditary lands and quitclaiming the fines owed for the castles of Walden, Sawbridgeworth and Waltham.⁸⁶ Geoffrey's promotion to earl of Essex challenged William's position as the most important nobleman in the county.

Neither Geoffrey nor Aubrey III de Ver, whose inherited lands were confirmed by Henry in January 1156, became prominent figures in Henry's court. However, Henry gave enough to minimize the temptation to rebel in support of William. Among Stephen's 'new men', Richard de Lucy and Henry of Essex flourished, but William Martel and the Sackvilles were excluded from royal service. The Flemish mercenaries were formally expelled in January, and Henry, once again reneging on his promise, took Dover—the castle, town and honour—from William's relative, Pharamus of Boulogne.⁸⁷ He

⁸³ (Holt 1994): 301; (Davies 1957): no. 553. William was still powerful in Norfolk as the earl of Warenne and lord of the honor of Eye, which included the castles of Bury St Edmunds, Haughley and Eye. Ipswich, which had been held by the Bigod family, was lost to royal control in 1153; (Warren 1973): 51, 67.

⁸⁴ (Amt 1993): 27.

⁸⁵ (Hunter 1844): 7, 9, 31, 61.

⁸⁶ (Holt 1994): 298–99; (Round 1892): 235–6.

⁸⁷ RRAN3, no. 272 specifically states that William would have 'servitium Faramusi, preter castra et villas de Dove, et quod ad honorem Dove pertinent.'

compensated Pharamus with the grant of Wendover and Eton (Bucks) in the following year.⁸⁸ Henry behaved cautiously towards William of Ypres, allowing him to remain in Kent until Easter 1157, with the loss of some property, to ensure the peaceful withdrawal of the Flemish mercenaries.⁸⁹ Although William received Lancashire, his ability to use the north as a power base was limited by the minority of his cousin, King Malcolm of Scotland (and earl of Huntingdon) and Henry's decision to deprive Simon III of his father's earldom of Northampton.⁹⁰ On balance, Henry circumspectly restricted the power of Stephen's most loyal allies or their heirs in England, and his good relations with Thierry of Flanders further limited William's room to maneuver against the new king.⁹¹

In February 1156, Henry traveled to Rouen via Dover and Wissant, and he spent much of the year battling his brother Geoffrey's rebellion and coming to terms with Louis VII.⁹² There is no evidence concerning William's activities this year; it is likely that he made a visit to Boulogne and Lens. It may be in this year that Mary became abbess of Romsey.⁹³ In Henry's absence, the tension between William and Hugh Bigod had reached the point of violence, and Essex and East Anglia appeared to be on the brink of rebellion. Henry called

⁸⁸ (Round 1896): 147.

⁸⁹ RT, 4:183; WN, 1:101; (Gervase 1879): 1:161. The pipe rolls reveal that William drew revenues from royal lands in Kent until Easter 1157; (Amt 1993): 90–1.

⁹⁰ (Holt 1994): 305–6. The deaths of David of Scotland, his son Henry, and Ranulf of Chester in 1153, cleared the way for the restoration of Lancashire to William and English royal authority to the region. Malcolm was allowed to retain the earldom of Huntingdon but Henry reclaimed Carlisle, Bamburgh and Newcastle-upon-Tyne; (Amt 1993): 27. In the spring, Henry took the earldom of Yorkshire and Scarborough castle from William of Aumale, thereby removing another Stephen supporter from the region; WN, 1:103–4. William attested a charter of Simon II, made with the assent of his son, to the Templars (Sept 1152–August 1153); (Lees 1935): 184.

⁹¹ (de Hemptinne 1991): 93–4. Thierry and Sybil were present at Henry's coronation, and his nephew received a fief in Lincolnshire on this occasion. In 1156, Thierry received several grants of land and pardons on payments owed to the Exchequer.

⁹² Henry met with Thierry and Sybilla of Flanders, Louis VII, and his brother Geoffrey in Rouen; RT, 4:186. Geoffrey left Rouen for Anjou angered that Henry had reneged on his promise to their father that he would receive Chinon, Leodun, and Mirabello castles; WN, 1:112–4. Geoffrey chased Hoel count of Brittany out his county and was received as ruler of Nantes; RT, 4:186–7. In July, Henry had defeated his brother; RT, 4:188.

⁹³ (Knowles 1972): 219. Matilda abbess of Romsey died in 1155. Matthew of Paris states that Mary was the abbess of Romsey; (Luard 1872–83): 2:216.

a great council at Bury St Edmund's in May 1157 to settle the problem. He ordered William and Hugh surrender all their castles in England and Normandy as his punishment for the armed conflict which had arisen between the two men in East Anglia.⁹⁴ William also forfeited *terre date* in Surrey.⁹⁵ Geoffrey de Mandeville also seems to have a role in this conflict, for the pipe roll for this year records a payment for the demolition of his castles.⁹⁶

William appealed to the pope to have his property restored to him, but otherwise he beat a strategic retreat.⁹⁷ William was at Lens between Christmas 1156 and early May 1157 when he confirmed the grant of Sainghin as part of Matilda de Wavrin's dowry.⁹⁸ In 1158, he issued two charters, one confirming the gift of Ewan and Michael the Fleming to Furness abbey, and the other records his participation in the establishment of the constitution for the prebends of St. Martin le Grand, London.⁹⁹ In June 1158, William was with Henry at Carlisle, where the king knighted him. His sister, Mary, and her nuns at Lillechurch also benefitted from Henry's patronage this year.¹⁰⁰

Henry spent the following year organizing and campaigning against Raymond of Toulouse, who threatened his and Eleanor's authority in Aquitaine. The marriage of Constance, Louis VII's sister and Eustace IV's widow, to Raymond V in 1154 had been part of Louis' efforts to combat Henry II's growing power. William campaigned with Henry in Toulouse, where he died in October 1159.¹⁰¹ Henry granted to the abbey of Montmorel, where William was buried, ten marcs from the manor of Icklington (of the Honour of Boulogne) for William's soul.¹⁰²

⁹⁴ (Warren 1973): 66–67; RT, 4:192–3; (Brewer 1846): 85.

⁹⁵ (Hall 1896): 654; (Hunter 1844): 10, 93–4.

⁹⁶ RT, 4:192–3; (Brewer 1846): 85; (Warren 1973): 67 and n. 5; (Hunter 1844): 132.

⁹⁷ (John 1955): no. 46. John wrote to Adrain IV that the archdeacon of Norwich, probably Baldwin of Boulogne, was stirring up trouble by his claims that he had been sent by the pope to collect 700 marcs from William count of Warenne so that the pope would hear his petitions against Henry II.

⁹⁸ (de Hemptinne 1988): no. 171.

⁹⁹ (Farrer 1902): 307 and (Kempe 1825): 65–66. See (Warren 1973): 87 for a discussion of William's relationship with Henry.

¹⁰⁰ RT, 4:196; (Delisle 1909–1927): 1:144.

¹⁰¹ (Giles 1967): 97.

¹⁰² (Round 1888): 1:63–4, no. 38.

William's vast estates, excluding Boulogne and Lens, escheated to Henry upon his death as he and Isabel had no children. However, Eustace's widow Constance advanced a claim on Boulogne which she argued was her dowry.¹⁰³ She may also have sought to hold the Honour of Boulogne as well. As the current countess of Toulouse, Constance was the last person Henry wanted to possess the Boulonnais lands and it was probably this claim which was behind Henry's decision to remove William's sister, Mary, from Romsey and marry her to his cousin, Matthew, son of Thierry of Flanders.¹⁰⁴ Mary's dowry was Boulogne and Lens. The marriage drew immediate condemnation from ecclesiastics, including Thomas Becket, and both Matthew and Mary were excommunicated. Matthew's father, who was unaware of the plan, was furious and launched an attack on Boulogne and Lens. Pharamus of Boulogne, as Mary's kinsmen, encouraged Henry to write to Pope Alexander III so that Mary might be absolved from her monastic profession and thus, free to marry.¹⁰⁵ His argument was that this would be the best means of ending the war which had broken out between Boulogne and Flanders. Matthew forfeited Lens to the count of Flanders, but he and his father were reconciled in March 1161 with the aid of the Bishop of Cambrai.¹⁰⁶ Good relations between England and Flanders were not restored until March 1163 when Henry and Thierry and their heirs (Henry and Philip) renewed the Treaty of Dover.¹⁰⁷ Matthew was not a party to this treaty. By 1173, Mary was allowed to return to the monastery, having given Matthew two daughters, Ida II and Matilda III.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ (Migne 1878–1974): 200:497–8 or (Martène 1968): 2:755.

¹⁰⁴ For the marriage see RT, 4:207; (Robertson 1877–1879): 3:328–9 and 4:332; (Lambert 1885): 16:533–4; (Diceto 1876): 1:303; MP, 2:216. For the conflict it caused see: (Sigebert 1844): 6:397; (Migne 1878–1974): v. 200, nos. 113, 114.

¹⁰⁵ (Round 1896): 148–9 based on an manuscript from John's reign.

¹⁰⁶ (Lambert 1885): 16:534.

¹⁰⁷ (de Hemptinne 1988): no. 208.

¹⁰⁸ (Bouquet 1738–1876): 13:414; (Huyghebaert 1960): 221 states that Mary retired to Messines, but de Hemptinne argues that Mary was at Ste Austreberthe de Montreuil. BNF Collection Moreau v. 77, p. 226 (1172) records a donation of Matthew to the abbey where Mary was retired; (de Hemptinne 1991): n. 56. Mary's ties to Lillechurch nunnery continued after her return to monastic life. One of her grants to Lillechurch has been dated to 1182; St John's Cambridge, D46.27. There is another grant by Mary for which no date has been determined; St John's Cambridge, D46.58. Both are original charters with seals.

Kinship and Politics in England and Normandy

Kinship, allied to territorial interests, continued to be the foundation of political action in the Anglo-Norman and Flemish succession crises of the 1120s, as well as Anglo-Norman politics between 1125 and 1160. Sixteen years of civil war, however, accelerated the use of non-kin in administrative positions and the transformation of ad hoc kin-based coalitions into political factions. Friendship and patronage—in the form of lands and offices—also played a fundamental role in the creation and maintenance of the Boulonnais-Blésein and Angevin factions. Contested inheritance and succession also provided kings, in England and France, with the opportunity to establish greater authority over the magnates of their realm.

Henry I's lack of a legitimate son to inherit England and Normandy raised the question of succession and inheritance practices. His choice of his daughter led to the swift formation of kin-based actions groups in France. Louis granted William Clito, Henry's nephew, the French Vexin and married him to Jeanne of Maurienne, his sister-in-law, as the united rule of England and Normandy undermined French royal authority. In England, the factions which developed reveal the bonds of kinship, friendship, and patronage. Henry's patronage of his bastard son Robert, Brian fitz Count, and David earl of Huntingdon (later king of Scotland) contributed to their decision to honor Henry's choice. Robert and David were also acting in support of kin; Empress Matilda was Robert's half-sister and David's niece. William Talvas, count of Ponthieu, in hopes of regaining his father's castles in Bellême (near the border with Anjou), joined the Angevin faction. Although also shown great favor, Waleran of Meulan, Stephen of Boulogne and Mortain, Henry bishop of Winchester, and Roger bishop of Salisbury did not favor Empress Matilda's succession. Stephen and Waleran were good friends, and Stephen and Henry were brothers.

Stephen's swift action, calling upon his brother Henry and his friends Waleran of Meulan and Roger bishop of Salisbury, at the new's of Henry I's death allowed him to secure the English throne and prevent his cousin, Empress Matilda's, succession. The coalition he built drew upon his and his wife's relatives, his friends (and in turn, their kin), and the territorial interests of many of the Anglo-Norman nobles. Henry I's policy of granting lands of disgraced nobles to those who served him loyally had also created a pool of dispossessed heirs who sought the restoration of their familial lands. Patronage

of some necessarily disappointed the rival claimant, and led to changes of allegiance throughout the civil war.¹⁰⁹ Henry I gave Ralph of Gael the Breteuil honor and Ralph's sister Amice was married to Robert of Leicester. In addition, Ralph had to give Val de Pitres and Pont-St-Pierre (lands that the Breteuil family had gained through a dowry) to Roger de Tosny. Robert of Leicester wanted to recover the Breteuil lands which led Roger de Tosny to make common cause with William de Percy and both men to favor the Angevins, given the Beaumont twins' support of Stephen.¹¹⁰ Ranulf II of Chester, Simon II de Senlis, and Geoffrey II de Mandeville also sought lands that their fathers had held.¹¹¹ Stephen rejected Ranulf's claim on lands in Cumberland and Lincolnshire which his father had exchanged for the earldom of Chester, and Geoffrey had to wait until 1140 to recover lost honors. Both men rebelled several times against Stephen. Simon was given a new honor and remained loyal to Stephen and Matilda.

Stephen's faction and the successes of his reign were built upon ties of kinship, friendship, land and patronage. His immediate ascendancy in England and Normandy was achieved with the help of his brothers. Henry of Winchester played a key role in helping Stephen win the throne, and he remained a prominent advisor until the bishops' arrest in 1139.¹¹² Even then, Henry worked to find a peaceful

¹⁰⁹ For the debate on the role of inheritance disputes, of which there were others, as a cause of the 'anarchy' of Stephen's reign see: (Holt 1972) and (Holt 1974); (King 1974); (Patourel 1971); (Crouch 1982); (Hollister 1994): 45, 49; (Newman 1988): 163–70. Robert of Bampton, Baldwin de Redvers, and Alfred de Totnes all rebelled when they were denied family honors; (Stacy 1999) and (Bearman 1995): 20–4.

¹¹⁰ (Chibnall 1992): 98–99; OV, 6:456–8; (Crouch 1986): 31–2.

¹¹¹ The treaties of 1136 and 1139 exacerbated Ranulf's anger at Stephen's refusal to grant him these lands. Stephen, having given up the honour of Lancaster and seeking to protect northern England from further Scottish depredations, refused Ranulf request for the 'lost' estates. Simon II de Senlis had been dispossessed by his mother's re-marriage to David of Scotland and Henry's grant of the earldom of Huntingdon to him upon the marriage. Stephen granted Simon the earldom of Northampton in 1136 in compensation, and was rewarded with Simon's enduring loyalty. Geoffrey II de Mandeville's father lost Sawbridgeworth, Great Waltham, Saffron Walden, shrievalty of Essex and custody of London tower.

¹¹² Henry attested Stephen's charters fifty-seven times, which made him the sixth most frequent attestor of Stephen's 742 extant charters (723 are in RRAN3, and additional nineteen have been found since see: (Davis 1990): 166–7 and (Vincent 1999): nos. 1–12. There are also references to fifteen lost charters; Vincent, nos. 13–27): RRAN3, nos. 28, 45–6, 142, 169, 181–3, 204, 206, 271–2, 274, 276, 284, 288, 300–2, 327, 337, 340, 386, 402, 434, 445–6, 451, 470, 475, 497, 499, 500,

resolution to the civil war, negotiating on Stephen's behalf at Bath in 1140 and his subsequent talks with Louis VII and Suger. Angered by Stephen's arrest of the bishops and faced with the occupation of Winchester itself, Henry briefly defected to the Angevin cause in 1141. Alienated by Empress Matilda's refusal to guarantee his nephew Eustace IV's succession to the Honours of Boulogne, Eye, and Lancaster, and the county of Mortain, Henry returned to Stephen's party and remained a loyal supporter for the rest of the reign. Henry was an active counselor from 1142 to 1154, and outmaneuvered Stephen's opponents in the York controversy at the papal court between 1141 and 1147.¹¹³ His efforts were crucial since this archbishopric was a key point in the defense of the north, especially in light of Ranulf of Chester's rebellion.¹¹⁴ Theobald of Blois, after his initial anger, contributed his military skill in securing his brother's authority in Normandy against internal rebels and Geoffrey of Anjou

542, 559, 576, 591–2, 609, 616, 679, 685–6, 694, 718, 760, 764, 784, 786, 800, 818–9, 829, 866, 903, 924, 973; (Vincent 1999): nos. 2 and 7. Henry advised Stephen not to show mercy to those besieged at Exeter in 1136; GS, 27; Henry also convinced Stephen to give Empress Matilda safe conduct from Arundel to Bristol in 1139; GS, 39. Henry of Winchester, recently appointed a papal legate, called the Council of Winchester to hold Stephen accountable for the violation of the Church's liberties in the summer of 1139. Aubrey II de Ver, Stephen's chamberlain, and Archbishop Hugh of Rouen successfully argued that the bishops were arrested as ministers of the king who were required by law to hand over the custody of their castles at the king's request. Although he won this battle, he lost Bishop Henry's whole-hearted support.

¹¹³ RRAN3, nos. 169, 182, 183, 276, 300, 302, 402, 542, 694, 760, and 924; (Vincent 1999): no. 7. Northern England was a particular trouble spot. David, having acquired northern Lancashire and intruded his candidate William Cumin in Durham, was now trying to place his own candidate into the archbishopric of York. (Cronne 1935): 678–9; (Green 1991): 102–3; (Knowles 1963). Stephen saw the issue primarily in political terms; York was a key stronghold and David, an Angevin supporter, had close ties to his candidate and his powerful Cistercian advocates. (Barrow 1953): 96–7. Henry and Stephen were successful in blocking these men's appeals against their own candidate, William fitz Herbert, who gained possession of the see in 1143.

¹¹⁴ Equally troubling were the gains of Ranulf of Chester in Lincolnshire; (Dalton 1991): 118, 121–22. Ranulf used the captives of Lincoln to his advantage—Roger de Mowbray lost Gainsborough to Ranulf's brother William de Roumare; Ilbert de Lacy's widow Alice de Gant was married to Eustace fitz John, Ranulf's constable; Baldwin fitz Gilbert had to marry his daughter Emma to Hugh I Wake with a dowry of Bourne, and Gilbert de Gant was forced to marry Ranulf's niece Rohese de Clare, and her dowry included important de Gant Lincolnshire estates which Ranulf coveted. In Normandy between 1142 and 1143, Geoffrey had taken the Avranchin, the diocese of Bayeux, and the Contentin up to the peninsula where the de la Haye's continued to fend off Geoffrey's incursions.

in 1136.¹¹⁵ He also advised the French king to enter into a treaty with Stephen in 1137 and wrote the pope in support of Stephen's cause.¹¹⁶ In 1141, Theobald tried to negotiate with Geoffrey of Anjou, offering the city of Tours for Stephen's release and the retention of his lands as they were in 1135. Geoffrey refused the deal. Facing his own problems at the French court, Theobald was not in a position to campaign against Geoffrey between 1142 and 1144. Theobald's son, Henry of Champagne, fought in his cousin Eustace's coalition against Henry of Anjou in 1152. Stephen's nephew, Henry de Sully, was also active at Stephen's court, witnessing his uncle's charters frequently before his appointment as abbot of Fécamp in 1139/1140.¹¹⁷

In addition to his brothers and nephews, Stephen's wife was a key figure in his government and diplomacy. Working with the papal legate, Queen Matilda convinced Stephen to make peace with her uncle, David of Scotland, and in April 1139, she negotiated and signed the new Scottish treaty.¹¹⁸ One component of the peace was the marriage of David's son Henry and Ada de Warenne, sister of William III count of Warenne, a man thoroughly loyal to Stephen.¹¹⁹ In return, Henry retained his father's earldom of Huntingdon. Matilda preserved the security of the north by foiling Ranulf of Chester's plan to attack Henry of Scotland in 1139.¹²⁰ Stephen designated her the commander of the siege of Dover (1138), which she retook in

¹¹⁵ William II de Warenne, William de Roumare, and Hugh de Gournay had decided to offer Normandy (and presumably England) to Theobald of Blois when news of Stephen's coronation arrived; OV, 6:454; RT, 4:132. With regret, they withdrew their offer and recognized Stephen as king and duke. Theobald was angered but chose not to contest his brother's actions since to do so would aid his traditional rival, the Angevin count. Theobald helped Waleran of Meulan put down the rebellions of Rabel de Tancarville, William de Pacy, and Roger de Tosny in the summer of 1136; (Chibnall 1992): 98–99; OV, 6:456–8; (Crouch 1986): 31–2. In the spring of 1137, Stephen met with his brother Theobald in Evreux; he offered Theobald an annual pension of 2000 silver marcs and agreed to fight against the Angevins; RT, 4:132.

¹¹⁶ (Dufour 1992): no. 396.

¹¹⁷ RRAN3, nos. 46, 204, 271, 280–282, 288, 716, 818, 919, 944–5, 990. Henry's father William had died c. 1127.

¹¹⁸ RH, 3:176, 178; JH 2:300; (Tanner 2003): 139.

¹¹⁹ (Chandler 1981): 121–2.

¹²⁰ Angered by the treaty which ratified the territorial arrangements of 1139, Ranulf of Chester threatened the peace in the north of the kingdom with his plot to kidnap or kill Henry earl of Huntingdon on his return from Stephen's court; JH, 306; (Green 1991): 102–3.

six months.¹²¹ In 1140, she negotiated the marriage of their son Eustace to Constance of France, thereby bolstering their formal alliance with kinship ties.¹²² The queen was also an active member of the royal curia from 1136 to 1149, witnessing charters and judgments, probably serving at the Exchequer court, and governing her family's estates.¹²³ She functioned as the head of the royal administration during Stephen's frequent absences.¹²⁴ As one of Stephen's leading advisors, Queen Matilda received the written appeals of Bernard of Clairvaux and Pope Eugenius III for her intercession on their behalf. Bernard sought her aid for Henry Murdac so that he might hold the see of York.¹²⁵ Eugenius requested that she and Stephen accept a profession of loyalty rather than an oath of fealty from Robert bishop of London, who had been appointed by Empress Matilda in 1141.¹²⁶ The queen also interceded on Theobald of Canterbury's behalf, helping to restore good relations between him and the king in the latter half of 1148, and in the process removing the papal interdict on England.¹²⁷

Several of Queen Matilda's cousins were supporters of the royal party—Simon II de Senlis, made earl of Northampton in 1136,

¹²¹ Robert's man Walchelin Maminot, who held Dover castle, rebelled in June; OV, 6:520; RT, 4:135. Walchelin surrendered in December 1138.

¹²² (John 1995): 3:284; (Henry 1996): 720 (without giving a date).

¹²³ Matilda witnessed fifteen charters in 1136–37; her average attestation per year after 1137 was three, with the exceptions of 1139–40, and 1146–48 when she averaged 4.3 per year; see (Tanner 2003): Charts 6.1 and 6.2. For Matilda's role in royal government, see (Tanner 2003): 139–142.

¹²⁴ One example of this is her incarceration of some men in Rochester who opposed Stephen's rule; (Bethell 1970): 435. See also (Tanner 2003): 141. For her acta concerning royal lands and powers see RRAN3, nos. 530, 548, 550, and 557. The queen had her own set of officials but Richard de Lucy and William Martel frequently attest her charters; (Tanner 2003): 142.

¹²⁵ (Scott 1953): 267–8.

¹²⁶ (Migne 1878–1974): 180:1249. The letter was written in 1148.

¹²⁷ (Gervase 1879): 1:135; (Saltman 1956): 25–30. Theobald had attended the Council of Reims held in March, against Stephen's strict prohibition. Stephen was at odds with the papacy over the York archbishopric and the Cistercian absorption of the Savignac order. Stephen had exiled Theobald for his disobedience; Matilda intervened with William of Ypres and requested Theobald to take up residence at abbey of St Bertin in St Omer, while they tried to reason with Stephen. This stratagem failed, however, in part because of Theobald's refusal to anoint Eustace as king. (Gervase 1879): 1:135. After a few months, Theobald moved to Framlingham, which was under the control of Hugh Bigod, a supporter of Empress Matilda. Matilda stayed frequently at Canterbury to supervise the construction of Faversham abbey, founded in 1148 by Stephen and her; (Gervase 1879): 1:139.

Robert of Ewias and his brother John of Sudeley, Pharamus of Boulogne, and dowager Queen Adeliza.¹²⁸ Simon II de Senlis helped strengthen royal authority in the midlands. Stephen had compensated him for the loss of his father's earldom of Huntingdon by making him earl of Northampton. Simon fought valiantly with the royal forces in 1141, and remained an influential member of Stephen's administration and military forces for the remainder of the reign.¹²⁹ Northampton bordered Angevin territory, so Simon's loyalty appears to have been based upon kinship. Robert and John helped defend the Welsh border.¹³⁰ Stephen's failure to tackle the Welsh incursions personally as well as Robert of Gloucester's power in the region encouraged Robert of Ewias, John of Sudeley, Humphrey de Bohun, William de Mohun, Miles of Gloucester, and others to ally with Empress Matilda after Robert's break with Stephen in May 1138.¹³¹ Pharamus was probably among the kinsmen Queen Matilda called upon to blockade Dover in 1138, and he was given Peverel honour of Dover and probably the castellany, thereby solidifying Stephen's hold on Kent.¹³² He remained loyal throughout Stephen's reign as his territorial interests in Kent and Boulogne were best served by this choice as well as his sense of kinship, which was displayed in

¹²⁸ (Wertheimer 1997): 113–14. Wertheimer does suggest that Adeliza may have been sympathetic to her step-daughter's cause, but with the exception of offering her hospitality to Empress Matilda at Arundel in August 1139 she did not overtly aid the Angevin cause.

¹²⁹ (Davis 1990): 68–70. Stephen's son William witnessed one of Simon's charters for the Templars; Lees, 185–6.

¹³⁰ (Crouch 1994): 255–60, 266. Crouch argues that the growing stability within the Welsh polity between 1121 and 1135 was the foundation for the Welsh challenge to Anglo-Norman power in the March. Henry's death was not the cause but the spark for the uprisings, and Stephen's indifference led to the undoing of Henry I's gains in Wales. Richard de Clare, lord of Cardigan died in a Welsh ambush on his way home from an unfruitful meeting with Stephen in April; GS, 16. His death was the beginning of a widespread Welsh uprising. Stephen's response was to delegate responsibility to combat the Welsh to Richard's brother, Baldwin de Clare and his wife's cousin Robert fitz Harold of Ewias while he concentrated his energies on a swift suppression of the problems with Scotland; GS, 16–20; (Crouch 1994): 260–1. The *Gesta Stephani* highlights Robert Ewias' actions in 1136 as well as discussing the Clare brothers. Robert of Ewias had some success from Camarthen, but the Welsh made significant gains.

¹³¹ (Crouch 1994): 276 and n. 50. Crouch argues that Robert of Ewias became the constable of Roger earl of Hereford after 1143, and was a member of the Hereford affinity in 1139; (Crouch 1994): 280 and n. 67.

¹³² (Round 1896): 147; (Amt 1993): 85–6.

the controversy over Mary's marriage. While Adeliza played almost no role in the politics of Stephen's reign, her new husband, William II d'Aubigny, remained loyal to Stephen throughout his reign.¹³³ William's father served Stephen as a butler until his death in 1139, and his family's lands were in Sussex and Lincolnshire.¹³⁴ William II was made earl of Lincoln in 1139; in 1141, his earldom was switched to that of Sussex. Adeliza's hospitality to Empress Matilda upon her arrival in England in the summer of 1139 stemmed from a sense of familial duty rather than any overt aid to her step-daughter's cause.¹³⁵

Territorial interests bolstered through marriage and kinship ties secured the loyalty of the nobility of Essex, East Anglia, and Lancaster through their lordship of the Honours of Boulogne, Eye, and Lancaster. Essex and East Anglia were the heart of the territory that remained firmly under Stephen's control, and the continued fidelity of the Boulonnais tenants served Stephen well.¹³⁶ The de Sackville family, who had lands in Essex, and the honours of Eye and Lancaster, were among those who served Stephen as king. Robert de Sackville, steward of Mortain, and his sons, Jordan and Stephen, witnessed royal acta.¹³⁷ Both Robert fitz Walter, sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk,

¹³³ (Wertheimer 1997): 112–115.

¹³⁴ (Davis 1990): 134.

¹³⁵ GS, 86–90; HN, 60–2; OV, 6:534; (John 1995): 3:268; (Henry 1996): 722. To the surprise of many now and then, Stephen, who had surrounded Arundel castle, had Empress Matilda escorted to Bristol. His act was not as foolishly chivalrous as some have suggested. Dowager queen Adeliza, now countess of Arundel, had offered her step-daughter refuge, and Adeliza would expect Stephen to honor her offer. In addition, Arundel castle was well nigh impregnable and a siege would tie up the royal army for much too long. Even if he did take Arundel, Stephen could not imprison his cousin and rival if he wanted to retain any honor, something he would have been quite mindful of after the contretemps of the bishops' arrest. Finally, he was advised that it would be easier and more thorough to take Bristol with Robert of Gloucester and Empress Matilda. Both Chibnall and Davis argue that Stephen's decision was not irrational; (Chibnall 1992): 81; (Davis 1990): 40–1.

¹³⁶ See Appendix 3 and (King 1974): 183, 191–192. King states that Stephen's power in London has been underestimated, and in his analysis of Geoffrey II de Mandeville's rebellion notes the predominance of the Honour of Boulogne in Essex.

¹³⁷ Robert de Sackville and his brother Jordan witnessed two of Stephen's grants to Eye priory; (Brown 1992): nos. 19, 20. See the note for no. 20 for a discussion of the family's property. Robert also witness Stephen's foundation charter for Furness and his gift to Bernard the Scribe; the two men were also together when Stephen decided not to board the White Ship; (Farrer 1919): 302; (Round 1899): 424, and (Round 1907): 219–220. Robert appears as a witness in RRAN3, nos. 234, 235 and 550. Stephen made a gift to him and confirmed it, as well as confirming gifts made by Robert; RRAN3, nos. 230–1, 229, 229a, 232. For his sons' attestations see RRAN3 nos. 229 and 239e. See also (Amt 1993): 68. Amt argues that Robert's sons offered little active support to Stephen but remained associated with Stephen's sons.

and his son, John fitz Robert, were tenants of Eye, and loyal to Stephen's cause.¹³⁸ Hervey Brito who granted the honour of Eye, was married to an illegitimate daughter of Stephen's.¹³⁹ The family of Richard de Lucy, a mainstay of Stephen's party, were tenants of the honour of Boulogne.¹⁴⁰ In the early years of the reign, Richard served Stephen in a military capacity; he successfully defended Falaise against Geoffrey in 1139, the same year his younger brother, Walter, became abbot of Battle Abbey. Richard's sister (or niece) was married to William de Chesney.¹⁴¹ William and his brother, Roger de Chesney were among the 'plain soldiers' who fought in the royal army in 1141.¹⁴² Richard's brother, Robert, was married to Emma de Sackville, daughter of Stephen's steward, Robert de Sackville. The queen's chamberlain, Hubert armiger, witnessed four of Stephen's charters as well as two of the queens, and was a tenant of the Honour of Boulogne.¹⁴³ Hubert was married to Agnes de Sackville, a relative/cousin of Jordan de Sackville. Men from Boulogne provided ships and service in the 1138 siege of Dover and at the Battle of the Standard.¹⁴⁴ While only a few tenants of the honours of Eye and Boulogne appear in royal acta or chronicle accounts of the events of the reign, the loyalty of these tenants is corroborated by the distribution of castles held by Stephen and Empress Matilda, the locations of the main theaters of conflict, and the evidence of the place of issuance of the surviving charters.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁸ Confirmation of John's tenure of the shrievalty; RRAN3, no. 288.

¹³⁹ GS, 70, 77; (Davis 1990): 136–137.

¹⁴⁰ (Gervers 1982): nos. 213–17; (Amt 1988): 63–5; (Amt 1993): 67. The majority of Richard's lands were in Kent, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

¹⁴¹ See de Lucy and Sackville genealogies.

¹⁴² GS, 130; (John 1995): 3:300, 302.

¹⁴³ RRAN3, nos. 162, 207, 516, 517, 541, and 830; (Brand 1983): 68–75. Hubert witnessed one charter of Stephen's and Matilda's prior to December 1135: ERO (Colchester) T/A 369, f. 20 for St John's Colchester. Hubert held Bendish hall (Radwinter, Essex) which he exchanged for 16 librates of land in Braughing; PRO E40 1043 for Hubert's charter (original) and RRAN3, nos. 509–10. Berkesdon (Herts) was also held by Hubert from the Honour of Boulogne; PRO E40 1005 (original) charter of Hubert, son of Richard de Anstey and grandson of Hubert armiger. Hubert II confirmed his father's gift from Berkesdon 'tenuit avus meus Hubertus una die et una nocte vel pater meus Richardus post eum. . . .'

¹⁴⁴ 'Willelmus comes Albemarlensis . . . multum exercitatus, habens secum, tam de Morinis quam de Ponciis . . .'; (Ailred 1886): 3:182. Morini is routinely used to designate the people of the diocese of Théroutanne, which includes Boulogne.

¹⁴⁵ See (Davis 1990): 71 and 89. Stephen's loss of the battle of Wilton and the subsequent ransoming of William Martel with the surrender of Sherborne castle allowed the Angevin forces to take control of Somerset and Dorset. The Honour

Stephen's and Matilda's cultivation of the Londoners' goodwill—a process which began before December 1135—served them in good stead. The Boulonnais comital family had strong ties to St Martin le Grand and Stephen and Matilda to Holy Trinity Aldgate.¹⁴⁶ Holy Trinity was the burial site of their son Baldwin (before 1135) and daughter Matilda (late 1138) and it received several grants from Stephen and his family.¹⁴⁷ Their ties to Holy Trinity were strengthened when Queen Matilda's confessor became prior of the house. Stephen's illegitimate son, Gervase, became abbot of Westminster in 1138 and Stephen worked to increase the prestige of the abbey with a letter to the pope encouraging him to canonize Edward the Confessor who had founded the abbey.¹⁴⁸ When Stephen sought the Londoners support for his succession in December 1135, he promised them good laws, issued a charter of liberties, and reduced the farm to £300 per annum.¹⁴⁹ Gratitude for Boulonnais patronage, combined with their economic interest in the wool trade with Flanders, fostered the city's allegiance. The Londoners not only provided financial aid to Stephen's cause, but they also fought as part of the royal forces: against Empress Matilda at London and Winchester in 1141, against Geoffrey de Mandeville in 1146–7, and at the siege of Wallingford in 1152.¹⁵⁰ Richard de Lucy was promoted to justice of London, Middlesex, and Essex after Geoffrey de Mandeville's arrest, and unlike his predecessor he enjoyed good relations with the Londoners.¹⁵¹

of Boulogne contained three manors in Dorset, which had been granted to Le Wast abbey in Boulogne, and eight manors in Somerset. With the exception of Empress Matilda's charter creating Geoffrey II de Mandeville earl of Essex, and Cowley, the sole 'Boulonnais' manor in Oxfordshire, none of the charters of Empress Matilda or her son Henry concern lands in the Honours of Boulogne; RRAN3, nos. 275 and 632. Cowley was in Stephen's control until least September 1139, when Queen Matilda granted it to the Knights Templar; RRAN3, no. 850. Empress Matilda's confirmation concerning Cowley is dated between 1142 and 1148. Stephen had regained control of the property between 1149 and 1152, when he confirms that grants made to Oseney abbey; RRAN3, no. 633.

¹⁴⁶ Charters issued for St Martin's prior to 1139: RRAN3, nos. 521, 522, and 524.

¹⁴⁷ RRAN3, nos. 500–517, 519–20; nos. 500 and 506 were issued before 1139. See also (Tanner 2003): 144 and (Parsons 1997): 330.

¹⁴⁸ (Williamson 1929): no. 17. Bishop Henry wrote as well, see no. 16.

¹⁴⁹ RRAN3 no. 270; (Green 1992): 106–7.

¹⁵⁰ (Henry 1996): 740 and 746; GS 226. Archbishop Hugh of Rouen wrote a letter praising the Londoners for their energetic defense of Stephen's interests; (Round 1892): 116.

¹⁵¹ RRAN3, xxiv–v. Stephen also granted Richard estates from the Honour of Boulogne; RRAN3, nos. 208–9, 569. See also (Round 1902): 143–4.

Stephen's territorial strengths in Essex and East Anglia were complemented by the allegiance of the Essex and East Anglian nobles—Aubrey II de Ver (chamberlain) and his brother Robert (constable), Robert fitz Richard de Clare (steward), Geoffrey de Mandeville (Tower of London castellan), Robert fitz Walter (sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk), and Hugh Bigod. Stephen and Matilda rewarded the de Vers' loyalty by facilitating the marriage of Aubrey III to the heiress of Guines in 1139. Robert de Ver, his son-in-law Henry of Essex, William Martel, and Richard de Lucy were prominent men in Essex and East Anglia, and their loyalty to Stephen after 1141 stemmed in part from their territorial interests. East Anglia was disturbed by the attacks of Hugh Bigod in the summer of 1140, 1141, and 1144–5 (with Geoffrey de Mandeville), and 1149.¹⁵² Wareham has persuasively argued that Hugh Bigod was frustrated by Stephen's patronage and reliance on the fitz Walters and William III de Warenne, and had territorial interests which were in conflict with William II d'Albini.¹⁵³ Geoffrey's prominence in Essex was challenged by Boulonnais lands in the county. The growing prominence in royal government of men drawn from this honour was one of the causes of his rebellions.

Although neither Matilda nor Stephen had extensive holdings in Kent, it became a stronghold initially through the friendship of Archbishop William and the Clare family, who had substantial holdings in Kent, Surrey, and East Anglia (particularly Suffolk).¹⁵⁴ The advantages of extensive royal demesne estates in the county, and the profitability of the ties between Kentish ports and Wissant encouraged the nobles

¹⁵² GS, 162. Geoffrey's arrest and rebellion have been well studied over the years. (Round 1892); (Davis 1964); (Hollister 1973); (Prestwich 1988) with R.H.C. Davis' reply; (Bradbury 1996): 127–132. Hugh Bigod and Geoffrey II de Mandeville were married to sisters of Aubrey II de Ver; all three men joined Empress Matilda in 1141, and were rewarded with earldoms. Hugh and Aubrey fought with Geoffrey in 1144–45.

¹⁵³ (Wareham 1995): 234–7.

¹⁵⁴ Kent had 'a highly complex political community' of which the most powerful player was the archbishop of Canterbury. Archbishop William (d. November 1136), the Clare family, and Robert of Gloucester supported Stephen between 1136 and 1138. Robert's holdings were not significant enough to disrupt Stephen's hold on the county. (Eales 1985) and (Mortimer 1980): 119–23, and maps 1–3. The vacancy of the archbishopric between November 1136 and December 1138, although it removed a friend, allowed Stephen to more firmly establish himself in the county through his control of the archbishop's estates and revenues.

and merchants of Kent to rally to Stephen's cause.¹⁵⁵ Robert fitz Richard de Clare, Stephen's steward, was married to the queen's cousin, Matilda (sister of Simon II of Northampton). The acting but untitled earl of Kent was William of Ypres, and Dover castle was held by Pharamus of Boulogne, the queen's cousin. William of Ypres' ties to Stephen and Matilda began in 1127 when both struggled to oust William Clito from Flanders. William may have become a member of the Boulonnais comital household when Thierry exiled him from Flanders in 1133, following Countess Clemence's death. Stephen's grant of Kent to William, probably in late 1138, emphasizes the importance to Stephen's cause of continued control of Dover and the traffic of men and money via Boulogne to England.¹⁵⁶ With the exception of a brief rebellion in Kent in 1146, Essex and Kent remained free from Angevin forces—a reflection not only of the territorial interests and ties of kinship among the leaders and tenants of these counties, but also to their loyalty to Stephen.¹⁵⁷

Stephen's honour of Lancaster served as an important bulwark in his defense against David of Scotland's efforts to reclaim land lost by his predecessors in Cumberland and Northumberland. Ilbert de Lacy, a leading Lancashire noble, was active in Stephen's service. He was among the first to recognize Stephen's succession, witnessing three charters in early 1136.¹⁵⁸ Stephen appears to have sent him to defend Yorkshire; he and Archbishop Thurstan were the addressees of two notices concerning Nostell priory, and both men

¹⁵⁵ (Mortimer 1980): 133–4 discusses the dramatic increase in the number of sheep on the Clare East Anglian estates and the possible marketing of the wool to Flemish markets.

¹⁵⁶ (Amt 1993): 87–90. William was initially given the Honour of Eye, in 1135; (Lewis 1989): 579–80. He relinquished this Honour to Hervey Brito, Stephen's son-in-law in 1139 or 1140.

¹⁵⁷ Richard de Lucy's sister or niece was married to William de Chesney; his daughter Matilda was married to Walter, son of Robert fitz Richard de Clare. His daughter Aveline was married to the Essex lord of Stanstead-Montfichet. Richard's brother Robert was married to Emma de Sackville, daughter of Stephen's steward Robert. Her brother Jordan was married to William de Chesney's daughter, Clemence. Queen Matilda's chamberlain, Hubert, was married to Agnes de Sackville (the Rivenhall branch of the family), a relative/cousin of Jordan de Sackville. William Martel's cousin Sybil was married to the lord of Wahull/Odell, a Bedfordshire tenant of the Honour of Boulogne. Simon of Northampton's sister was married to Robert fitz Richard de Clare, Stephen's royal steward. Geoffrey II de Mandeville was married to Rohese, daughter of Aubrey II de Ver, and Aubrey III was married to Beatrice countess of Guines.

¹⁵⁸ RRAN3, nos. 46, 204, 271. Stephen acquitted Ilbert's men of the forfeitures suffered before his coronation, RRAN3, no. 428 and RH, 3:140.

fought for Stephen at the Battle of the Standard.¹⁵⁹ Ilbert also fought with Stephen at Lincoln, where they both were captured.¹⁶⁰ William of Lancaster and Roger de Montbegon, two other leading Lancashire tenants, remained loyal to Stephen as well.¹⁶¹ Stephen also enjoyed the support of the abbot of Furness and Archbishop Thurstan of York. Despite his difficulties with King David and Ranulf of Chester, Lancaster remained under Stephen's authority until 1141.¹⁶² Lancashire was lost to King David in 1141 during his captivity, and the troubles with Ranulf of Chester in 1141 and 1146, which also undermined his authority in Lincolnshire, prevented Stephen from regaining his former stronghold.¹⁶³

Friendship and patronage added to the Boulonnais-Blésein faction. Stephen won command of royal administration through his patronage of Roger of Salisbury. Roger of Salisbury's administrative experience and position as Henry I's vice-regent secured for Stephen the service of the men who staffed the chancery, Exchequer, and treasury, as well as the household officers and sheriffs.¹⁶⁴ Roger himself continued to head the administration and was the untitled justiciar of England.¹⁶⁵ None of the royal officials shifted allegiance prior to the spring of 1138, and Bishop Roger's family was rewarded with the offices of chancellor and treasurer.¹⁶⁶ In addition, he and his

¹⁵⁹ RRAN3, nos. 621–2; RH 3:159; RT, 4:135; Aelred of Rivaux, 3:182.

¹⁶⁰ (Henry 1996): 718.

¹⁶¹ Stephen granted the ville of Mulecastra to William of Lancaster when confirming Furness abbey's properties; RRAN3, no. 337, issued at the 1136 siege of Exeter. Roger de Montbegon was exempted from 1146 deal with Ranulf of Chester; RRAN3, no. 178; 'excepta terra Rogeri de Monte Begonis in Lincolnshire.'

¹⁶² (Green 1991): 97–103. Cronne argues that the grant of Lancaster brought the end of Henry earl of Huntingdon's support of his controversial candidate, William Cumin, for the bishopric of Durham and the withdrawal of Henry and his father David from the Durham region in 1144; (Cronne 1935): 679. Barrow and Green argue more persuasively that northern Lancashire came under David's control in 1141, and the southern portion under Ranulf's authority at the same time; (Barrow 1955): 85–89.

¹⁶³ RRAN3, no. 429 notice of a charter of Empress Matilda recognizing Ilbert's inheritance from his father and pardoning him; Ilbert de Lacy died 1142/3. See also (Green 1991): 102–104; (Dalton 1991): 119–121; and n. 160.

¹⁶⁴ (White 1994): 118–20.

¹⁶⁵ Roger attested thirty-nine of Stephen's charters and issued two charters of a regal nature (nos. 313 and 397). Of six writs addressed to Roger, five concern his see; the sixth, touching Barking Abbey, is addressed to him as regent, RRAN3, nos. 31, 351–2, 525, 784, 786. See also (Kealey 1972): 163–6, 169–70 and (Bates 1981).

¹⁶⁶ RRAN3, ix–xxviii. Alexander witnessed thirty-nine of Stephen's charters, Nigel fifty-nine and Roger le Poer sixty-one.

nephews controlled the bishoprics of Ely, Lincoln, and Salisbury, and the castles of Devizes, Salisbury, Sherborne, Malmesbury, Newark, and Sleaford—the first four giving Stephen control of key strong points in the southwest.

As important to Stephen's early success was his patronage of the Beaumont family. At his accession, the family controlled the earldoms of Leicestershire and Warwickshire, the county of Meulan, and had substantial holdings in Surrey and northern Normandy. Winning their allegiance was important in solidifying Stephen's hold of the midlands as well as central-eastern and northern Normandy. Quick to see the strategic value of their support, Stephen made the twins' younger brother, Hugh, earl of Bedford (1138).¹⁶⁷ In the same year Waleran was betrothed to Stephen's daughter, Matilda, who was still a toddler, and given the earldom of Worcester. Waleran's twin was also rewarded for his loyalty with his appointment as earl of Hereford in 1140.

The Angevin faction was drawn together by the same interweaving of kinship, landed interest, and friends. In southern Normandy, Geoffrey and Empress Matilda had established a strong coalition with William Talvas count of Ponthieu and lord of Bellême, his son-in-law Juhel of Mayenne, Brian fitz Count, Guigan Algason, the brothers Engelger and Alexander de Bohun, and the support of Conan III count of Brittany.¹⁶⁸ Empress Matilda's half-brother, Robert, was a leading magnate in the Contentin as well as the earl of Gloucester. Stephen's failure to balance his patronage of the Beaumont family with rewards to Robert of Gloucester, and his dismissal of Roger of Salisbury and his nephews from the center of power, opened the door to civil war.¹⁶⁹ Robert of Gloucester's defection set off a wave of rebellions by men whose territorial interests were tied to Robert's or thwarted by men loyal to Stephen. Walchelín Maminot, who Robert had appointed castellan of Dover, rebelled within a month of Robert's diffidatio. In 1138, Geoffrey Talbot and Miles de Beauchamps joined the Angevin party in order to acquire the Lacy inheritance and Bedford, respectively, held by Stephen's supporters Miles of Gloucester and Hugh earl of Bedford. William Peverel of

¹⁶⁷ (Davis 1990): 135, 136–7, 140.

¹⁶⁸ (Thompson 1994): 172–5.

¹⁶⁹ For a discussion of this issue see: (Crouch 1986): 43–4; (Chibnall 1992): 79–80; (Davis 1990): 31–35; (Yoshitake 1988); (White 1994).

Dover, having failed to obtain the barony of Gerard of Tournai, rose against Stephen in 1139. Angered by their uncle Bishop Roger's fall from power and the loss of their castles, Nigel bishop of Ely and his cousin, Alexander bishop of Lincoln, also took the opportunity to join the Empress' party. Robert of Gloucester's power in the west encouraged Humphrey de Bohun, William de Mohun, and Miles of Gloucester to ally with Empress Matilda.¹⁷⁰ King David of Scotland and his son, Henry earl of Huntingdon also broke with Stephen. David's interest in adding Lancaster and northern Yorkshire to the Scottish kingdom led him to favor his niece Empress Matilda over his other niece, Queen Matilda. Other kinship ties interlaced the Angevin party: for example, Humphrey de Bohun was Miles of Gloucester's son-in-law; and Reginald of Cornwall and Robert of Gloucester were half-brothers to each other and Empress Matilda. Not everyone was driven by material interests. Brian fitz Count's English lands, centered around Wallingford, should have led him to stay with Stephen's affinity, but he was one of the most loyal adherents of Empress Matilda's cause.

At Stephen's death (November 1154), the new king carefully established his power. William of Boulogne had the loyalty of the tenants of the honours of Boulogne and Eye, and the Warenne lands of his wife, Isabelle. But he had relatively few kin to call upon—Pharamus of Boulogne, his cousin, Simon III de Senlis and his family, and his twelve-year-old cousin, Malcolm king of Scotland and earl of Huntingdon. He had no nephews or nieces, and no chance of gaining any as his sister was an abbess and his wife was an only child. He also faced the conflicting ambitions of Hugh Bigod and the Mandeville family in Essex and East Anglia, which led to armed conflict in 1157. Given his limited resources, William prudently began cultivating the goodwill of his cousin, Henry II, and Thierry of Flanders.

¹⁷⁰ (Crouch 1994): 276 and n. 50. These changes in allegiance also diminished the royal household—Humphrey de Bohun was a steward, Brian fitz Count and Miles of Gloucester were constables, Adelelm (Bishop Roger's relative) was the treasurer. Hugh Bigod (steward), William Maudit (chamberlain), Robert d'Oilli (constable) and John fitz Gilbert (marshal) also joined the Angevin faction. See RRAN3, ix–xxiii. Ingelran de Sai (until 1141) and Gilbert fitz Gilbert earl of Pembroke, who held Chepstow and the Clare lordships in the Wye valley, remained loyal despite the proximity of their lands to the Angevin strongholds; (Crouch 1994): 280.

Henry II had a greater number of relatives to call upon in establishing his power in England. His uncle, Reginald of Cornwall, was a devoted supporter. He established his younger brother, William in Essex.¹⁷¹ He rewarded long time adherents and friends, such as William de Lanvalay, Warin fitz Gerold, and Warin's brother Henry, with positions in government.¹⁷² His uncle Thierry of Flanders and his cousins, Philip and Matthew, also were allies. Thierry asked Henry to watch over Philip in 1157, when he and Countess Sybil went to Jerusalem. Matthew was his co-conspirator in the marriage of Mary of Boulogne. The use of kin, the fortuitous deaths of some of the most threatening nobles in 1153—Ranulf earl of Chester, David of Scotland, Simon II de Senlis—and the judicious patronage of Richard de Lucy and Robert earl of Leicester, loyal members of Stephen's faction, allowed Henry to maintain the peace and thwart any plans William of Boulogne may have had to overthrow him.

Kinship in French Politics

The pattern of political action in England and Normandy is mirrored in France. Louis VI and the counts of northern France responded to the political opportunities and challenges by calling upon kin and friends who shared their territorial concerns. Louis knew that he could rely upon the counts of Anjou and Vermandois, whose interest in Maine and Picardy were menaced by Norman power, to champion William Clito's claim on Normandy. The French king provided William Clito with a landed base to challenge Henry I and strengthened their alliance through marriage in January 1127. The assassination and succession crisis in Flanders in March 1127 prompted a similar reaction. Louis, in conjunction with his wife's diplomacy, acted decisively to secure William Clito the countship of Flanders. Dowager Countess Clemence initially favored her niece's husband, William of Ypres, but rallied her men to her husband, Godfrey of

¹⁷¹ Henry's youngest brother William sought to marry Isabel de Warenne but Thomas Becket banned the marriage on the grounds of consanguinity in 1163. Henry married her to an illegitimate half brother shortly afterwards; (Chibnall 1992): 167–8.

¹⁷² (Amt 1993): 20–22, 76.

Louvain's choice—his nephew, Baldwin IV of Hainaut. Henry I (Godfrey's son-in-law) and his nephew, Stephen of Boulogne joined this coalition. Baldwin brought in his brother-in-law, Thomas of Coucy, count of Amiens. When it became clear that Baldwin was losing to William Clito, Henry and Stephen put their support behind Thierry of Alsace, and Stephen convinced his friend and ally Hugh II of St Pol to join them. For Stephen and Hugh, Thierry's outsider status meant that their own power would not be challenged by the new count. Henry protected not only his own control of England, but also the wool trade with Flanders in opposing William Clito. William Clito's death was a setback for Louis, but he regrouped by officially sanctioning Thierry's succession and gaining his homage.

Friendship and longstanding ties contributed to the effective alliance system—the French king and the counts of St Pol, Guines, Hainaut, and Richmond-Penthièvre—used by Stephen and Matilda to isolate Angevin party between 1136 and 1142. Stephen sought to legitimate his claim on Normandy by securing Louis VI's recognition. Of the candidates for Henry's lands in December 1135, Stephen's succession was the most acceptable to Louis. Theobald's acquisition of Normandy in conjunction with his lands in Blois and Chartres would be a serious threat to the king's power, and the same was true of Theobald's rival, Geoffrey of Anjou. Geoffrey already controlled Anjou and Maine and was allied with William duke of Aquitaine. By validating Stephen's succession in Normandy, Louis checked the aggrandizement of the counts of Blois and Anjou and corroborated his authority over Normandy by requiring an oath of homage from Stephen's son, Eustace, in the treaty of Chateaux Grosseouevre in 1137. Louis and Theobald helped Stephen win papal approval for his accession with their letters to Innocent II in early 1136.¹⁷³ The longstanding rivalry between the counts of Blois and Anjou, as well as the claims of kinship, meant that Stephen could count on his brother's aid against Geoffrey of Anjou and his favorable counsel to the French king.

¹⁷³ Arnulf of Lisieux's defense of Stephen's claims, in conjunction with the support of Louis and Theobald, were persuasive enough to convince Innocent II to confirm Stephen's position, although no final decision was rendered; (Brooke 1967): no. 26; (John 1956): 83–5.

The amicable bonds with the counts of St Pol, Guines, and Hainaut, established prior to December 1135, served him well. These ties helped to protect Boulogne and the access to mercenaries, and to encourage the neutrality of Thierry of Flanders (Empress Matilda's brother-in-law) and Guy II of Ponthieu. Hugh of St Pol's attack on Ponthévin lands in 1136 and the allegiance of the northern Norman magnates John count of Eu, William de Roumare, and William II de Warenne contained the threat of attacks on either Normandy or Boulogne by the count of Ponthieu whose father William Talvas was a *fidelis* of Geoffrey of Anjou.¹⁷⁴ In 1139, Stephen gave aid to Baldwin IV of Hainaut and Hugh of St Pol who sought to establish Baldwin as the Flemish count.¹⁷⁵ Although the campaign risked bringing Flanders into the civil war, the chance of an attack by Guy of Ponthieu on Boulogne was minimized by Stephen's friendship with Hugh of St Pol, Aubrey III de Ver, count of Guines, and the treaty with Louis VII. William of Ypres commanded the Boulonnais troops, and the allies enjoyed a great deal of success during 1139, but failed in their quest by late 1140. Queen Matilda smoothed relations with Thierry in the aftermath. She, Stephen, and Eustace made several gifts to Thierry's new foundation of Clairmarais, and in return, Thierry took no action against Boulogne or Lens.¹⁷⁶

Friendship with the Beaumont family not only aided Stephen's authority in England and Normandy, it helped insulate Stephen from the loss of French royal support which might result from the rivalry between his brother, Theobald, and Raoul V of Vermandois. Raoul of Vermandois and Bishop Simon of Noyon were the maternal uncles of Waleran of Meulan and his siblings, and Waleran himself cultivated his ties to them and the French court.¹⁷⁷ Patronage of the Beaumont family thus, helped secure the Vexin and eastern Normandy, further isolate Guy II of Ponthieu, and provide a reserve of support at the Capetian court if his brother's faction fell from favor. The

¹⁷⁴ Hugh's attacks on Ponthieu and William de Warenne's allegiance to Stephen may have prompted William Talvas to marry his daughter Ella to William. After 1137, William withdrew from politics, more interested in his lands and monastic foundations; (Thompson 1994): 177.

¹⁷⁵ (Grierson 1937): 166; (Sigebert 1844): 6:457; (Buzelin 1624): 232; (Tanner 1999): 106–8. News of Baldwin's plan to pursue his claim on the county probably came via Roger de Tosny who was the hennuyer count's brother-in-law.

¹⁷⁶ RRAN3, no. 194. The charter has a date range of 17 March 1140 to 1142.

¹⁷⁷ See Beaumont genealogy and (Crouch 1986): 42 and chapter two.

usefulness of this strategy can be seen in the 1138 campaign against Geoffrey led by Waleran and William of Ypres.¹⁷⁸ When Geoffrey invaded in June, Stephen's commanders called upon the aid of the French king who sent a thousand knights under the command of Waleran's uncle, Raoul of Vermandois, who brought 200 of his own men as well. In January 1139, Stephen sent Waleran to the French royal court to renew his treaty with the new king Louis VII.¹⁷⁹ Waleran, accompanied by his brother, William III de Warenne, and aided by the advice of Theobald of Blois and Abbot Suger, persuaded Louis VII to continue the alliance with Stephen. He then stayed to strengthen his ties to members of this court until Easter. In February 1140, Queen Matilda negotiated the marriage of her and Stephen's son, Eustace, to Louis VII's sister, Constance.

The final member of Stephen's continental alliance system was Alan of Richmond-Penthièvre. Alan was a rival for the countship of Brittany, and his marriage to Bertha, daughter of Duke Conan III, afforded the promise of an end of Breton aid to the Angevin cause which Conan supported. As Katharine Keats-Rohan has shown, Alan's friendship was of greater aid in England than in Brittany.¹⁸⁰ His brother-in-law, Walter de Gant, his nephew, Gilbert de Gant, and maternal cousin, Hervey Brito (who was also Stephen's son-in-law) were also allies of Stephen and their allegiance bolstered royal authority in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Northamptonshire. They were joined by Mainfelin fitz Maino Brito, a member of Alan's Breton affinity and related to William de Warenne by marriage. Alan and his father also had strong ties to the de Ver family, which reinforced their bonds to Stephen.¹⁸¹ The success of these initiatives and the continuing alliances with the counts of Blois, St Pol, Guines, and Hainaut discouraged Geoffrey of Anjou from campaigning in Normandy between 1136 and 1141.

¹⁷⁸ Stephen sent William of Ypres and Waleran to bring peace to the duchy, when Roger de Tosny enlisted the aid of his brother-in-law Baldwin of Hainaut to help him against the Beaumonts; OV, 6:524. They were unsuccessful at ending the rebellion until the late spring.

¹⁷⁹ (Crouch 1986): 32–3.

¹⁸⁰ (Keats-Rohan 1992): 61–8 and 73–4.

¹⁸¹ Count Stephen had given Hintlesham (Suffolk) to Aubrey II prior to 1136 and Alan gave Spains Hall in Finchingfield (Essex) to Aubrey III; (Cockayne 1946): 4:199.

Stephen's capture radically transformed the situation in Normandy and weakened his alliance with the French king. Rotrou of Mortagne's decision to ally with Geoffrey of Anjou significantly threatened the Beaumont lands in eastern Normandy.¹⁸² Theobald of Blois, embroiled in a conflict with Louis VII was not in a position to fight to preserve Normandy for Stephen.¹⁸³ Louis, hostile to the house of Blois, was more interested in his own affairs, and Suger, Stephen's advocate prior to 1139, had been ousted from court.¹⁸⁴ Raoul of Vermandois had replaced them in the king's confidence and his rivalry with Theobald meant that he would not come to the aid of his nephews, Robert of Leicester and Waleran of Meulan. Faced with the loss of their Norman lands, Waleran submitted to Geoffrey's authority.¹⁸⁵ The Angevins now controlled large portions of Normandy and Stephen lost his secondary avenue to the king's ear—the Vermandois faction.

The Boulonnais alliance system was further weakened by the death of Hugh II of St Pol (d. 1141) and trouble in Guines. The absence of Aubrey III de Ver, count of Guines by right of his wife, had encouraged the nobles of Guines to agitate for his replacement. Their choice was Arnulf of Gent, cousin of Countess Beatrice.¹⁸⁶ Baldwin of Ardres, seneschal of Boulogne, had championed Beatrice's cause. Beatrice had her marriage to Aubrey annulled and married Baldwin in order to strengthen his position. Her death a few days later led to Arnulf's victory and the loss of one of Stephen's allies. Arnulf was a relative of the lords of Aalst and had the support of Thierry of Flanders.¹⁸⁷ In 1142, Queen Matilda and Eustace IV traveled to

¹⁸² Rotrou of Mortagne and his nephew Richer de l'Aigle recognized Geoffrey as duke which in turn prompted Robert of Leicester, lord of Breteuil, to negotiate a truce with Angevin count. OV, 6:548; RT, 4:142. In April, the bishop and barons of Lisieux submitted to Geoffrey's authority.

¹⁸³ (Sassier 1991): 104–112; (Bur 1971): 290–2. Theobald had refused to join Louis' Toulouse campaign, which was supported by Geoffrey of Anjou. Louis blamed Theobald for the failed campaign. Theobald and Louis also estranged over their support for different papal candidates.

¹⁸⁴ (Grant 1998): 147–52.

¹⁸⁵ (Crouch 1986): 51. Geoffrey confirmed Waleran's rights in Montfort-sur-Risle as well as Meulan, but his brother Robert lost Breteuil. Geoffrey also arranged for Waleran's marriage to Agnes de Montfort-Amaury to further solidify the ties between them. His decision left the Contentin and Pays Caux vulnerable to Geoffrey's expansion, although Ralph and Richard de la Haye, Roger de Tosny, William III de Warenne, and Hugh de Gournay remained loyal to Stephen.

¹⁸⁶ (Stapleton 1866): 232–37; based largely on Lambert d'Ardres; (Lambert 1876): 24:585–6.

¹⁸⁷ Arnulf attested, as count of Guines, two of Thierry's charter dated to 1142,

Boulogne in order to encourage continued Flemish neutrality and to reaffirm comital authority in Boulogne, Lens, and Merck. In aid of these goals Matilda, Eustace, and Stephen made two grants to Arrouaise abbey from their holdings in Merck and gifts to Clairmarais abbey; both houses were favored by Thierry.¹⁸⁸ Matilda may also have been the one to propose the marriage between her nephew, Theobald of Blois' son, and Thierry's daughter Laurette.¹⁸⁹ The marriage would counter-balance Thierry's ties to Anjou and encourage his neutrality, and help Thierry and Theobald combat the growing power of his Raoul of Vermandois.¹⁹⁰ The scheme came to nothing, as the marriage of Henry and Laurette was opposed on the grounds of consanguinity.

There were few opportunities to rejuvenate the Boulonnais alliance system between 1142 and 1148, and this contributed to Stephen's decision not to launch a campaign to recover Normandy.¹⁹¹ Louis VII had abandoned his alliance with Stephen in 1144 when he recognized Geoffrey as the duke of Normandy.¹⁹² The rapprochement

which implies that the Flemish count recognized his acquisition of Guines; (Vercauteren 1938): nos. 62 and 64.

¹⁸⁸ RRAN3, nos. 25, 26, 194–6. No. 195 can be firmly dated to 1142, and Thierry's confirmation of Stephen's gift (no. 194, dated 1140–2) was issued in 1142 [(de Hemptinne 1988): no. 57] Matilda and Eustace's charter no. 196 can only be dated within a range of 1142–c. 1147.

¹⁸⁹ Although no chronicles mention any meetings between Queen Matilda and Thierry, witnesses of their charters issued in early 1142 suggest the two courts were in contact. The witnesses were Ivo count of Soissons (RRAN3, no. 26, (de Hemptinne 1988): no. 64), Bernard abbot of Clairvaux (RRAN3, no. 195), Thierry abbot of Capelle (RRAN3, no. 195; (de Hemptinne 1988): no. 64), John abbot of N.D. de Boulogne (RRAN3, no. 26, (de Hemptinne 1988): no. 64), Arnulf II advocate of Théroutanne (RRAN3, no. 196), and Osto of St Omer, knight Templar (de Hemptinne 1988): no. 65). For the marriage negotiations see: (Bernard 1957–1977): 8:87, no. 222; (Grant 1998): 150; (Sassier 1991): 122. Theobald also planned a marriage alliance with the count of Soissons. Although there is no proof that this proposed marriage was suggested by Matilda, it seems likely. It was at her instigation that the alliance with Henry of Scotland was sealed with his marriage to Ada of Warenne. She was probably behind the marriage between Aubrey III de Ver and Beatrice of Guines as well. Later in 1152 she provided a dowry for Aubrey III de Ver's second wife which strengthened Aubrey's loyalty to Stephen; (Fisher 1946): no. 56; RRAN3, no. 242.

¹⁹⁰ Raoul had repudiated Theobald's niece in order to marry Louis VII's sister-in-law, which the king had supported. Louis also recognized a rival claimant of Champagne.

¹⁹¹ Stephen is routinely castigated for not trying to retake Normandy by modern historians; (Davis 1990): 28; (Chibnall 1992): 104. For an alternative view see (Tanner 1999).

¹⁹² Geoffrey of Anjou completed the conquest of Normandy; he took the remainder

between the two continued, and in 1146 there was discussion of a marriage between Geoffrey's son and Louis' daughter, although the plan was aborted by Bernard of Clairvaux on the grounds of consanguinity.¹⁹³ Although Theobald of Blois reconciled with Louis in 1144, he devoted his attention to Champagne and its economy rather than to affairs at court.¹⁹⁴ His rival, Raoul of Vermandois, continued to dominate the Capetian court and Suger's influence was limited between 1144 and 1147.¹⁹⁵ Hugh III (1141–43) and his brother Enguerrand of St Pol (1143–?1162) were also not in a position to help.¹⁹⁶ Thierry of Flanders campaigned against Enguerrand to recover Aubigny in 1144–5, and John of Ponthieu repossessed the Amienois territories seized by Hugh II in 1147. The death of Alan of Richmond-Penthièvre in 1146 eliminated the potential of striking at the Angevins in Brittany. Finally, the Second Crusade attracted many of the northern French magnates—Waleran of Meulan, William III of Warenne, Thierry of Flanders, Henry of Champagne (Theobald's son), Guy II of Ponthieu and his son John, and Ivo count Soissons—as well as Louis VII.¹⁹⁷ The absence of these men between 1147 and 1149 severely curtailed Stephen's ability to create new alliances to combat Geoffrey's control of Normandy. In addition, Louis' regents, Suger and Raoul of Vermandois, were not in a position to initiate new royal policies, and Baldwin of Hainaut was busy fighting the Flemish for control of the Ostrevant.¹⁹⁸

In 1150, Stephen and his son, Eustace, pounced upon an opportunity to renew their alliance with Louis VII. Geoffrey of Anjou invested his son, Henry, as duke of Normandy in January 1150—a

of the Contentin in 1143, and in 1144 the Rouennais and Pays Caux fell with the help of Thierry of Flanders; RT, 4:142, 147–9; (de Hemptinne 1988): 92–3; (Migne 1878–1974): 179:922, no. 77 (a letter of Pope Lucius II to Bishop Alvisé d'Arras asking him to reconcile Thierry and Louis, written late 1144); (Sassier 1991): 122, 129, 133.

¹⁹³ (Bernard 1957–1977): 8:330–1, no. cccxxi.

¹⁹⁴ (Bur 1991) 260.

¹⁹⁵ (Bur 1991) ch. 11–15. Grant argues that Suger was not out of favor but that 'Suger's influence still yielded before that of Louis' young favourites like Cadurc, or Thierry Galeran. Of the 'old counsellors', Jocelyn of Soissons was the closest to the king, and the most frequently at court.' (Grant 1998): 154–5.

¹⁹⁶ (Feuchère 1953): 136; (Ganshof 1949): 349.

¹⁹⁷ (Davis 1990): 89; (Bur 1991) 272.

¹⁹⁸ (Grant 1998): ch. 8; (de Hemptinne 1991): 96–7; (Lambert 1885): 17:516–19; (Vanderkindere 1900): 60 and 72.

move which emphasized Henry's position as the true heir and successor of his grandfather Henry I. It also allowed Geoffrey to tackle a threat to his power in St Aubin and Meronne, and particularly Gerard de Montreuil-Bellay. Louis VII was affronted by both actions which challenged his authority and power. Henry had not done homage for the duchy, in defiance of the precedents set by William aethling in 1120 and Eustace IV in 1137 and 1140. Gerard was the king's seneschal in Poitou, and Geoffrey's siege of Montreuil-Bellay was a direct assault on Louis VII's authority as count of Poitou.¹⁹⁹ Louis and his brother, Robert count of Perche attacked southern Normandy in 1150. Hearing the news, Stephen and Bishop Henry immediately sent letters to Suger seeking his aid in advancing Eustace's claim on Normandy.²⁰⁰ Eustace joined his brothers-in-law in their campaigning in 1150 and 1151. 'And while for a long time there was a very severe struggle in Normandy, the King of France attacking the duke in the name of Eustace, and Eustace fighting with gallantry and determination against his rival on his own behalf. . . .'²⁰¹ With Eustace's aid, Louis besieged Arques in the spring of 1151, and the two then moved down to help Robert at Séz. ²⁰² Louis' illness in August prompted a truce. Thierry of Flanders, Geoffrey's brother-in-law, then intervened and reconciled Geoffrey and Louis, leading to a peace in September 1151.²⁰³

Henry's marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine in May 1152 brought Eustace IV and Louis together again to preserve their power. They formed a powerful coalition against Henry, including Eustace's cousin Henry of Champagne, his brother-in-law Robert of Perche, Raoul of Vermandois, and Geoffrey of Nantes, Henry of Anjou's brother.²⁰⁴ Two of Stephen's former allies—Waleran of Meulan and Richer de

¹⁹⁹ RT, 4:160–1. The chroniclers offer several different dates for the siege of Montreuil-Bellay; Helmrichs has convincingly demonstrated that it only lasted for a single year, 1150–1; (Helmrichs 1993).

²⁰⁰ (Bouquet 1738–1876): 15:520; (Migne 1878–1974): 186:1434–5.

²⁰¹ GS, 226–7.

²⁰² RT, 4:162; (Gervase 1879): 1:149–50; (de Hemptinne 1988): 224.

²⁰³ (Grant 1998): 284–6; (Chibnall 1992): 148. Suger was working in secret on behalf of the Angevins (Barlow 1939): no. 6. Suger wrote to Geoffrey and Empress Matilda, and Geoffrey to Suger; (Grant 1998): 286 and n. 47; (Migne 1878–1974): 186:1418–19, 1427–9.

²⁰⁴ RT, 4:169–70; (Migne 1878–1974): 185:329. See also (Warren 1973): 37–42 and (de Hemptinne 1988): 239–41.

l'Aigle—gave indirect aid during the campaigning.²⁰⁵ While Eustace attacked from the north with men from Boulogne and Lens, Louis struck at Neufmarché, and Geoffrey moved against Henry's strongholds in Anjou.²⁰⁶ Henry first quelled his brother's insurrection, and then turned to fight Louis in the Vexin. The fighting ended in a truce in the autumn of 1152.

Throughout the period of 1136 to 1154, Stephen and Eustace formed coalitions, sometimes ad hoc and others planned, to further their goals of acquiring and securing England and Normandy. Louis VI, Louis VII, Theobald of Blois, Geoffrey of Anjou, Thierry of Flanders, and Beatrice of Guines did the same. Each used kinship, marriage, and shared territorial concerns to resist threats to their power and to advance their interests. This pattern continues during William of Boulogne's countship.

When he succeeded to his maternal and paternal estates, William faced two formidable opponents in the counts of Flanders and Normandy. Not only had Flanders grown in size, but the Norman duke controlled Maine, Anjou, Poitou, and Aquitaine. Henry II could also exert significant pressure on the count of Ponthieu with the threatened loss of the Bellême patrimony. In this more politically consolidated landscape, William approached his situation as an Anglo-Norman rather than a Boulonnais magnate, just as his father and brother had done. William was not a curialis of either Henry II's or Thierry of Flanders' court. He attested only one of Henry II's charters in favor of the Knights Templar in England, an order favored by William's parents, and none of Thierry's.²⁰⁷ Although he was not frequently at court, William did enjoy good relations with Thierry, and after 1157, with Henry. He and Thierry traveled together as fellow pilgrims to Jerusalem in 1157, and Thierry's acta reveal a scrupulous regard for William's comital authority in Boulogne. In his confirmation of Matilda of Wavrin's dowry, Thierry's charter

²⁰⁵ (Crouch 1986): 71; (Thompson 1996): 190. Neither seems to have taken up arms but both were punished by Henry of Anjou which suggests that they had supported Louis VII and Eustace.

²⁰⁶ (Henry 1996): 758; (Gervase 1879): 1:149–50, RT, 4:165. The *Gesta Stephani* reports that Louis gave Eustace some castles on the Norman border from which to carry out raids; GS, 226. Henry of Huntingdon states that after taking Neufmarché castle, he gave it to Eustace; (Henry 1996): 758.

²⁰⁷ (Delisle 1909–1927): VI, no. 10 and DCI, no. 450.

states that it was only with William's assent that Sainghem could be granted to Matilda. He did not attract the castellans of Boulogne or the lords of Oye (Merck) to his court, however, Thierry capitalized on the frequent absences of the Boulonnais counts to encroach upon their authority in Merck between 1128 and 1162. He used the complaints of St Bertin abbey against the Boulonnais counts' usurpations in Merck to assert authority over this region.²⁰⁸ There is also no evidence that Thierry asserted a claim as the feudal lord of Boulogne, although his charters routinely refer to fiefs that he has granted or that were held of him.²⁰⁹ Thierry did issue confirmation charters for a grant made by Queen Matilda and Eustace to Arrouaise and one by Stephen to Clairmarais, but in each case the acta specifically states it is only for the land he holds in St Omerégglise and the forest of Beaulo, not as the Boulonnais count's feudal lord.²¹⁰ Until Mary's marriage to his son Matthew, Thierry did not infringe upon Boulonnais *comitatus* in Lens, although a leading noble of Lens was Thierry's dapifer. Thierry confiscated Lens, as part of the fisc of Harnes which was a benefice of the Flemish counts since 972, sometime during his war with Matthew in 1160–61.²¹¹

Similarly, Arnulf of Gand's victory in the struggle for control of Guines in the early 1140's, diminished Boulonnais influence in Guines. If Baldwin of Ardres, Arnulf of Gand's rival and hereditary steward of Boulogne, had succeeded in keeping Guines, the county would have remained closely tied to Boulogne.²¹² Arnulf's candidacy was

²⁰⁸ In 1132, Baldwin of Quelmes granted 30 mansuras of land in Tatinghem, which he held in fief of Thierry, to St Bertin. The abbot granted Thierry the same amount of land in St-Omerégglise (in Merck) in exchange, which Thierry then gave to Baldwin to hold as a fief; (de Hemptinne 1988): no. 19. When the counts of Boulogne usurped St Bertin's rights and lands in Merck, some of the northern and northeastern portions came to be controlled by the Flemish counts, for example St Omerégglise; (Derville 1984): 1058–61.

²⁰⁹ Of the 211 charters issued between 1128 and 1163, 30 refer to fiefs; (de Hemptinne 1988): nos. 9, 20, 26, 28, 30, 32, 39, 42, 43, 56, 57, 60, 62, 83, 85, 92, 100, 113, 115, 120, 126, 129, 138, 142, 144, 147, 178, 179, 181, and 205.

²¹⁰ (de Hemptinne 1988): nos. 57 (1141) and 61 (1142); '... quantam mea interest quoniam de feodo meo est, concesserim videlicet terram quandam in parrochia que dicitur Sancti Audomari Ecclesia...' and '... Et hoc quoque sigilli mei impressione confirmavi, mihi quoque ad cuius feodum pertinet.'

²¹¹ The first charter concerning Harnes (and Lens) was issued by Thierry between Christmas 1160 and Christmas 1161; (de Hemptinne 1988): no. 197.

²¹² In addition to the hereditary stewardship of Boulogne, Baldwin's family had been granted extensive holdings in the Honour of Boulogne. Eustace confirmed the

supported by Thierry of Flanders, and Arnulf I of Guines became a frequent attestor of Thierry of Flanders' charters—a significant break with the pattern of Manasses of Guines, his granddaughter, Beatrice and her husband, Aubrey III de Ver.²¹³ The loss of the counts of St Pol's loyalty and Boulonnais influence in Guines isolated William of Boulogne (1153–1159) in northern France. Although territorially nothing was lost to Stephen and his sons, their absence allowed Louis VII to consolidate his authority in southern Picardy, and Flemish comital influence to move further southward into Hesdin and Vermandois.²¹⁴

The scarcity of local chronicles and charters make it impossible to tell if William sought to establish amicable bonds with Enguerrand of St Pol or John of Ponthieu. It seems likely, given the longevity of the ties between Boulogne and St Pol, that William sought out Enguerrand of St Pol. A renewed friendship between the two would allow each to better stand their ground against Thierry's heir Philip, who did not share his father's pacific nature. In addition, an alliance with Ponthieu would be imminently practical. The marriage of Philip of Flanders to Elisabeth of Vermandois in 1155 raised the specter of Flemish power moving significantly southward. If William, John of Ponthieu, and Enguerrand had joined forces, their alliance could potentially call upon William's cousins, the counts of Blois and Champagne, traditional rivals of the count of Vermandois as well as Anjou. William and John also shared territorial interests in southern Normandy—William as count of Mortain and John as heir to the Bellême estates. In addition, William could have built upon his

grant of Baldwin of Ardres of the church of Stevington (Beds.) to Harrold priory (Christmas 1146–May 1152); (Cheney 1973): no. 2. Eustace refers to Baldwin as 'meus miles et meus tenens.' The charter is attested by Queen Matilda, Pharamus of Boulogne, Roger of Fiennes, Roger of Caieu, Richard abbot, and Mannaser cantor of Boulogne.

²¹³ Arnulf I of Guines attested nine of Thierry's charters, Manasses, Beatrice and Aubrey attested none; (de Hemptinne 1988): nos. 62, 64, 83, 85, 132, 133, 159, 170, and (Haigneré 1886): 210.

²¹⁴ In 1156–7, Thierry issued a charter affirming the dowry of Matilda of Wavrin, which included Senninghem. Since Senninghem was in the fief of the count of Boulogne, the newlyweds and the bride's father went to William of Boulogne's court to receive his confirmation. This confirmation is included in Thierry's charter and the attestors are: Baldwin castellan of Lens, Baldwin his son, Ilbert de Carency, Hugh Plucket (Plochez), Roger of Lens, Anselm of Dourin, Nicholas of Hulluch, Lambert of Aviuns, Guisfrid of Aviuns, Baldwin of Builly and his brother Peter. (de Hemptinne 1988): no. 171.

wife Isabelle's kinship with John to help foster good relations. John's activities are obscure in this period, so it is impossible to discern whether any efforts were made to create such an alliance.

William may have hesitated to act on this potential alliance as Henry II was in a position to strip him of the bulk of his estates, and their relationship until the spring of 1157 was characterized by tension and wariness. His actions following the confrontation in 1157 and his return from Jerusalem in 1158 reveal his decision to work with rather than against Henry. In this William showed himself to be a practical young man. Not only had Henry shown himself to be a harsh suppressor of those who challenged his authority in England, but his power in France was extensive. As count of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Poitou, and Aquitaine he had a formidable base from which to attack his enemies. He enjoyed a close bond of kinship and alliance with Thierry of Flanders, and Louis VII had not had any lasting successes against him. In addition, Louis showed no interest in expanding the anti-Henry coalition to include the counts of Boulogne, Ponthieu, and St Pol. Here Louis missed a significant opportunity to extend his authority and power. His brother was already established as bishop and count of Beauvais, and the ties between the families of Boulogne and Blois-Champagne were close. The counts of Ponthieu were loyal to the Capetian kings, and Thierry's treaty with Henry reserved his service to the French king. Louis, however, chose to focus his efforts on attacking Henry in the south, through the marriage of his sister, Constance, to Raymond of Toulouse, Henry's rival in Aquitaine. Henry, who was alive to the dangers of a Picard alliance against him, judiciously patronized William, granting him the revenues from three smallish Essex manors in 1158, confirming two of William's grants, and knighting him at Carlisle in 1159.²¹⁵ William's sister, Mary, was also on the receiving end of Henry's patronage when she was made abbess of Romsey. Henry also negotiated the marriage of his son, Henry, to Louis' daughter, Margaret, removing the immediate threat of war in 1158. William's death during the Toulouse campaign gave Henry the opportunity to increase his influence in Picardy and Boulogne in 1160, by helping to establish Matthew as count of Boulogne and arranging the marriage of Anselm of St Pol to Eustachie de Champagne, who had

²¹⁵ (Dugdale 1817–1830): 6:2, 877 and (Delisle 1909–1927): DCI, no. 450.

recently divorced Geoffrey III de Mandeville.²¹⁶ Although Matthew's marriage to Mary of Boulogne alienated Thierry briefly, by March 1163, Henry had reconciled with the Flemish count. Louis only grasped the potential of an alliance with the house of Blois-Champagne in 1160, but Henry's swift action hampered the effectiveness of this plan. By 1163, Henry had thoroughly restricted Louis VII's power, reversing the gains his father had made in Flanders, Picardy, and Aquitaine.

Administrative Developments

The governance of Boulogne and Lens between 1135 and 1159 is difficult to discern because of the family's preoccupation with their affairs in England. In this period there are only twenty-one surviving charters (with reference to two more) issued by the Boulonnais comital family concerning their lands in Boulogne and Lens: four from Matilda, eight from Stephen, three from Stephen and Matilda, four from Matilda and Eustace IV, one from Eustace alone, and one from William.²¹⁷ There is a summary of another of William's acta,

²¹⁶ (Feuchère 1953): 136, n. 1. In 1166, Anselm held three Mandeville fees but not Waltham or Walden; *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, 1:345; (Charlton 1991): 42–3. Henry gave Tarentefort to Anselm in 1169 at Argentan; (Delisle 1909–1927): no. 181.

²¹⁷ For *Matilda's* charters see: BNF (Paris), Collection Picardie v. 250, f. 268r–v (Mont St Eloi, 1135; confirmation of her father's gift of 1000 herring); RRAN3, no. 76, (Bec, 1139–46; confirmation of grandmother's gift of Marchaltat, Boulogne); RRAN3, no. 198, (Clairmarais 1143–7; permission to move abbey site), BNF, Coll. Baluze, t. 127, f. 321 (confirmation of father's gift of freedom of tolls and customs). For *Matilda's and Stephen's* charters see: AD (Arras) H 2 Mi 50 f. 114v (judgment for St Josse-sur-Mer), BNF (Paris), Collection Moreau t. 59, f. 156r–v (confirmation of St Wulmer, Samer's possessions), and Canterbury Cathedral F129 (freedom from tolls for Christchurch, Canterbury); For *Matilda's and Eustace's* charters see: RRAN3 nos. 24 and 26 (Arrouaise, 1141 & 1142; new gift and confirmation of Stephen's gift, issued with Eustace); no. 195 (Clairmarais, 1142, confirmation with Eustace of Stephen's gift), and no. 196 (Clairmarais, 1142–7; gift made by Matilda and Eustace). For *Stephen's* charters see: RRAN3, no. 117 (Hospital of St Mary Magdalen, Boulogne, 1137; confirmation of Eustace III's gift); no. 25 (Arrouaise, 1142; gift), nos. 194, 197, 199 (Clairmarais, 1140–2, 1142–7, 1143–7; his own gift and confirmations of Matilda's gifts); no. 775 (St Ghislain, c. 1145–50; confirmation of William de Tulin's gift of land in Dour, arr. Mons); and no. 73 (Bec, 1137; confirmation of Eustace III's grant of freedom from tolls and passage in Boulogne), and (Haigneré 1880): 120–123. For *Eustace's* charter in favor of the canons of Lens see: (Miræus 1723–1748): 1:583–4. For *William's* charter see: AM (Amiens) Ms 992 E (confirmation of Aitropius' gift to Beaulieu; printed versions: (Haigneré 1882–86): 388–9, no. VI; and (de Marsy

with the witness list, in one of Thierry of Flanders' charters.²¹⁸ The majority of these acts confirmed earlier donations made by the comital family or by others. The witnesses of the charters of Matilda, Eustace, and William, including those for Eustace's charter for Harrold priory (Beds.) which was founded by Baldwin d'Ardres, show that, despite their extended absences, comital authority was maintained throughout Boulogne.²¹⁹ Like Eustace III, Stephen, Matilda and their sons had dapifers, a constable, a marshal, a chaplain or two, and ministers of tolls and customs, particularly in Wissant. There does not seem to have been a formal chancery, although two charters for St Wolmer were dated by their notarius Richard Anglici. Although the household remained much the same, the number of administrative officials may have increased. The address clauses of three charters refer to *ministris* of Boulogne and Wissant as well as viscounts and justices. The routine administration of county from Stephen's and Matilda's departure in 1136 appears to have fallen to Baldwin of Wissant, constable of Boulogne, aided by the lords of Fiennes and Caieu and probably Pharamus of Boulogne.²²⁰ Although there is no direct evidence for the use of the ban, it seems likely that William of Ypres and Baldwin of Wissant exercised this right in the count's name to defend Boulogne against the Flemish and Ponthévin counts respectively in 1139 and 1147. Eustace used Boulogne as a springboard to attack Henry of Anjou in Normandy in 1150, 1151 and

1872–1876): 417. There is a reference to the foundation charter of Longvilliers in (Auvry 1886–8): 2:247–8. The confirmation for St Wolmer is dated 1141, but none of Matilda's or Stephen's charters issued after December 1135 use only their comital title, as this charter does, therefore the charter was most probably issued prior to Stephen's coronation. The St Wolmer charters as they have survived are based on genuine grants, but the dating clauses indicate that they were later amended to confirm earlier charters in the sequence. For a discussion of these charters see E. Rigaux, (Rigaux 1900–03).

²¹⁸ (de Hemptinne 1988): no. 171. William consented to the grant of Sainghem (Boulogne) as part of the dowry given by Roger lord of Wavrin, Thierry's dapifer, to his daughter.

²¹⁹ Hugh of Eperleques, Simon of Geraldmolendino, Gerulf of Lens, Guy of Montreuil, Pharamus of Boulogne, Roger of Fiennes, Roger de Caieu, Baldwin castellan of Lens, Viscount Roger, Roger of Lens, Thierry abbot of Capelle, John abbot of N.D. de Boulogne, Peter abbot of St Wolmer, and Manasser cantor of Notre-Dame de Boulogne; RRAN3, nos. 24, 26, 195, 196; (Cheney 1973): no. 2.

²²⁰ RRAN3, no. 557 (issued between 1143 and 1147) is addressed to Baldwin. The role of the lords of Fiennes and Caieu and Pharamus is an assumption based on the prominence of these men in the witness lists of the comital charters and their role as castellans in Boulogne.

1152 and may also have used the ban in Boulogne and Lens to recruit his army.

Stephen and Matilda's earlier charters for St Wulmer indicate that they collected *theoloneum*, *sewerp*, *traversum*, *census*, and *pedagium*, and had the rights of *usagium*, *aisiamentis*, and *bannum*. Of these, *sewerp*, *census*, and *usagium* are not found in Eustace III's charters, and suggest both economic growth and the expansion of comital financial demands. The Flemish fairs and the growth of the textile industry also benefitted the Boulonnais count. Merchants frequently brought goods from England and France into Germany via the Roman road from Boulogne to Cologne.²²¹ And the port of Wissant was an important conduit for the merchants and weavers of St Omer.²²² The importance of the English trade for St Omer can be seen in William Clito's promise to secure St Omer's citizens' freedom from *teloneum* and *sewerp* in Wissant once he has made peace with Count Stephen.²²³ Trade was facilitated by the coins minted at Boulogne, and there is some evidence to suggest that Stephen and Matilda may have set up a new mint in St Omer.²²⁴ The importance of the Lens mint may have declined; no coins can be convincingly associated with Eustace IV or William from this mint, although there are coins issued under the authority of Stephen and Matilda and Matthew in 1161.²²⁵

The administration of the Honour of Boulogne seems to have changed little between 1135 and 1159. The geographical dispersion of the family's honours and counties did necessitate several sets of household officers and ministers. The most prominent of these men were Robert de Sackville (steward of Mortain), Hubert armiger (the queen's chamberlain and father of Richard de Anstey), Baldwin de Wissant (constable of Boulogne but who was active in Essex as well), and Radulf (the queen's chancellor). We know the name of several other of Stephen's and Matilda's household officers—Michael dapifer, William Monachus dapifer, Geoffrey camerarius, William camerarius, and two marshals, Walchelin and Hugh. Of Eustace's house-

²²¹ (Nicholas 1992): 112.

²²² (Nicholas 1992): 114.

²²³ (Vercauteren 1938): no. 127, §16.

²²⁴ (Richebé 1963): 63 and figure 38; (Deschamps de Pas 1839): 284–90; (Deschamps de Pas 1859): 58–9 (Stephen coin from Boulogne); (Seaby 1979): 50 and figure R.38.

²²⁵ (Richebé 1963): 63.

hold, we know only of a chamberlain, Simon, and a butler, Alexander. William's household was much more extensive: Turrold de Boreham and Maurice were his stewards; Richard his butler, Odard his doctor, and Eustace his chancellor. Eighty-six charters concerning the Honour of Boulogne, issued between 1136 and 1162, have survived—twenty-six by Matilda, forty-three by Stephen, eight by Eustace, and nine by William.²²⁶ In addition, there are six references to lost charters.²²⁷ Despite the significant increase in the number of surviving charters, there does not appear to have been an honorial chancery until William's reign. Stephen called upon the royal chancery and Matilda, as queen, had her own chancellor.

The extant honorial acta of Matilda, Stephen, and William are divided almost equally between grants and confirmations. Matilda's acta are primarily grants made to St John's Colchester, Holy Trinity Priory London, St Martin le Grand London, and to the Templars. The acta of her husband and sons reveal the same beneficiaries, although William made no gifts to the Templars. Although Eustace's patronage and acta were limited, probably because his parents were still living, his charters reveal that his entourage included men from Boulogne, the honours of Boulogne and Eye, as well as men prominent

²²⁶ *Matilda's charters* are: RRAN3, no. 149, 157, 207, 221, 224, 239b, 239d, 243, 503 509, 512–13, 539, 541, 548, 553, 556, 843, 845, 850, 915, (Davis 1990): 167, no. 207b. *Stephen's charters* are: RRAN3, nos. 117, 212, 226–7, 233–5, 239, 239a, 239c, 242, 244, 276, 288, 508, 510, 514–15, 520, 543–49, 555, 558, 559, 565, 633, 814, 851–3; (Davis 1990): 166–7, nos. 207a, 207c, and 207d; (Vincent 1999): nos. 4, 6, and 7. For *Eustace's charters* see: RRAN3 nos. 222, 229a, 239e, 847, (Cheney 1973): no. 2, PRO Cart. Antiq. C52/13 (2 charters), and WA Mun. 5, f. 16r. *William's charters* are: BM Harley Ch. 83 A 25; (Kemp 1825): 181–2 (also in (Smith 1993): no. 76); ERO (Colchester) T/A 369 f. 87; ERO (Chelmsford) T/A 367, Add. charter 28346; St John's College, Cambridge, Class A, Draw O, D46.6 (printed in (Dugdale 1817–1830): 4:382 from Harley 7084, p. 173); RRAN3, no. 569; (Bethell 1970): no. 14; (Dugdale 1817–1830): 4:574.

²²⁷ There is a reference to a grant of Matilda's to St Oysth's, confirmed by her husband, but neither charter has survived; (Leland 1907–10): 5:171. A reference to the confirmations of Stephen, Matilda and Eustace of Baldwin constable's gift to St Oysth's; (Office 1895): 2:332. Matilda purchased Burdefield and Kingsdown from Fulk de Newnham and then gave them to Faversham; (Southouse 1671): 71. There is also a reference to a gift of a manor in Somerset by Matilda and Stephen to Bermondsey; BL Harley 4757, f. 8v–9r. And a notification of the gift from Stephen and Matilda of the church of Gamlingay to St John's, Colchester and a letter from Stephen concerning the same gift; Merton College Oxford no. 5525. My thanks to Edmund King for the reference to these documents. Finally there is a reference to a charter of William confirming the grant of Martock to Pharamus of Boulogne in the charter rolls; (Landon 1939): 17.

in his father's cause (e.g. William Martel, Richard de Lucy, and Warner de Lusors).²²⁸ The same pattern can be seen in William's witness lists.²²⁹ Eustace made no known grants from the Boulonnais Honour, but he confirmed several of his parents' and tenants' gifts.²³⁰

²²⁸ RRAN3, nos. 222, 229a, 239e, 551, 847; (Salzman 1932): 37/1:109 and 37/1:110; PRO Cart. Antiq. C5213, roll contains copies of two of Eustace's charters (the first is printed in (Dugdale 1817–1830): 6:153, no. 10); WA, Muniment Book 5, f. 16r. For charter in favor of the canons of Lens see: (Miraeus 1723–1748): 1:583–4. There is a reference to Eustace's permission to William Paganel's daughter to grant Swynamested church to Guy, a cleric in a charter of Robert de Gant; (Dugdale 1817–1830): 6:196. Eustace was a witness for Robert de Sackville's grant of Wicham manor to St John's Colchester; ERO (Colchester) T/A 369 f. 43. The attestors of Eustace's charters are: *William IV de Warenne* [(Salzman 1932): 161; RRAN3, no. 222]; *Baldwin de Caieu* [(Salzman 1932): 161]; his brother Robert de Caieu [(Salzman 1932): 161]; Henry de Novomercato/Novoforo (Newmarket) [(Salzman 1932): 161; PRO Cart Antiq. C52 13]; *Countess Constance*, (RRAN3, no. 229a), *Stephen de Sackville* (RRAN3, no. 239e); *Hugh Pluchet* (RRAN3, nos. 222, 239e, 847); *Simon de Geraldmolendino* (PRO Cart Antiq. C52 13); *Roger de Caieu* (PRO Cart Antiq. C52 13); *Henry de Merck* (PRO Cart Antiq. C52 8 (a variation on C 52 13); *Henry de Campanies* (PRO Cart Antiq. C52 8); *Geoffrey de Lucy*, (PRO Cart Antiq. C52 8); *Richard de Lucy* (RRAN3, nos. 222, 239e, 847); *William Martel* (RRAN3, nos. 222 and 847); *Richard de Camville* (RRAN3, no. 222); *Warner de Lusors* (PRO Cart Antiq. C52 13). Eustace witnessed Stephen de Sackville's charter to St John's Colchester, ERO (Colchester) T/A 369, f.43. See n. 212 for attestation of Boulonnais charters.

²²⁹ Witness with more than one attestation: *Reginald de Warenne* [CDF, no. 961; RRAN3, no. 569; Harley Ch 83 A 25; (Brown 1992): nos. 23 and 25; (Dugdale 1817–1830): 4:574; (Douglas 1932): no. 188; (Farrer 1902): 430; (Farrer 1902): 306; (Farrer 1902): 307; (Farrer 1902): 309; (Atkinson 1886): 180]; *Pharamus de Boulogne* [CDF, no. 788; (Haigneré 1882–86): 388–9; (Dugdale 1817–1830): 4:574; (Douglas 1932): no. 188; (Farrer 1902): 307; (Atkinson 1886): 180]; *Eustace chancellor* [as Eustace canon, CDF, no. 96; CDF, no. 788; Haignère, 388–9; (Brown 1992): no. 23; (Farrer 1902): 306; (Farrer 1902): 307; (Farrer 1902): 309; (Atkinson 1886): 180]; *Hugh Plochez* [(de Hemptinne 1988): no. 171; Harley Ch 83 A 25; (Atkinson 1886): 180]; *Simon de Cailli* [SJC, Class A Drawer O, D46.6; (Douglas 1932): no. 188; (Farrer 1902): 306]; *Guy cleric* [(Brown 1992): no. 23; (Dugdale 1817–1830): 4:574; (Douglas 1932): no. 188]; *Osbert Martel* [RRAN3, no. 569; Harley Ch 83 A 25; (Farrer 1902): 306]; *Jordan de Sackville* [CDF, no. 788 & 961]; *William Martel* [(Brown 1992): no. 23; (Douglas 1932): no. 188]; *Hugh de Merck* [ERO (Chelmsford) T/A 367, Add. ch. 28346]; *Hugh de Petraponte* [RRAN3, no. 569; Salzman, 1:62]; *William de Petraponte* [Salzman, 1:62; Clay, no. 52]; *Robert de Wesvenal* [Salzman, 1:62; (Farrer 1902): 306; (Brown 1992): no. 23]; *Ranulf de Glanville* [(Brown 1992): no. 23; (Douglas 1932): no. 188]; *Nicholas de Kenet* [ERO (Colchester) T/A 369, f. 87; (Bethell 1970): no. 15]; *Drogo de Frevill* [(Salzman 1932): 1:62; (Clay 1949): no. 52]; *William Malebisse* [(Farrer 1902): 430; (Farrer 1902): 307]; *Roger son of Ravenkil* [(Farrer 1902): 430; (Farrer 1902): 306]; *William de Lancaster* [(Farrer 1902): 306; (Farrer 1902): 307]; *William prior of St Pancras* [RRAN3, no. 569; (Dugdale 1817–1830): 4:574]; *William Gulaf prior of Eye* [(Brown 1992): no. 23; (Douglas 1932): no. 188]; and *Roger chaplain* [(Salzman 1932): 1:62; (Clay 1949): no. 52]; *Pagan de Builly* [(Office 1895): 2:34–5; Harley Ch 83 A 25]; *Manasser cantor* [(Office 1895): 2:34–35; Harley Ch 83 A 25].

²³⁰ (Cheney 1973): no. 2, PRO Cart. Antiq. C52 13; WA Muniment 5, f. 16r; RRAN3, nos. 222, 229a, 239e, 551, 847. Eustace's governance of the Honour of

Eustace, drawing upon other lands given to him by his father, made grants to St Pancras Lewes which was strongly associated with his brother's in-laws, the Warennnes. Only one charter of his wife Constance survives, who made a gift to St Radegund's priory Cambridge from property not associated with the Boulonnais honour.²³¹ The majority of William's surviving charters concern his inherited honours in England—four for the Honour of Lancaster; nine for the Honour of Boulogne, three for the Honour of Eye, and six (with reference to two others) with lands pertaining to Warenne family estates.²³² Two of his charters survive which pertain to his grants as count of Mortain, with reference to two others.²³³ The honorial charters do not reveal many details of how their estates were administered, though we do get glimpses of the working of the honorial courts and justice. Matilda issued several writs ordering her ministers and royal sheriffs to see that land was held peacefully by various ecclesiastics. Her authority to do so stemmed not only from her position as queen, as in the cases concerning the marsh of Maldon and Mashbury, but also from her comital authority in Essex, as in her writ to Bosohere de Boulogne that the canons of St Martin were held firmly in her peace.²³⁴ Eustace also issued an order to Baldwin de Builli and his ministers in Tey that St John's Colchester were to hold their lands there peacefully.²³⁵ In 1128, there is evidence for the honorial court in Mortain functioning in Stephen's absence.²³⁶

Boulogne was not exclusive; his mother issued grants from these estates as did his father. Although no charter was issued, Eustace gave his assent to the transfer of Swynemested church to Drax priory; (Dugdale 1817–1830): 6:196, no. 4.

²³¹ (Gray 1898): no. 3a. The charter was issued between August 1153 and October 1154; Stephen confirmed the gift; RRAN3, no. 139.

²³² For the Honour of Boulogne charters see n. 215. For the Honour of Lancaster see: (Farrer 1902): 286, 306, 307, 309, and 430; for the Honour of Eye see: (Brown 1992): nos. 23 and 25, ERO Chelmsford D/DBY Q19 f. 23r; for the Warenne lands see: (Douglas 1932): no. 188; (Clay 1949): 8:98, no. 51 and 8:99, no. 52; (Salzman 1932): 1:33, 36, 37, and 62; and a reference in a Reginald of Warenne charter to a gift of William's to Shrewsbury abbey; (Farrer 1902): 286. There is a confirmation by Henry II of a gift to Croxton abbey; (Dugdale 1817–1830): 6:877.

²³³ CDF, nos. 788 and 961. Henry II confirmed one grant; (Delisle 1909–1927): DCI, no. 450. William confirmed his father's gift to Les Blanchettes, Mortain; (van Moolenbroeck 1990): 137, n. 118. Finally, a gift made by either Stephen or William (as count of Mortain) in the town of St Stephen Launceston appears in a confirmation issued by Reginald earl of Cornwall between 1154 and 1175; (Robinson 1995): 1:76–9, no. 240.

²³⁴ RRAN3, nos. 548, 550, and 556.

²³⁵ RRAN3, no. 239e.

²³⁶ (Desroches 1838): 229 and n. 2.

The modest extension of comital authority through administrative developments in Boulogne and Lens was overshadowed by those achieved by the Flemish and Norman counts. Most striking is the difference in the number of surviving acta. Between 1128 and 1163, Thierry issued 175 charters, Countess Sybilla, nine, Philip thirteen, and another three were issued as a family, whereas the Boulonnais comital acta only number 107 in total. Geoffrey of Anjou issued fifty charters for Normandy in six years as count, Empress Matilda nineteen, and Henry forty-four. Although neither Thierry nor Geoffrey introduced extensive administrative changes, they profited from the centralized chancery and accounting institutions established by their predecessors.²³⁷ Thierry continued to collect the same taxes and customs as his predecessors, although on a much greater scale from the four annual fairs and the expansion of the textile trade. In addition, he commuted *fodrum* to a money rent around 1140.²³⁸ Like Thierry, Geoffrey too collected the same types of revenues as his predecessor, but Normandy's economic life was not nearly as buoyant as Flanders.

Flemish and Norman comital justice was also more extensive than the Boulonnais counts' in this period. Thierry was particularly interested in the maintenance of public peace and was quite systematic about enforcing it.²³⁹ Between 1127 and 1147 he created new tribunals in Bergues, Bourbourg, and Furnes (les keuriers) in order to bring peace to maritime Flanders. The system of justice was also extended with the addition of urban tribunals of *échevins*.²⁴⁰ Circa 1150, Thierry instituted a judicial re-organization that put the seneschal in charge of the comital (or castellany's) *échevins*.²⁴¹ Geoffrey used itinerant justices as the primary means of exercising ducal authority in Normandy.²⁴² In this he was following in Henry I's footsteps; his main innovation was the introduction of *bailli* who were superimposed on the local administration carried out by the viscounts.²⁴³

²³⁷ (Ganshof 1957–1962): 420–1; (Haskins 1918): 136, 151.

²³⁸ (Ganshof 1957–1962): 422–3. Reliefs on fiefs granted to the Templars in 1127/8; (Vercauteren 1938): no. 129.

²³⁹ (Ganshof 1957–1962): 410–11. Thierry reissued Peace of God in 1138; (Ganshof 1957–1962): 367.

²⁴⁰ The process began before Thierry's reign; urban tribunals are found in Arras in 1111, in Gent before 1127, and in Bruges and St Omer in 1127.

²⁴¹ (Ganshof 1957–1962): 381.

²⁴² (Haskins 1918): 148–150.

²⁴³ (Haskins 1918): 151.

Like the Boulonnais comital family, Geoffrey maintained a separate household and administration for Normandy, and in his absence his seneschal, Reginald de St Valéry, headed the administration. Although there were no major advances in either the Flemish or Norman administrative systems, Thierry and Geoffrey consolidated comital authority during their reign, thereby strengthening their position by making customary the changes introduced by their predecessors. In doing so, the Boulonnais counts remained at a disadvantage in the relative power they could command in any political situation in northern France.

Like the Flemish and Norman counts, royal administration continued to build upon the advances made under Philip I. By the end of Louis VI's reign, he had succeeded in pacifying the castellans of the Île de France, convincing them to rely upon royal justice rather than private warfare to resolve their differences.²⁴⁴ Louis VI also curtailed the power of his household officers following the fall of the seneschal, Stephen Garland, in 1127. After 1127, household offices became progressively honorary rather than administrative.²⁴⁵ An important step in this process was during Suger's regency (1147–49) when he relied on chamberlains to carry out administrative duties; this broke the ties between the prévôts and household officers, making the prévôts dependent on the king's goodwill to continue in office.²⁴⁶ Bournazel has identified a permanent group of counselors, drawn from this group, who served Louis VII devotedly.²⁴⁷ The royal prévôts collected taxes and tolls on royal demesne; an increasingly more important job in the wake of the economic growth of both the Île de France and royal expansion into southern Picardy. The Île became a major wine producing region during the twelfth century, shipping its goods throughout France.²⁴⁸ Both Louis VI and VII actively encouraged assarting, markets and fairs, and commercial activity through grants of urban liberties, particularly in Picardy, establishing annual as well as one-time fees for the right to conduct these activities. In addition, they worked to consolidate dispersed royal demesne through purchase. Benton's study indicates that royal

²⁴⁴ (Dunbabin 1985): 296.

²⁴⁵ (Dunbabin 1985): 298; (Hallam 1980): 160.

²⁴⁶ Hallam, 160.

²⁴⁷ (Bournazel 1975): 161–8.

²⁴⁸ (Dunbabin 1985): 297.

revenues were 60,000 livres (Parisian) per annum, of which only a third came from demesne revenues.²⁴⁹

The full impact of these administrative and economic developments would not be felt until the late 1150's; the expansion of royal authority into Picardy was counter-balanced by Louis VI's efforts to contain and diminish Henry I's power. Stephen did not act upon the opportunity presented by royal preoccupation with Henry I's affairs and Thierry's relative weakness to extend the borders of Boulogne between 1128 and 1136. His restraint had its roots in his Anglo-Norman mentalité. In 1128, Louis VI was struggling to subdue Thomas of Coucy in the Amienois and retain his foothold in Flanders.²⁵⁰ Thierry, who was establishing himself in the early years of the reign, had to woo the support of the Flemish nobles and townsmen.²⁵¹ Hugh II of St Pol jumped at the opportunity to expand into the northern Amienois and southern Artois, but Stephen made no overt moves against the Flemish count. In part his restraint was in keeping with Henry I's policy of cultivating Thierry's goodwill.

However, Stephen's absence from Henry I's court between 1128 and 1132 suggests that he may have been quietly working to establish a firm base of internal stability within his counties and amicable bonds among his neighbors in preparation for a bid for Henry's kingdom. There are several pieces of evidence which substantiate this hypothesis. First, as I discussed earlier, he maintained his father-in-law's ties with the count of St Pol. Hugh, who had no property in England, witnessed Stephen's charter of foundation for Furness abbey. While Hugh's campaigning kept him away from Stephen's court, there is no evidence of estrangement between the two men, and it appears that Stephen capitalized on Hugh's success in Aubigny to attract men from Artois to his allegiance. Although we have no surviving acta of Stephen or Matilda concerning Lens, the presence

²⁴⁹ (Benton 1967).

²⁵⁰ Louis retained the devoted service of Alvisé bishop of Arras and secured Thierry's fidelity.

²⁵¹ The economic clout of the towns and the liberties won in 1127–8 by townsmen cut into Thierry's power over the towns. The Flemish towns were also issued charters of liberties during this period; first under William Clito and then Thierry; (Ganshof 1957–1962): 367. Thierry's court functioned as his predecessors' had, although the primary offices were becoming hereditary in nature; (Ganshof 1957–1962): 379–80; 386. The castellans' growing power prompted Philip to introduce baillis into the castellanies in 1169; (Ganshof 1957–1962): 403–4.

of several men from the Artois among the witnesses of Stephen's royal charters—Hugh de Les Essarts, Simon de Gerardmolendino, Roger de Bully, and Ilbert de Carency—suggests that Stephen won their loyalty prior to 1136.²⁵² Second, the economic ties between Wissant, St Omer, and England were fostered through the wool and textile trade. The traffic of goods and men not only increased Stephen's wealth but earned him the goodwill of the merchants in London, St Omer, and Wissant. While there was no dramatic shift in allegiance of St Omer's castellan or population, Stephen and Matilda did win the friendship of Osto of St Omer, a founder of the Templar order, and they may have set up a mint in the city.

Third, Stephen and Matilda consolidated Boulonnais influence in the south of Boulogne and in Guines. Their presence in the south of Boulogne and Montreuil-sur-Mer can be seen in their involvement in the two suits concerning St Josse-sur-Mer, their association with lesser nobles from the south like Robert of Crevecoeur and Hugh Tirel, and their foundation of Longvillers. Stephen also enjoyed close ties with the comital family in Guines. Emma countess of Guines was Stephen's tenant in Suffolk, and her husband, Manasses, like Stephen, held himself aloof from Thierry's court. The friendship between the two men was strengthened with the marriage between the son of Stephen's chamberlain, Aubrey II de Ver, and Manasses' granddaughter and heir, Beatrice. Although an alliance with the count of Ponthieu would have strengthened the southern Boulonnais borders, Henry's suspicions of William Talvas' loyalty made it politically tricky for Stephen to cultivate his friendship in the period between 1119 and 1135. There were many things which would have fostered ties between the two men: the traditional alliance between Boulogne and Ponthieu, William's marriage to a niece of dowager Countess Clemence of Flanders, and the proximity of their Norman lands. However, Henry's refusal to grant William the custody of the castles in the Bellême-Montgomery honour pushed William into an alliance with the Angevin count.²⁵³ Stephen was also active in Mortain,

²⁵² Les Essarts (arr. Beugnâtre, ctn. Bapaume), Gerardmolendino (?). Hugh witnessed sixteen acts; RRAN3, nos. 661, 831, 515, 857, 37, 38, 658, 659, 877, 577, 403, 896, 797, 583, and 102. Simon witnessed six acts: RRAN3, nos. 243, 569, 846, 23, 195, and 853. Other witnesses from Artois include Roger and Baldwin de Bully (arr. Lens, ctn. Liévin NW), and Ilbert de Carency (arr. Arras, ctn. Vimy); RRAN3, nos. 109, 178, 239e, and 814.

²⁵³ (Thompson 1994): 172–5.

making grants to the nuns of Mouton, N.D. de Mortain, and Savigny. His governance aroused no known discontent, and he consciously used Savignac foundations to unify his dispersed holdings (e.g. Longvillers and Furness), but also to foster his ties to the lords of Fougères, who were among the original benefactors of the order and a family with strong ties into Maine. Secure in the friendship of his northern neighbors, Stephen acted not to expand Boulogne's borders but to claim and hold England and Normandy.

The continental allies, as I argued earlier, played a significant role in Stephen's early success against his Angevin rivals. In a much more understated way, so did the administrative system of Boulogne—Stephen did not have to worry about infringements upon his authority or a loss of revenues in his absence. Boulogne remained open to trade, from England and France, and a conduit for mercenaries throughout his reign. Although administration of Boulogne and the Honour of Boulogne was now conducted almost exclusively by non kin, kinship continued to play a fundamental role in the formation of political coalitions and alliances. Stephen's initial coalition started with his brother, Henry bishop of Winchester, his wife Matilda, and expanded to include his friends, Thurstan archbishop of York, William archbishop of Canterbury, Roger bishop of Salisbury, Waleran of Meulan and his brothers Robert of Leicester and William III de Warenne. Matilda's cousins Robert of Ewias, John of Sudeley, Pharamus of Boulogne, and Simon II de Senlis, as well as Stephen's brother, Theobald, and nephew Henry de Sully were also early editions to Stephen's party. Throughout the civil war, ties of kinship, shaped by territorial interests, routinely guided the nobles' decision on who to support during the war. In the same way, Eustace called upon his brothers-in-law, Louis VII and Robert of Dreux-Perche, and his cousin, Henry of Champagne, to attack Henry in Normandy in the early 1150s. The extended nature of the war between Stephen and Empress Matilda helped transform these ad hoc coalitions of family, friends, and allies into affinities, not only around Stephen and Empress Matilda but also around their chief commanders. While William of Boulogne-Warenne-Mortain could and did enjoy the loyalty of the heirs of his father's supporters and tenants, the power of the civil war affinities was sharply diminished by the deaths of many of the war's protagonists and the re-establishment of a more effective royal administration after November 1153.

The extended struggle between Stephen and his Angevin rivals also had important effects in the distribution of power within northern France. Stephen's and Eustace's preoccupation with their goals in England and Normandy led to the unraveling of the alliance system established by Stephen and his Boulonnais predecessors prior to 1136. The turning point came in 1141, after the losing campaign in Flanders (fought with Baldwin IV of Hainaut and Hugh II of St Pol, 1139–1140) and the death of Hugh II of St Pol and Manasses of Guines in 1141. Immersed in the fighting in England, neither Stephen nor Eustace were able to offer assistance to Enguerrand of St Pol as he fought to keep Aubigny from Thierry in 1144–45 or Hesdin in the early 1150s. John of Ponthieu attacked Boulogne in 1148 on his return from the crusade, but was defeated at the first battle, and turned his attentions towards Bernard of St Valery and the Amienois.²⁵⁴ There he was more successful, recovering the Amienois territories lost to Hugh of St Pol in 1148. Although Eustace was old enough and had the experience to fight with Enguerrand in the 1150s, his energies were focused on gathering his own army to fight Henry of Anjou. Eustace does not appear to have acted in conjunction with his Picard neighbors in these campaigns. Eustace relied more on his position as the husband of Constance of France, seeking aid from his brothers-in-law, Louis VII and Robert of Perche, and his cousin, Henry of Champagne.²⁵⁵ Although Thierry's success prompted the southern Artois lords to witness his charters in greater number after 1144, Enguerrand of St Pol does not appear to have done homage to Thierry for his county nor attended the Flemish court with any regularity.²⁵⁶ He attested only five of Thierry's charters;

²⁵⁴ (Louandre 1883): 1:136. Most of the attestors of John's charters held land controlled by the counts of Ponthieu since Guy I of Ponthieu (1052–1100). There are a few attestors from the Amienois in a charter issued in 1155: the abbot of Gard (Picquigny, Amiens), Alelm of Orrville, and Alelm of Clary; (Brunel 1930): no. 53. In 1154, Urse of Caumont (arr. Montreuil) attested one of John's charters; (Brunel 1930): no. 51. Urse is the only identifiable attestor near the Boulogne border.

²⁵⁵ Enguerrand of St Pol may have fought with Eustace, but the chroniclers only refer to Eustace and say nothing about the makeup of his army.

²⁵⁶ Prior to 1144, most of Thierry's attestors were drawn from northern Flanders or were his castellans. There are a flurry of attestors drawn from Arras and the southern Artois in 1144–5 in Thierry's charters. Adam of Hamelincourt (82, 83, 85); Alard of Croysilles (82, 83); Alard d'Espinoy (83, 85); Anselm Houdain, dapifer (82, 83, 85, 104, 111, 112, 115, 118, 142, 149, 150, 167); Baldwin, son of Guy of

two in 1144–1145, one in 1149, one in 1150–62, and one in 1154–1157. The limited number of Enguerrand's attestations is in striking contrast to the at least once yearly attestations of the lords of Béthune, or the castellans of Lens, Arras, Bapaume, and St Omer.²⁵⁷ Although Enguerrand eschewed the Flemish court, his relationship with William of Boulogne is unknown. He continued his father's friendship with the count of Hainaut which can be seen in his and his brother's choice of brides. Enguerrand married Ida d'Avesnes-sur-Helpe and his youngest brother Hugh IV married Yolande de Hainaut.²⁵⁸ After 1160, he and his brothers turned to Henry II. Enguerrand's brother and heir Anselm was married to Eustachie de Champagne at Henry II's intervention.

Under counts Stephen, Eustace IV, and William, the county of Boulogne was incorporated into the Anglo-Norman realm. Stephen's extensive land holdings in England and Normandy, as well his close association and loyalty to his uncle King Henry I of England initially strengthened the bonds between Boulogne and the Anglo-Norman realm. Stephen's support of Henry during the Flemish succession crisis of 1127–1128 had several important effects on the political development of the region. William Clito's death weakened the French king's growing power and temporarily weakened the power of the Flemish count. The diminished power of Louis VI and Thierry of Flanders provided the count of St Pol the opportunity to enlarge his county at the expense of the counts of Flanders, Ponthieu and Amiens, which subtly loosened the ties between the counts of

Noyelles-Vion (Avesne-le-Comte) (85); Elbert of Carency (83, 85); Eustace of Louwes (near St Vaast) (83, 125); Gamelin of Louwes (83, 125); Guy II Ponthieu (82, 85); Hugh of Buissey (arr. Arras) (82, 85); Hugh castellan of Bapaume (82, 85); Peter Mory (c. Croysilles) (82, 83, 85); Robert of Bayloes (c. Croysilles) (83); Thietbert Sapienies (Bapaume) (82, 85); Walter of Noyelles-Vion (82, 83, 85); Warin of Anesin (Béthune) (83, 85); Werenfrid of Arras (83, 85). Bracketed numbers refer to charter number in (de Hemptinne 1988).

²⁵⁷ (Feuchère 1953): 135–6; (de Hemptinne 1988): nos. 83, 85, 116bis, 156, and 202. His brother and successor Anselm (?1162–1174) allied himself to Henry II of England but attested five Flemish comital charters: three with his brother (nos. 83, 85, 116bis), one dated 1150–1155, and one dated Dec. 1165–Jan 1166; (de Hemptinne 1988): 142 and 202. Feuchère gives 1156 as the date for the reincorporation of Hesdin into Flemish control, however Ganshof states that the year was 1151. Fossier gives both dates. The 1151 date for the loss of Hesdin seems more likely, since Thierry was campaigning against Baldwin IV of Hainaut in 1150; (de Hemptinne 1991): 97.

²⁵⁸ Anselm was lord of Lucheux before succeeding his brother; and their brother Guy was lord of Beauval; (Feuchère 1953): 136.

Boulogne and St Pol. The fortunes of England, Normandy, and Boulogne became completely intertwined once Stephen seized the throne of England and the duchy of Normandy upon Henry's death in December 1135. Stephen's successes during the nineteen year civil war which followed were based on the loyalty of his family and the tenants of the Honours of Boulogne and Eye throughout his reign, his military skill, and the use of continental alliances.

The struggle to maintain and secure England and Normandy had several important consequences upon the relationship between the counts of Boulogne and their immediate neighbors in Picardy and Flanders. The preoccupation of Stephen and Eustace with England and Normandy prevented the Boulonnais counts from aiding their allies in St Pol and Guines. As a result, the counts of St Pol no longer aligned themselves with the Boulonnais counts, and the counts of Guines switched their allegiance to the counts of Flanders. These changes isolated William from his continental neighbors. In addition, Stephen's failure to secure his son's inheritance of the English throne contributed to the increasing political consolidation within France—Henry II of England controlled the counties of Normandy, Anjou and Aquitaine and Thierry of Flanders extended Flemish control to the south, incorporating the county of Hesdin, receiving the homage of the count Guines, and gaining Vermandois through the marriage of his son, Philip. The territorial consolidation under Thierry and Henry II was enhanced by the administrative systems established by their predecessors. This was true in the Île de France as well, although Louis VII did not have the resources of his Angevin rival. Although the administration of these larger polities was increasingly conducted by men unrelated by blood to the ruler, kinship continued to play a fundamental role in the formation of political coalitions and the sealing of alliances.

CHAPTER SIX

NOBLE BY BIRTH, MORE NOBLE BY THEIR DEEDS AND VIRTUES

Prior to the Norman invasion of England in 1066, the activities of the comital family of Boulogne generated little attention among contemporary chroniclers, annalists, or poets. In part, this lack of noteworthiness was a reflection of the local bias of most early medieval texts and the general dearth of surviving texts produced in the Boulonnais. In the hundred years after the battle of Hastings, the reputation of the Boulonnais comital family had spread widely, particularly in the period between 1080 and 1125. The family's growing fame allowed them to marry into higher levels of nobility and even royalty, and these alliances were an important component in the counts' ability to remain politically independent. The family's reputation from the late eleventh century was built upon the collective identity fashioned by each successive generation.

Thomas Bisson, in his analysis of Catalan society, defines identity as the 'traits and traces of collective awareness (and self-awareness) and of associative interest as point to political or national solidarity.'¹ The key indicator of societal perceptions is the use of specific terminology in the sources to differentiate a region from its neighbor. Bisson locates the origins of this societal awareness in a ruler's control over a network of castles distributed among several lineages all bound by oaths of homage and fealty, over local ecclesiastical institutions and appointments, and the extension of territory through the use of the Peace of God movement, coinage, and law. The family's self-awareness can be seen in the development of naming patterns, the distribution of territories among the heirs, and the production of genealogies and *gestae*. To these indicators, John Freed adds the foundation or selection of a monastery to serve as the family's burial place, and the foundation or reformation of a monastic house as a means to extend the family's influence in a region.²

¹ (Bisson 1989): 126–7.

² (Freed 1984): 3 (for argument regarding the role of monastic houses), (Freed

Although the distinction in the sources between Boulogne and its neighbors persisted from the development of the administrative division of the pagus, it is during the eleventh-century that the elements identified by Bisson and Freed as indicators of the formation of social and self-identity can be seen in Boulogne. Boulogne itself is not very large, but the counts did extend their authority through the use of monastic foundations and won the support of the lesser nobility and castellans. The family also developed a distinct naming pattern and distribution of lands, which reflected the growth of primogeniture and a sense of lineage. The names chosen, however, were drawn from the maternal line, with the exception of the eldest son who was called Eustace. These developments provided the platform from which the family leapt into the public eye. It was the deeds of Eustace II (1047–c. 1089), his wife Ida (1047/59–1113), and their three sons—Eustace III, count of Boulogne (c. 1089–1125), Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lower Lorraine, then Defender of the Holy Sepulchre (1076–1100), and Baldwin, count of Edessa, then King of Jerusalem (1100–1118)—which captured the attention of their contemporaries.³ Eustace II's military prowess and Countess Ida's sanctity were seen to have combined in their sons, and to have produced in Godfrey what was to become the archetype of the chivalrous knight.⁴ While the family continued to take pride in their renown as crusaders, the close familial ties and the civil war between Stephen and Empress Matilda, prompted contemporary chroniclers to de-emphasize their lineage and its inherited traits in legitimizing Stephen's and Matilda's and their son Eustace's claim to the throne. After 1154, poets and chroniclers concentrate on the glories of Ida and her sons, particularly Godfrey.

Although the counts of Boulogne governed the Ternois between 918 and 933 and again between 962 and 1019, the distinct territorial

1984): 9 (for continuing importance of maternal kin). Chibnall argues the case for the use of monastic foundations as a means to extend a ducal authority in Normandy; (Chibnall 1958).

³ Eustace II's son Godfrey is generally referred to as Godfrey of Bouillon, one of the main castles of the counts of Verdun. The castle constituted part of the patrimony of Ida's paternal kin who had been the duke of Lower Lorraine since c. 988, with a gap between 1046 and 1065 which was the result of the rebellion of Ida's father, Godfrey the Bearded.

⁴ For the pervasive belief that personal qualities and character—nobility and sanctity, for example—were transmitted through blood see (Vauchez 1977) and (Martindale 1977).

identity of Boulogne stemmed from its origins as a pagus. The loss of the northern corner of the pagus which became the county of Guines, sometime during the latter half of the tenth century, did not blur contemporary perceptions of the demarcation between Boulogne and the neighboring counties, particularly Flanders.⁵ In the *Encomium Emmae* (written between 1040 and 1042), the author states that Alfred came to the borders of Flanders at the beginning of his journey to England in 1036, and after rejecting the Flemish count's offer of several knights for his expedition, he took 'only a few men of Boulogne.'⁶ This differentiation between Boulogne and Flanders can also be seen in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle in 1051, when Eustace and his men are referred to as Frenchmen, not Flemings. Similarly, when Bertulf of Ghisteltes informs his mother that he was to wed Godelieve, daughter of Henfrid the Boulonnais steward, she replies, 'Num, inquit, in *tua patria*, care fili, cornices haud poteris reperire, qui cornicem unam ab *alia patria* domum voluisti deferre?'⁷ (emphasis mine) Neither Bertulf's mother nor the author, Drogo a monk of Bergues, who wrote the life c. 1084, thought of Boulogne as part of Flanders.⁸ This viewpoint is seen again when Drogo tells the reader of Godelieve's escape from her abusive husband, 'etiam nudis pedibus excedere *ab ipsa patria*, repetere nativum solum patremque tantum assumpto uno comite.'⁹ The first two treaties of Dover (1101 and 1110), between Henry I of England and Robert II of Flanders, specifically isolate Boulogne and Eustace III from the terms of the agreement as they pertain to Robert II.¹⁰ This distinction is main-

⁵ For the origins and continuous use of the term Boloniensis/Bononiensis (Boulogne) for the region and its rulers, see: (Lognon 1869); (Dhondt 1941-2); (Fossier 1968): 1:177-178.

⁶ 'Flandriae uenit in fines,' (Campbell 1949): 42. The *Encomium* was commissioned by Emma herself and therefore was begun before her death in 1052; (Campbell 1949): xliii, xlv.

⁷ (Coens 1926): 128. For a discussion of the author, his works, his views on morality and women see (Huyghebaert 1971).

⁸ Huyghebaert has argued that the Vita was written just prior to Godelieve's elevation to sainthood on 30 July 1084; (Huyghebaert 1971): 200. Maurice Coens, the editor of the Vita, has proposed a date of 30 July 1070 for Godelieve's death and posits that the Vita was written soon thereafter; (Coens 1926): 120-124. Huyghebaert's dating, based on the corpus of Drogo's work, is more convincing, but Coens' arguments are reasonable for the dating of Godelieve's death.

⁹ (Coens 1926): 130.

¹⁰ (Vercauteren 1938): nos. 30 and 41. The counts of Boulogne did hold the county of Lens from the Flemish counts. This may explain the apparent contra-

tained in the 1163 renewal of the treaty.¹¹ Galbert of Bruges, writing in 1127–1128, never includes either the count of Boulogne or any of his men among the nobility of Flanders.¹²

The internal strategies and tools used by the Boulonnais counts to maintain their borders are much more difficult to determine with any precision because of the destruction of so many of the records located within Boulogne and the neighboring counties. This scarcity of information prevails into the late twelfth to early thirteenth centuries. There were definitely castles at Boulogne and Lens in the tenth century, and fortifications or castles at Bellebrune, Fiennes, and Tingry by the mid-eleventh century, and at Ardres, Wissant, Merck, Etaples by the twelfth century.¹³ Comital charters indicate that the counts' household officers were the lords of Ardres (stewards, perhaps in England), Wissant (constable), Seiles (butler), and Wierre-Effroy (also steward in Boulogne).¹⁴ The lords of Fiennes and Caeiu routinely witnessed comital charters, and Tingry was held by the descendants of Eustace II's bastard Geoffrey. The predominance of northern Boulonnais lords among the comital household is most likely a reflection of Eustace II's efforts to gain control of Merck and prevent Flemish expansion southward. Additionally, his authority in southern Boulogne was strengthened through the continuing friendship of the counts of St Pol and Ponthieu.

diction between the specific exclusion of Eustace III from the agreement in sections 7 and 8, and the statement in section 1, 'Et naves istas salvas faciet comes Robertus de omnibus hominibus suis et nominatim de Eustachio comite et de omnibus aliis hominibus, a quibus eas salvare poterit, eundo, morando et redeundo.' Baldwin VII of Flanders also calls Eustace III 'fidelis mei' in 1114 when confirming Eustace's grant of a sheepfold in Nivenna (in Merck) to St Wulmer; (Vercauteren 1938): no. 62. This is the only time Eustace is referred to in this manner. The Flemish counts never confirm donations made within Boulogne; confirmations in Merck occur infrequently.

¹¹ (de Hemptinne 1988): no. 208, '9, 'Et inimici regis vel Henrici filii sui, qui sibi werram, vel per terram vel per mare facient, fidutiam in neutro comitum habebunt nec receptacula in terra sua nec in terra Bolonesii nec alibi. . . .'

¹² (Ross 1982): 29–30.

¹³ (Haigneré 1882): lix–lxvii; (Salch 1977): 582–9.

¹⁴ (Haigneré 1882): lxii–lxiii. See also chapter 5. For the evidence of Henfrid of Wierre-Effroy, steward for Eustace III and Stephen see: (Bruel 1876–1903): no. 3984; (Haigneré 1880–1892): 21; (Fossier 1988): 110, 142; BNF (Paris), Collection Moreau 59, f. 156; and (Coens 1926): 127. A 1070 charter issued by Eustace II and Ida indicates the existence of a seneschal, a constable, and a ministerialis; (Gysseling 1950): 213–214.

Evidence for the comital use of monastic foundations and ecclesiastical appointments as a means to assert Boulonnais authority has survived in greater abundance. Despite the loss of Théroutanne in 1019, the counts of Boulogne did not relinquish their interest in the bishopric. Eustace I and Eustace II both attempted to use conflicts between the Bishops Drogo and Hubert of Théroutanne and the Flemish counts to regain their primacy of interest over these institutions; ultimately, their efforts failed. In 1080, Eustace II aided the chapter against Robert I of Flanders when he intruded his episcopal appointee.¹⁵ The dispute ended in 1084 when the bishops of Cambrai and Amiens, at the behest of the Pope, chose the bishop.¹⁶ Although there was no overt conflict between Bishop Gerard and Count Robert, it was only under Robert's successors that Flemish comital influence was fully restored over the bishopric.¹⁷

Although control of Théroutanne escaped the Boulonnais counts, the family was much more successful in their use of monastic foundations as emblems of their authority. As discussed earlier, Countess Ida's foundations of Capelle and Le West helped extend the family's influence into the county of Guines and prevent the incursion of Flemish authority into the territory of Merck. Similarly, Eustace III's foundation of Rumilly, when considered in conjunction with the concurrent appearance of the lords of Thiembroune as attestors of Boulonnais acts, suggests that the foundation was used to counteract the expansion of the lords of Fauquembergues into the land just west of St Omer.¹⁸ Boulonnais influence was perhaps bolstered by the

¹⁵ (de Moreau 1945): 2:65–68. See also chapter 4 for details. Bishop Hubert did not attest any of Robert I of Flanders' charters. Bishop Drogo attested several of Baldwin V's charters.

¹⁶ (de Moreau 1945): 2:68–70.

¹⁷ Gerard bishop of Théroutanne attested only one charter of Robert II: (Vercauteren 1938): no. 19. John bishop of Théroutanne attested eight charters for the counts of Flanders: (Vercauteren 1938): nos. 34, 42, 62, 73, 83, 87, 91, 92, and two for Eustace III; (Guerard, 229) and BN (Paris), Collection Moreau 50, f. 121r. Miles bishop of Théroutanne attested twenty charters for Thierry count of Flanders: (de Hemptinne 1988): nos. 41, 45, 46, 53, 58, 62–4, 71, 88, 91, 101, 104, 112, 131, 157, 172, 174, 175, and 176. Bishop Miles' confirmation of an act is recorded in three of Thierry's charters, (de Hemptinne 1988): nos. 72, 74, and 129; Thierry noted that he acted on Bishop Miles' request in three charters, (de Hemptinne 1988): nos. 32, 37, and 44. Bishop Miles also added his threat of excommunication to a charter of Countess Sybil; (de Hemptinne 1988): no. 47.

¹⁸ (Fossier 1968): 2:499. For Clarembald of Thiembroune see (Haigueré 1864–1872): 373 (1121) and (Bruehl 1876–1903): no. 3984 (1125). The sequence of events and their implications is confused by the northward extension of authority of the

election of Eustace III's chaplain Gervais to the abbacy of Arrouaise (1121–1147). Under Abbot Gervais, supported by Bishop Jean of Théroutanne, sixteen new houses or priories were founded or affiliated with Arrouaise. Many of these houses were in the Boulonnais and in England: Henin-Lietard (in Lens, 1123), Notre Dame of Boulogne (c. 1124), Ruisseauville (1125), St Ingelvert hospital, (Boulogne/Guines, 1131), St Wulmer, Boulogne (conf. 1132), Harrold priory (England, c. 1133), Missenden priory (England, c. 1133), Beaulieu (in Boulogne, 1137), Clairsay (in St Pol, 1137–8), and Doudeauville (in Boulogne, 1142).¹⁹ Beyond these indications of comital patronage, the extensive loss of ecclesiastical records in the diocese of Boulogne prevents any analysis of the role the counts may have played in abbatial elections or in the promotion of the Peace of God within the county.²⁰

The production and circulation of coins under the authority of the count, beginning in the reign of Eustace I, reveal not only an awareness of a territorial unity in Boulogne and Lens, but also provide the evidence for the family's efforts to shape their identity. The mint in Boulogne issued deniers (1–2 g silver coin) and half-pennies (maille), while the Lens mint produced only half-pennies. Thus, the

Boulonnais vassal, the count of St Pol. See map opposite (Fossier 1968): 2:534; (Feuchère 1953): 133–135.

¹⁹ (Milis 1969): 141–143, 147–155, 278–283, 291. See also (Gosse 1786): 25–40 and 57. The two works agree in the main; Gosse argues for a stronger influence and protection of the Boulonnais comital house and his dating for affiliations tends to be a year or two earlier than Milis. Milis sees a broader based support for Arrouaise, particularly in the Amienois and Vermandois. For Bishop John's support see (Simons 1988). There were also Flemish houses founded or affiliated to the Arrouaisian order under Abbot Gervais: Chauny (1127–1132) (dio. Noyon), Cysoing (c. 1136) (dio. Tournai), Chocques (1138), Warneton (dio. Ypres), Zonnebeke (1142) (dio. Ypres), Phalempin (1142–6) (dio. Tournai); (Milis 1969): 147–155. Gosse adds St Barthélemy, Bruges and Soetendael (dio. Bruges), both pre-1148; (Gosse 1786): 39–40.

²⁰ The diocese of Boulogne contained the following monastic houses prior to 1150: Andres (f. 1084), Auchy-lez-Hesdin (f. 1079), Blangy-sur-Ternoise (f. 1032), La Capelle (f. c. 1090), Doudeauville (f. c. 1099), Licques (f. c. 1075), Longvilliers (f. c. 1135), Saint-Leonard, Guines (f. 1117), Ruisseauville (f. 1099), St Wulmer, Boulogne (?), St Wulmer (Samer) (fd. 7th c., restored c. 1090), Rumilly priory (f. 1125), and Le Wast (f. c. 1090). Cartularies have survived for Auchy-lez-Hesdin, and Notre-Dame de Boulogne-sur-Mer. A few charters for all of the others have survived, either in episcopal confirmations, at the mother house or a house that absorbed them later in their career, or in the transcriptions made by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century historians. There is no surviving evidence of the Peace of God movement within Boulogne, and the Flemish evidence suggests that the Peace was most used along the eastern border and in the north. See (Koziol 1987); (Platelle 1971); (Bonnaud-Delamare 1957).

coins would be familiar to all the residents of the count's territories, particularly the half-pennies. While there was no continuously used or exclusively Boulonnais symbols upon the coins, a footed cross with a besant in each quadrant appeared on the coins of Eustace I, Eustace II, Stephen and Matilda, and Eustace IV.²¹ The same symbol is found on Eustace II's banner on the Bayeux Tapestry.²² Beyond this commonly used device, each count's coins emphasized different qualities—distinguished ancestry, military prowess, and perhaps economic success. Through the use of the Carolingian monogram, Eustace I asserted the continuity and legitimacy of his authority, as well as alluded to his own and his wife's Carolingian blood.²³ The footed cross with four besants may also have alluded to Matilda of Louvain's connections to the Ottonian kings; Otto I's sister, Gerberga, was Matilda's great-great aunt. Otto I and III issued coins from Cologne, Würzburg, and Magdeburg with this iconography.²⁴ The continued use of the footed cross with a besant in each quadrant on coins from the reigns of Eustace II, Stephen and Matilda, Eustace IV, and Matthew would iterate a sense of an illustrious lineage and legitimacy.

Pride in the family's royal bloodlines can also be seen in the use of the fleur-de-lis tipped staffs/spears on the coins of Eustace III and Stephen and Matilda. On the reverse of one issue of Eustace III's coins, there are four crossed spears, each end ornamented by fleur-de-lis. The Lens coins (a maille) from the reign of Stephen and Matilda carry the image of the pair standing, holding a fleur-de-lis tipped spear on the obverse with no legend. The coin, of which there is a parallel type issued in England, with two double-tipped, fleur-de-lis spears crossing on the obverse, emphasizes the joint nature of their rule and Boulonnais tradition. The fleur-de-lis carried connotations of royalty and rule, and of Carolingian descent. The use

²¹ For Eustace I—(Richebé 1963): Pl. III, no. 35; for Eustace II—(Deschamps de Pas 1859): 48; for Stephen and Matilda—(Deschamps de Pas 1839): 284 and (Richebé 1963): Pl. III, no. 38; (for Eustace IV)—(Deschamps de Pas 1838): Pl. II, no. 3.

²² See Appendix 5.

²³ (Grierson 1991): 54–5. The footed cross with four besants, one in each quadrant, is not exclusively used by the Boulonnais comital house; for example, Richard I from Rouen, Baldwin VI from St Omer, John of Ponthieu, and lords of Saint-Aignan in the eleventh century.

²⁴ (Grierson 1991): 54–5.

of Roman imperial imagery and models abounded at the Carolingian court: for example, Prudentius' Christianization of Virgilian themes were drawn upon to produce the lily-crowned image of the *miles Christi*, and the legend that Christ's crown of thorns miraculously flowered in Charlemagne's presence shortly after his coronation as emperor, revealed him to be a descendant of David.²⁵ The fleur-de-lis, an emblem of the Tree of Jesse, was also a Marian symbol. As such it would call to mind the Marian relics in Capelle monastery, founded by Countess Ida, as well as how Ida followed the Virgin's example in nursing her sons.²⁶ The use of the fleur-de-lis on coins served to remind those who used them of Eustace III's descent from Charlemagne and Aeneas, and of his brothers who were kings of Jerusalem. For Matilda and Stephen the image also conveyed Matilda's descent from Anglo-Saxon, Scottish, and Carolingian royal families, and Stephen's from William the Conqueror.

The counts' military prowess was also celebrated on their coins. All three coin types distributed under Eustace III proclaimed his accomplishments as a warrior and crusader. One type, minted at York, displays a standing warrior with an unsheathed sword in his right hand, clothed in a tunic of mail and a Norman casque helmet, with a whale's tail behind the warrior.²⁷ The figure conveys the concept of the lord as warrior but also harkens to the *miles Christi* imagery. A second has an abstraction of a castle tower (a square with circles on each corner).²⁸ These types were probably issued before Eustace's return from the Holy Land in 1100. A third type (a denier), probably issued from Boulogne, has a lion passant to the right over an arcaded edifice. As Deschamps de Pas has argued, the coin resembles those issued in the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem and represents the lion of Judea vanquishing the infidel at the gates of Jerusalem.²⁹ The reverse has an ornamented cross in the center surrounded by a legend of symbols—circles (the sun), crescents (the moon or Islam), a square with circles at each corner and one in the center (a tower), and others which are hard to distinguish or identify. Deschamps

²⁵ (Tanner 1993): 39–43, 80. For the image of the *miles Christi* in a ninth-century copy of *Psychomachia* see (Tanner 1993): 43, fig. 20.

²⁶ See discussion below.

²⁷ (Deschamps de Pas 1859): 52.

²⁸ (Deschamps de Pas 1838): Pl. II, no. 3.

²⁹ (Deschamps de Pas 1859): 57–58.

reports that Longpérier has argued that they are the symbols of the passion—the sun, the moon, the cross, the sponge, the deniers, the dés (?spear). Whatever meaning was attached to the symbols on the reverse, two types of Eustace III's coins reference his Carolingian descent and with it his and his family's 'destiny' to champion the faith and rout the infidel. Eustace IV's coins accent his military strength and prowess. In Boulogne, his coins carried a man's profile facing a large sword.³⁰ In England, the 'standing knight' pennies portrayed Eustace in a casque and mail, holding a drawn sword, and thus visually depict his distinguished ancestry.³¹

A third theme on the Boulonnais coinage appears to herald Boulogne's economic prosperity. Under Eustace II, the Boulogne mint issued coins displaying a three looped knot which is also found on the deniers of Anlaf king of Northumberland in the mid-tenth century, of Boleslaw III of Bohemia (994–1000) and Irish deniers of the eleventh century.³² The choice of this model may reflect trade patterns through the port of Wissant.³³ The whale's tail behind the armed warrior on one coin type of Eustace III alludes to the whaling and fishing industry of the ports of Boulogne and Wissant, as well as to the counts' access to a fleet of ships. William's Boulonnais coins (deniers) were ornamented by a form of flowering cross which may have been chosen to accent the peace and prosperity following the financial stringencies of the reigns of his father and brother.³⁴

The continuous production of coins from Boulogne and Lens from Eustace I's reign reveals not only a sense of territorial unity in each county but also exhibits the desire to promote their Carolingian ancestry, military prowess, piety, and legitimacy to those who used their coins. The same themes can be seen in other indicators of the family's sense of identity—naming patterns, the development of patri-

³⁰ Poey d'Avant argues that this was a Eustace II denier (Poey d'Avant 1858): 3:372.

³¹ (Seaby 1979): 51.

³² Emma, the wife of Boleslav II (967–99), was probably an English princess, who issued coinage of the 'Second Hand type;' (Grierson 1991): 57. Anlaf Guthfrithsson of Dublin held York for two years following Athelstan's death in 939.

³³ (Lewis 1958): 419–47. The Scandinavians political alliances and conquests helped shape the interactions between regions, and provided a conduit for the exchange of ideas and goods between Ireland and eastern Europe. The Meuse valley, led by Cologne, was also economically prosperous during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

³⁴ (Deschamps de Pas 1838): Pl. II, no. 4.

lineage, ecclesiastical patronage, and the *Vita S. Idae*. Just as Eustace I's coinage highlighted his Carolingian descent, a shift in the family's naming pattern in the early eleventh century suggests a conscious attempt to distinguish the Boulonnais comital family from their formidable neighbors, the counts of Flanders. In the tenth century, the naming pattern of the comital family of Boulogne followed the pattern of the Flemish comital house (Arnulfs and Baldwins) of which they were the cadet branch, and the family's lands were divided between the sons.³⁵ Adalulf had two legitimate sons, of which we know the name of only one—Arnulf I of Boulogne.³⁶ Arnulf I's sons were Baldwin and Arnulf II, and he divided his lands between them, Boulogne to Baldwin and Ternois to Arnulf II.³⁷ Baldwin was succeeded by his son, Eustace I, and Arnulf II's lands were given to Roger of St Pol, perhaps because his children had predeceased him.³⁸

The choice of the name Eustace was highly unusual; with the exception of Abbot Eustace of Luxeuil (d. 625) the name is unknown in France until Eustace I of Boulogne.³⁹ As he was not named after a

³⁵ See Boulonnais genealogy. The tenth century counts of Flanders were Arnulf I (918–965), his son Baldwin III (who died in 959), Arnulf II (965–988), and Baldwin IV (988–1037). Adalulf is the equivalent of Ethelwulf, a prominent name among Adalulf of Boulogne's maternal kin; (Aethelweard 1976): 2.

³⁶ The other son was killed by his uncle Arnulf I of Flanders. It is possible that this son's name was Adalulf, after his father. Adalulf's illegitimate son was named Baldwin Balzo.

³⁷ Arnulf I of Boulogne may have had a daughter Matilda, who was married to Ardulf, count of Guines. The only evidence we have of Matilda's existence is Lambert of Ardres, who was writing in 1190s. See n. 46.

³⁸ (Heinemann 1887): 15:566.

³⁹ (Monks of St. Augustine's Abbey 1966): 606–607. Although St Eustace and his family were martyred in the early second century A.D., the cult was not established until the first half of the eighth century in Rome. The cult in western Europe did not begin until the early twelfth-century, when Suger brought some relics of St Eustace from Rome to St Denis; (Petersen 1925): 105–6. For an account and analysis of the legend of St Eustace see also, (*Bibliotheca Sanctorum* 1964): 5:281–291 and (Delehaye 1909). Marie-Thérèse Morlet provided a starting point in my search for the name Eustace within France; (Morlet 1968). Her earliest reference to a Eustace in France is in the obituary roll of St Claude (province of Lyon), and then a Eustace in the cartulary of St Wandrille dated (1026–1027). The obituary roll of St Claude can only be dated between the ninth and eleventh century; (Guigue 1951): 296, line 14. Lot has argued that the St Wandrille charter Morlet refers to should be dated to c. 1071; (Lot 1913): no. 43. There is also a Eustace in the witness list of a charter for the abbey of Jumièges which can only be dated to the eleventh century; (Vernier 1916): no. 46. There is a contemporary of Eustace I who shares his name, Abbot Eustace of St Père de Chartres; (Guerard 1840): 1.1:154, 184–6, 213 and 1.2:34. I have not been able to establish who the abbot's parents were. With

relative, it seems likely that Eustace was named after either St Eustace of Luxeuil or the Roman St Eustace. Although St Omer (d. 667), first bishop of Thérouanne, had been a monk of Luxeuil, it is possible that Eustace was named after this saint; however, there was no cult of Eustace of Luxeuil in the region.⁴⁰ The *Vita* of the Roman Eustace was well-known in tenth-century Francia, and it seems more likely that Baldwin of Boulogne was drawn to the name of this saint, who, like St George, was one of the patron saints of warriors.⁴¹ Eustace, a famous Roman legionary commander was separated from his wife and sons, after his conversion, as they fled to north Africa to avoid persecution by the emperor. Believing his wife debauched by a villainous sea-captain and his sons devoured by a lion and a wolf, Eustace toiled as a farmer for more than a decade. He was reunited with his family (who had escaped unharmed from the dangers that had menaced them) when the emperor sent men to find his renowned commander to stop the incursions of barbarians. Eustace led the imperial troops, which included his sons, and defeated the invaders. During the celebrations in Rome, he and his family refused to honor the pagan gods. Miraculously escaping a lion's ravaging jaws, they were burned alive in a bronze bull. St Eustace's military prowess, his piety, and his love for his family were highly appropriate traits for a noble to emulate, and Baldwin may have seen parallels in his own family's history, particularly the dispersion of his family following his grandfather Adalulf's death. In addition, the *Vita* was included in copies of Aelfric's *Lives of the Saints*, and therefore would be associated with Adalulf's mother Elstrude, daughter of Alfred the Great, and Adalulf's ties to the Anglo-Saxon royal court.⁴²

The abandonment of names associated with the Flemish comital family was not done from ignorance of the connections but was a deliberate choice. Four genealogies were written for the Flemish comital family before the late twelfth century; half of them mention Adalulf

the exception of the Eustace of the St Claude obituary roll, who might pre-date Eustace I of Boulogne, I have been unable to find anyone in France or Lorraine named Eustace between St Eustace, disciple of St Columbanus and second abbot of Luxeuil (d. 625) and Eustace I of Boulogne (1024–1047). No further clues were offered in (Dauzat 1978).

⁴⁰ (Heuclin 1999).

⁴¹ (Monteverdi 1910): 397; (Petersen 1925): 59; (Mantius 1931): 3:828–31. For example, (Flodoard 1878–1949): 135:643, ch. 8.

⁴² (Lapidge 1988); (Magennis 1985); (Loomis 1931).

of Boulogne but none speak of his sons.⁴³ Since contemporary sources speak of Arnulf I of Boulogne and his brother, it is not lack of knowledge which produced the silence but rather a desire to conceal the Flemish count's seizure of his nephews' inheritance.⁴⁴ Baldwin of Boulogne's decision to adopt a new name for his son grew from a desire to create a separate identity from the Flemish comital family. We have indirect evidence for the continued consciousness of this tie in the mid-eleventh century with Gerberge of Boulogne's decision to name her daughter Judith, which was the name of her great, great, great, grandmother (Baldwin I of Flanders' wife). Her husband, Frederic duke of Lower Lorraine, was not of Carolingian descent, so the choice of name for their daughter reflects Gerberge's heritage rather than her husband's. Knowledge of Countess Elstrude and her sons, Arnulf I and Adalulf, and thus the familial ties between the two houses, continued in the mid-twelfth century, as can be seen in several forgeries written for St Peter's Gent.⁴⁵ Lambert d'Ardres,

⁴³ There were four genealogies written for the Flemish counts: Witger of St Bertin's (951–959), one from St Peter's Gent (c. 1050–1109); another from St Bertin (1110–1130); and Lambert of St Omer's (in his *Liber Floridus*, 1110–1130); (Bethman, 1851) 9:301–6. Witger's and the twelfth-century St Bertin genealogies mention Adalulf, the other two do not. In addition there is a late tenth/early eleventh century document, *De Arnulfi comite*, written at St Peter's Gent, which states that Adalulf 'qui erat uterinus frater Arnulfi magni' had an illegitimate son Baldwin Balzo who was adopted by Arnulf and later acted as Arnulf II of Flanders's guardian; (Bethman 1851). The author is at pains throughout the short document to obscure Adalulf's legitimacy (using the term *uterinus frater*) and that of his heirs by only referring to his illegitimate son. The author also adds the fiction that Adalulf was killed in the forest by his own swineherd. The contemporary evidence of St Bertin for Adalulf's death from an illness is to be preferred not only because it is contemporary but also because Adalulf was the abbey's advocate, and therefore the chronicler was in a position to know how Adalulf had died.

⁴⁴ (Duby 1977): 152. Genealogies were often written to legitimize power, and the date for Witger's genealogy (951–959) suggests that Witger sought to legitimize Baldwin's rule in Boulogne and Ternois which stemmed from the exclusion of his cousins from their paternal inheritance; (Witger 1851). While Witger praises Adalulf for his bravery and military prowess, there is no indication through the remainder of the genealogy that any child of Adalulf existed. Throughout the text, Witger stresses Arnulf's Carolingian ancestry and praises him for a multitude of virtues, including his care for widows and orphan boys and the great generosity that he and his son, Baldwin, showered upon the Church. For contemporary evidence for knowledge of Adalulf's sons see: Flodoard, 152; Richer, 2:28. Aethelweard, in the letter to Abbess Matilda in the preface of his chronicle, notes that Elstrude was Arnulf's and Adalulf's mother; (Aethelweard 1976): 2.

⁴⁵ (Van Lokeren 1868); no. 156; (Bates 1998): no. 150. Bates persuasively argues that William I's confirmation the grants of Lewisham by Elstrude and Edward the Confessor to St Peter's Gent was a forgery made c. 1130–1155 by a Westminster

writing in the 1190s, reveals a continued sense of the familial ties between the two comital families, even if he errs in the details.⁴⁶

After the death of Arnulf I's sons, the division of the family's property favored the eldest son and the naming pattern indicates the evolution of a sense of lineage and primogeniture. The eldest son retained the county of Boulogne and the name Eustace, the second son the smaller county of Lens, and the third son, as in the case of Godfrey bishop of Paris and Baldwin, was dedicated to a life in the church. Although the Boulonnais comital family had many of the characteristics of a patrilineage, the names of children were primarily drawn from the maternal kin from the second quarter of the eleventh century into the last quarter of the twelfth. Eldest sons were named Eustace, a patronymic. Eustace I's children—Eustace II, Lambert, Gerberge, and Godfrey—were named after, respectively, their father, maternal grandfather, maternal grandmother, and maternal second cousin.⁴⁷ The names of Godfrey and Lambert were strongly associated with their family's Carolingian ancestry, particularly in Lotharingia. Eustace II inherited the county of Boulogne, and Lambert, the county of Lens. Godfrey was placed in the cathedral church of Arras and later became bishop of Paris, and Gerberge was married to Frederic duke of Lower Lorraine. Eustace II's children were Eustace III, Godfrey, Baldwin, and Ida who were named after their father, maternal grandfather, either maternal great uncle or paternal great-grandfather, and mother.⁴⁸ Lambert I has a son Lambert II. Gerberge and her nephew, Lambert II, named their daughters Judith, after his ancestor Judith, wife of Baldwin II. In Lambert II's case, it might also refer to his wife Adelaide's paternal grandmother, Judith. Eustace

scribe who produced other forgeries for Westminster and Ramsey; (Bates 1998): 498–499. Elstrude and Edward in all probability did grant Lewisham to St Peter's, Gent.

⁴⁶ (Lambert 1876): 24:565–70; Lambert writes that Arnulf and Adalulf were the sons of Count Baldwin and Elstrude. Then he introduces Sifrid the Dane who takes Guines from Adalulf, and whom Arnulf of Flanders recognizes as his vassal. Sifrid takes the Flemish count's daughter Elstrude in a marriage by capture. Their son Ardulf marries Matilda, daughter of Eustace I of Boulogne. Lambert states that Count Arnulf of Boulogne, whose father is never specified, had two sons, Eustace and Arnulf. Thus, Arnulf II of Flanders, Ardulf of Guines, and Eustace I (by marriage) were cousins.

⁴⁷ See Boulonnais genealogy.

⁴⁸ (Parisse 1981): 41. The choice of the name Baldwin might also reflect the long-standing friendship between Baldwin V of Flanders and Eustace I and Eustace II.

III inherited the counties of Boulogne and Lens and the English Honour of Boulogne; Godfrey, his maternal uncle's duchy of Lower Lorraine; and Baldwin was originally designated for the church, but later became king of Jerusalem.⁴⁹ Godfrey and Baldwin died without children. Eustace III's daughter's name—Matilda—followed in the tradition of her paternal great grandmother as well as her maternal aunt and inherited all her father's lands.⁵⁰ Matilda's children were Eustace IV, Baldwin, Matilda, William, and Mary.⁵¹ With the exception of William, all Matilda's children were named after her relatives: her father, uncle, herself or her aunt Matilda II of England (who was also her husband Stephen's aunt), and mother. Matilda's son William was born in December 1135, the same month his father, Stephen, seized the throne of England. He was named after his paternal grandfather William I—a choice which reflected his father's new position as king and conqueror. The initial division of property (c. 1146) was that Eustace IV was to inherit his mother's lands (and was the heir to his father's kingdom) and William, his father's Honour of Eye and the Warenne heiress. William inherited both parents' property including the county of Mortain, as his brother died childless. William also had no children; therefore, his sister Mary inherited the counties of Boulogne and Lens, and her daughters, Ida II and Matilda III, were named for their maternal great-grandmother and mother. The prominence of maternal kin names was a reflection of the high status of the wives' families; yet, the division of property is clearly based on primogeniture and a sense of lineage.

Despite the coalescence of a lineal perception of the family during Eustace I's lifetime, there was not a corresponding development of a family burial place. Adalulf of Boulogne, who was also the lay abbot of St Bertin, was buried at the abbey in 933. There is no information concerning where Baldwin I, Eustace I, his wife Matilda, or their sons Lambert and Godfrey were buried. A late thirteenth/early

⁴⁹ Baldwin did not remain an ecclesiastic. He left that life fairly early on. His first marriage was to Godehilde de Tosny, who died while accompanying him on the First Crusade.

⁵⁰ Eustace III had two sons, who were probably illegitimate—Raoul and Eustace. Raoul may be named after one of three people: one, Raoul/Ralf II de Tosny, brother-in-law of Eustace's brother Baldwin; two, Ralf, earl of Hereford, step-son of Eustace II and uncle of Eustace III; or three, Ralf II de Tosny, father of Ralf III de Tosny.

⁵¹ Baldwin and Matilda did not survive infancy.

fourteenth-century genealogy of the counts of Boulogne states that St Wolmer (Samer) was the burial place of the tenth- and eleventh-century counts. There is independent evidence that Eustace II was buried there, and the later eleventh- and twelfth-century patronage of the house by the comital family makes the genealogy's statement credible. In the twelfth century, the counts and countesses of Boulogne were buried at a favored foundation—Ida at Le Wast, Eustace III at Rumilly, his wife, Mary at Bermondsey, Godfrey and Baldwin at the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, and Matilda, Stephen, and Eustace IV at Faversham. Stephen's and Matilda's son, William, was buried at Montmorel Abbey; Baldwin and Matilda at Holy Trinity Aldgate. Their daughter Mary's burial place is unknown.

Until the reign of Eustace II, the family's self-identity revolved around their distinguished royal ancestry as can be seen in the iconography on their coins and the naming pattern within the family. Although his territories were not extensive, Eustace I's ancestry was noteworthy and helped him win the hand of Matilda of Louvain. With the added Carolingian luster of Matilda's family, their son Eustace II won the hand of first the Anglo-Saxon princess, Goda, and then Ida of Lorraine. Ida's piety and Eustace II's military prowess put a strong stamp on the family's identity.⁵² Under Ida's influence St Wolmer, Samer was reformed, and three new abbeys were founded within the county—St Wolmer (Boulogne), Le Wast, and Capelle. In addition, a new parish church (outside the city ramparts) was built and dedicated to St Nicholas, the patron saint of sailors and pilgrims to the Holy Land.⁵³ Ida's piety and personality won her the friendship of Anselm of Bec. It also secured monks from St Hugh of Cluny for her foundation of Le Wast and Marian relics from the King Alphonso VI. Ida was determined that her children would inherit the fine qualities of their ancestors, both through her training and her breast milk.⁵⁴ The chronicler Ralph de Diceto reports at some length Ida's promotion of the benefits of breast-feeding to both men and women. She argued that not nursing one's own child rendered the child imperfect and diminished its nobility by half.⁵⁵

⁵² Ida was probably educated at Munsterbilsen; (Huyghebaert 1981): 46.

⁵³ (Lottin 1983): 48.

⁵⁴ See pp. 262–3, 282–3.

⁵⁵ (Diceto 1876): 1:180–1.

Her hopes were realized when all three sons pledged to join the First Crusade. Guibert of Nogent relates,

The glorious woman used to say, when she marveled at the result of the journey and the success of her sons, that she had heard from the mouth of her son the duke a prediction of the outcome long before the beginning of the expedition. For he said that he wanted to go to Jerusalem not as a simple pilgrim, as others had done, but forcefully, with a large army, if he could raise one.⁵⁶

Leaving his brother Godfrey as king of Jerusalem, Eustace III and his mother celebrated the family's contribution to the success of the crusades. The Boulogne mint now struck deniers with a lion above the walls of Jerusalem; a reminder that it was he and Godfrey who fought on and breached the walls of the holy city when others had given up hope.

As God is my witness, I have heard, from men renowned for their truthfulness, who were present in the divine army, that after their unsuccessful assault upon the walls of the city, you would have seen the best of the knights who had returned from the walls striking their hands, shouting angrily, lamenting that God had deserted them. And I also learned, from sources no less reliable, that Robert, Count of Normandy, and the other Robert, Prince of Flanders, met and shared their mutual grief, weeping copiously, and declaring themselves the most wretched of men. . . . Duke Godfrey and his brother, Count Eustace, who had not stopped battling from their castle, steadily struck the lower walls with battering rams. . . . Meanwhile, Lietaud, one of the knights . . . was the first to leap onto the walls of the city. . . .⁵⁷

Eustace carried home to his mother Godfrey's gifts of Marian relics which were placed with great ceremony at Capelle.⁵⁸ Ida's foundation of Le Wast also extolled her sons' crusading zeal through the design of the portal, which has Arabic influences with its crenelated inner edge which is unique in northern France.⁵⁹ Ida's persistence

⁵⁶ (Guibert 1879): 4:147 and for English translation see (Levine 1997): 52.

⁵⁷ (Guibert 1879): 4:226; (Levine 1997): 129–30.

⁵⁸ (Pruvost, 1875–8): 107.

⁵⁹ Camille Enlart has argued that it bears a strong resemblance to the northern portal of Bab-el-Foutouh mosque in Cairo (completed in 1094); (Enlart 1927). Although the crusaders did not reach Egypt, they did send a delegation to Cairo to meet with the Caliph; (Enlart 1927): 10 based on the information in *Histoire belli sacri*. The delegation was led by Peter the chamberlain, but the other members are unknown. It is likely that at least one representative from Godfrey's contingent joined the delegation.

in acquiring Cluniac monks for the house also makes sense as the order was strongly associated with the crusade and the theology of crusading. Eustace III retired to his Cluniac foundation of Rumilly, but not before he lent his aid to the new order of the Knights Templar.

Eustace III's fame helped win him the hand of Mary, daughter of St Margaret and King Malcolm of Scotland. Their daughter and sole heir Matilda and her husband Stephen, also a son of a crusader, lauded the family's identity as crusaders and pious patrons of reformed orders.⁶⁰ There were close ties between founders of the Templar order, Hugh du Payens and Godfrey de St Omer, and the families of Stephen and Matilda.⁶¹ In addition the Grand Master of the Temple in England, Osto de Boulogne, was a *curialis* of their court.⁶² Matilda founded two Templar houses at Cowley and Cressing-Witham, to which Stephen and Eustace IV added gifts.⁶³ Stephen founded a separate Templar house, Eagle. In addition to their patronage of the Cistercians and Arrouaisians, Matilda and Stephen founded four Savignac houses, one Sulpician, and a house of Augustinian canons.⁶⁴ Faversham abbey, their final foundation, was a Cluniac house, whose construction was overseen by Matilda. Their choice of order reflected Cluny's associations not only with the crusades but also their families—Stephen's brother Henry was a Cluniac monk, and his mother, Matilda's father and grandmother had all retired to Cluniac houses.⁶⁵ Faversham, as a royal mausoleum, was designed to dazzle and to herald the family's dynastic ambitions.⁶⁶ The eastern end of the quire was extended six bays to house the royal tombs.

⁶⁰ (Tanner 2003): 143–44. RRAN3, nos. 24–26, 195, 196, 198; (Bouvet 1960).

⁶¹ (Gervers 1982): no. 212; (Green 1992): 105 and n. 104.

⁶² (Lees 1935): xlviii–ix; RRAN3, nos. 195, 272, 843.

⁶³ RRAN3, nos. 843–47, 850–53, 865; (Lees 1935) 43, 71.

⁶⁴ Furness (Savignac, 1123–5), Longvilliers (Savignac, 1135), Buckfast (Savignac, 1136), Coggeshall (Savignac, 1140), Lillechurch (St Sulpice, 1148), Ivychurch (Augustinian). See n. 60 for Matilda's gifts. For Stephen's grants to the Arrouaisians and Cistercians: RRAN3, nos. 25, 114, 194, 737, 838, and 874.

⁶⁵ Faversham was colonized from Bermondsey abbey and its first prior, Clarembald, was from this house. Bermondsey was the site of Countess Mary's burial, and Matilda herself may have been educated there. Mary's gift to Bermondsey was confirmed by Stephen. AMB, 3:432; RRAN3, no. 91; (Gervase 1879): 1:138.

⁶⁶ (Tanner 2003): 144–45; Elizabeth M. Hallam, A (Hallam 1982): 369–70. Although Henry II honored his promise to protect Faversham, by the early thirteenth century the house was in financial difficulties. The house was still functioning at the Dissolution, but by Charles II's reign the building was in ruins.

It also housed a monument decorated with Burgundian scalloped moldings and red, purple, and gold paint.⁶⁷ Tiles in the quire were decorated with four rampant lions in a medallion.⁶⁸ The royalist symbolism is evident, but there may also be connotations of crusading imagery with the Cluniac-Burgundian moldings and the lions reflecting the conquest of Jerusalem.⁶⁹

Pride in the family's devotion to God and distinguished lineage can also be seen in the *Vita S. Idae*, written c. 1130 probably at Countess Matilda's behest.⁷⁰ The author, a monk of Le Wast, begins by praising Ida's lineage. Her father is depicted as honored above all others at the German court for his merits and power, and her mother was of equal nobility.⁷¹ Her brother, Godfrey, is lauded for his military deeds and ability, and Ida for learnedness, humility, and love of heavenly matters.⁷² Ida, as a youth, received a vision of the sun descending from the sky to rest in her breast, which told her that her destiny was to bear children who would rule with great renown. The worthy husband of Ida is then introduced—Eustace II, who is a scion of Charlemagne, a most noble hero, ruler of a great and powerful dominion, and whose deeds and character were known far and wide.⁷³ Ida's arrival in Boulogne was greeted with great

⁶⁷ (Philip 1968): 7–17, 36; (Tefler 1965). Faversham was 370 ft. in length.

⁶⁸ (Philip 1968): 41. The western arm of the nave had cylindrical piers with spiral moldings, internal basket capitals, and chevron moldings; (Philip 1968): 10.

⁶⁹ According to the *Chanson de Jerusalem*, it was Eustace and Baldwin who were the commanders in charge of attacking the Lion's Gate of Jerusalem; (Thorpe 1992): 64.

⁷⁰ The *Vita* was written between 1118 and 1135, probably by a monk of Le Wast. For a discussion of the dating and authorship of the *Vita* see: (Nip 1995): 212; (Huyghebaert 1981): 44–47; and (de Gaiffier 1968): 67–69.

⁷¹ (monk 1675): 141.

⁷² (monk 1675): 141. 'Illis nimirum alta & humilia pro ratione gerentibus praedicta puella litteris imbuta est, usque ad aetatem congruam in annis suis puerilibus. Ditata vero moribus honestis, non vitae praesentis intendebat lasciviae, sed magis ac magis ad amorem suscitabat caelestis patriae; per quod satis compertum notumque est, quanta qualive replebatur gratia. (Without a doubt, having led these children towards heaven and humility for the sake of reason, the previously mentioned girl was steeped in letters right up to the time of her marriage in her childish years. Enriched by honest customs, she did not aim at the present life or wantonness, but more and more she longed for the love of the heavenly Father, which was sufficiently discovered and noted, so much was she filled with grace.)'

⁷³ (monk 1675): 141. 'Fuit namque tempore praefati Ducis Godefridi heros quidam genere nobilissimus Carolo etiam Regis consanguinitate proximus, corpore & animo actuque seculari validissimus, longe lateque fama nominatissimus, nomine potens Eustachius. Hic autem Boloniae Comes & Dominus praerat, quae civitas magno

rejoicing and ceremony, and the author then moves quickly to describe the product of Ida's and Eustace's marriage. Eustace III, the eldest son, is said to be a 'powerful man and distinguished in all his actions and in his lay religious observance,' and that 'imitating the nobility of his father, as was noted, he held his inheritance courageously.'⁷⁴ Godfrey, the second son, shared his grandfather's name and inherited his duchy, conquered the Muslims, and through the grace of God was predestined to be the king of Jerusalem.⁷⁵ Baldwin, the third son, was his brothers' equal in his deeds, but a more powerful king of Jerusalem than even his brother.⁷⁶ The brothers' outstanding characters were transmitted to them not only through the example of their parents' lives but through Ida's breast milk. For Ida did not want them to imbibe bad morals from a lowly-born wet nurse, and therefore nursed her sons herself.⁷⁷ Thus, each of the brothers are shown to share the military prowess of their father and the piety of their mother, and to have inherited the distinguished qualities of their ancestors.

As important as physical motherhood was in stamping Ida's sanctity, the author spends the remainder of the *vita* enumerating her spiritual motherhood to the Boulonnais inhabitants and ecclesiastics. The author recounts Ida's dedication to succoring the poor, fostering

dominatu & potentia tunc divulgata fuerat. (For there was at that time of the aforesaid Duke Godfrey, the most nobly born hero, also a near blood relation of King Charles, the strongest in body and spirit and in secular deeds, most renowned by name far and wide, by name, the powerful Eustace. Moreover this lord and count of Boulogne ruled the city which was widely known as a great dominion and power then.)'

⁷⁴ (monk 1675): 142. 'Primus filiorum ejus fuit Eustachius, vir potens & in omnibus actibus seculi ac religione laicali egregius. Iste vero patris imitans nobilitatem ejus, ut notum est, tenuit haereditatem viriliter.'

⁷⁵ (monk 1675): 142. 'Secundus quippe fuit Godefridus, avi sui vocabulo & possessione Dux vocitatus, qui Deo propitiante, Turcis triumphatis, sub nova gratia Rex primus fuit in Jerusalem praedestinatus.'

⁷⁶ (monk 1675): 142. 'Huic autem natus posterior, sed non minus in actu potentiae potentior fuit tertius, bonae memoriae Balduinus, Acconensis civitatis eidemque subjacentium proconsul & Dominus, ac demum, post obitum fratris sui Godefridi, Regis ut vices expleret, honore regio ditatus.'

⁷⁷ (monk 1675): 142. 'Factum est autem, cum tantorum venerabilis Ida mater esset filiorum, adhuc illis in cunabulis jacentibus, non sinebat alienis sed propriis lac dari uberibus, timens ut pravis contaminarentur moribus. (Moreover it happened that when the venerable Ida was the mother of such great sons, with these sons established in their cradles, she did not permit the to be fed by foreign breasts, but gave them milk from her own breasts, fearing that they might be contaminated by perverse morals.)'

the religious life of the county through her patronage, and raising her three sons. In all these things she was encouraged by her husband, and a deep respect and affection grew between them.⁷⁸ It is during her widowhood that Ida's deep devotion to God produced miracles. In the first miracle recounted, a woman with dropsy was cured of her ills when Ida raised her from the abbey porch with her own hand and touched the afflicted limbs.⁷⁹ When a young deaf-mute girl entered Capelle with her mother during divine services, her shivering drew Ida's attention. Drawing the girl under her cloak to warm her, Ida's touch cured the girl, who cried out 'Mother, mother!'⁸⁰ In life and at her tomb, several other miraculous cures are described, including how a young Matilda, patiently suffering from a very high fever, prayed at her grandmother's tomb and was restored to health.⁸¹ In her charity as well as her monastic foundations this motherly concern is evidenced. Those in need in the Boulonnais, as elsewhere, were given relief. She promoted sound spiritual health through the reform of St Wolmer, Samer, and the founding of Le Wast, Capelle, and St Wolmer, Boulogne; she was aided in her efforts by St Hugh of Cluny and the saintly Bishop Jean of Th rouanne. She generously saw to ornamentation of the lord's house, but like another Esther, did not value her worldly position.⁸²

As Ren e Nip has argued, the mother imagery has strong Marian overtones. Ida, like Mary, obediently followed God's will after she received the divine 'annunciatio', and both breast-fed their child(ren).⁸³ Ida's charity and mercy towards the young deaf-mute girl also is strongly reminiscent of Marian miracles in which the Virgin intervenes on the behalf of 'repeat' sinners.⁸⁴ After the original cure, the young girl falls into sin and is punished by the loss of her cure on two separate occasions. Ida intervenes in both instances, and God

⁷⁸ (monk 1675): 142.

⁷⁹ (monk 1675): 142, c. 2.

⁸⁰ (monk 1675): 143-4, c. 3.

⁸¹ (monk 1675): 142-3. She cured the paralyzed man on a trip to England after dropping alms in his box. The author mentions the cure of three mentally ill youths; (monk 1675): 145. For Matilda's cure: (monk 1675): 145, c. 4. Ida's body and clothing remained uncorrupted in its grave; (monk 1675): 144-5.

⁸² (monk 1675): 142-143.

⁸³ (Nip 1995): 213-4.

⁸⁴ Nip discusses the parallels to the late medieval 'cloak Madonnas' and the *mater misericordiae*; (Nip 1995): 215.

restores the girl's hearing and speech. The parallels to the Virgin are reinforced by the location of the girl's first miraculous cure—Capelle monastery which was dedicated to the Virgin and housed the family's prized relics of the Virgin's hair.

Illustrious ancestry, celebrated military prowess, and notable piety (particularly after Eustace II's and Ida's marriage), were not just lauded within the family as the distinguishing traits of their family identity; the same picture emerges from the descriptions of their contemporaries. Anna Comnena comments on Godfrey's fierce pride in his nobility, bravery, and illustrious ancestry.⁸⁵ Albert of Aachen recounts a speech in which Baldwin extols his brother Godfrey as a duke of a great realm, first among the Roman emperor's nobles and, 'hereditario jure suorum antecessorum nobilium, ab omni honoratur exercitus,' and therefore one whose counsel was sought by low and high alike.⁸⁶ The earliest extended depictions of the comital family of Boulogne, excluding praise of Adalulf in the *Chronicle of St Bertin*, comes from *Genealogia comitum Boloniensium*, the *Carmen des Hastingsae proelio*, and the Bayeux tapestry, all produced in the late eleventh century. Success on the battlefield prompted the production of these three sources. While the genealogy, by the nature of the genre, examines and celebrates the royal and ducal heritage of the Boulonnais family, the *Carmen* and the Bayeux tapestry extol Eustace II's martial heroism.

The genealogy of the comital family of Boulogne, written between 1082 and 1087 by a monk of St Amand abbey (making it the third earliest surviving comital genealogy), establishes the preeminence of the counts of Boulogne by tracing the family's Merovingian and Carolingian ancestors, who in turn were the product of the distinguished Trojan Priam.⁸⁷ The transmission of royal blood to the house of Boulogne

⁸⁵ (Comnena 1967): 250. Baldwin shared this pride.

⁸⁶ (Albert 1844–1895): 4:345. '... by law of his most noble ancestors, honored by all the army.'

⁸⁷ (Bethman 1851): 9:299–301. The author used already established royal genealogies but grafted onto this a genealogy of the Boulonnais and Namur comital houses. (Genicot 1975): 226–41. Genicot minutely analyses the fourteen known manuscripts of the genealogy, establishing date ranges, origins of the original manuscripts, the relationships between the manuscripts, the patterns in the provenance of the manuscripts of the genealogy, and discusses the evolution of the contents. Georges Duby and others have argued that the production of these genealogies is a reflection of the shift from bilateral kinship to the system of patrilineage and the concurrent shift among the nobility to hold their lands and offices through inheritance rather than by favor of the king; (Duby 1977): 154.

was through the marriage of Gerberge, daughter of the Carolingian Charles duke of Lorraine to Lambert II of Louvain, whose granddaughter Matilda married Eustace I.⁸⁸ The genealogy does not give any information about Godfrey's paternal ancestry prior to that of his grandfather Eustace I (1024–47).⁸⁹ Although the clerics who wrote the genealogies often display a chronologically and geographically limited memory, it probably was not a lack of information which produced the lacuna. Lens, a Boulonnais holding since the later tenth century, is quite close to St Amand, and Eustace II had given the ville of Louches to the abbey by 1060. Guided by his goal to substantiate Godfrey of Boulogne's right to rule the duchy of Lower Lorraine, the author determined Godfrey's paternal ancestry before Eustace I was irrelevant.⁹⁰ Godfrey had battled for four years against Albert III of Namur to establish his control over the lands he had inherited from his maternal uncle, Godfrey the Hunchback, duke of Lower Lorraine. Through the omission of Albert III's title of vice-duke, which had been granted to him by King Henry IV, and by his emphasis on Godfrey as duke and successor of his grandfather Duke Godfrey the Bearded, the author celebrates Godfrey's martial success against Albert and legitimates his power in Lorraine.⁹¹

Unlike the two earliest comital genealogies, written for the Flemish counts by monks in houses with strong ties to the counts, the patronage of St Amand by the Boulonnais comital house was restricted to the gift noted above. The genealogy therefore offers a glimpse at

⁸⁸ According to the genealogy, Lothar's younger brother Charles duke of Lorraine had two daughters Ermengarde and Gerberga. Ermengarde was the mother of Albert II of Namur and his brother Henry count of Durboi. Gerberga's son was Henry of Bruxelles who had three children: Count Lambert, Henry, and Matilda. Matilda married Eustace of Boulogne, and their sons were Eustace and Lambert. Eustace II married Ida, daughter of Duke Godfrey, and their three sons were Eustace, Godfrey, and Baldwin.

⁸⁹ (Guenée 1978): 456–459; (Werner 1977): 26–30. The author's chronological limitations can also be seen in the error of making Henry of Bruxelles the father of Matilda of Louvain, wife of Eustace I, when in actuality he was her brother.

⁹⁰ (Genicot 1975): 274–6. The production of genealogies was often prompted by a contested succession either within the family or between the heir and the original grantor of the lands or honors: (Duby 1977): 152; (Guenée 1978): 450; (Spiegel 1983): 47; (Genicot 1975): 18–21. See also (Shklar 1971): 129–154. Shklar's analysis starts from the rebellious possibilities inherent in genealogies, which serve to present eminent ancestors as a source and justification for current honors and power. Thus, any inquiry into an established ruler's ancestry is potentially a challenge. A corollary of this would be that the creation of a genealogy is an assertion and claim to authority and honor directed at a rival.

⁹¹ (Bethman 1851): 9:301–302.

contemporary perception (free of panegyric elements) of the Boulonnais comital family as distinguished by their descent from the Carolingians and their kinship to the ducal house of Lower Lorraine. The author offers no direct commentary on the character of anyone recorded in the genealogy with the exception of Ida who is praised as 'noble by birth and character.' Nine copies of the genealogy were made between 1087 and 1119 in northern France, but none of the surviving manuscripts were written in a Boulonnais religious house.⁹² The proliferation of copies suggests a widespread interest in the family, particularly after the three brothers set off on the First Crusade. The brothers' success in the Holy Land was seen as part of their inheritance from their parents—their mother's piety and their father's skill on the battlefield.

Written to commemorate Duke William II of Normandy's victory at the battle of Hastings, the author (probably Bishop Guy of Amiens), highlights the contributions of Eustace II in several key moments in the poem. Under the poet's pen, Eustace is a model soldier and ally: prompt in his aid, skillful and persistent in decimating the enemy. In the final clash, it is the courage and skill of Eustace and Duke William that winnows the English from the field of battle. Calling Eustace to his side, William and Eustace lead the final assault on Harold.

Under such auspices, the count and the duke, joining forces, renewed the battle together wherever the clashing arms glittered most brightly. By the swords of both the field was cleared of English, and a number deserted, tottering and exhausted. As a waning wood falls to the stroke of the axe, so the forest of Englishmen was brought to nothing. Now the victor, joyful France almost ruled the field; already she was seeking the spoils of war when the duke sighted the king far off on the steps of the hill, fiercely hewing to pieces the Normans who were besetting him. He called Eustace to him; leaving the conflict in that place to the French, he brought strong aid to those hard pressed. Like another Hector [i.e. Eustace], Hugh the noble heir of Ponthieu, escorted these two, prompt in service; fourth was Giffard, known by his father's surname: these four bore arms for the destruction of the king. . . . The first, cleaving his [Harold's] breast through the shield

⁹² Of these nine, Genicot has identified firmly the origins of three which are from St Amand (original), Anchin abbey, and Mont Saint Quentin, with a further three possible identifications of Reims, the north of France, and Soissonais; (Genicot 1975): 239, Tableau I.

with his point, drenched the earth with a gushing torrent of blood; the second smote off his head below the protection of the helmet and the third pierced the inwards of his belly with his lance; the fourth hewed off his thigh and bore away the severed limb. . . .⁹³

[In the aftermath of Harold's death . . .]

Ever vigilant, the son of Hector [Eustace] pursued the fleeing with slaughter; Mars served as his squire, death raged, his comrade. Till it was fully day he spent the night in varying conflict, not overcome by sleep, nor suffering himself to dream.⁹⁴

In both passages, the poet refers to Eustace as Hector—a title which would call to the audience's mind the hero of the Trojan war.⁹⁵ As the eldest son of Priam, Hector led the allied forces, and it was his sword that cut down the Greeks' best fighters.⁹⁶ In addition to his skill on the battlefield, Hector was also distinguished by his wisdom in council.⁹⁷ As 'the son of Hector' the poet not only lauded Eustace's bravery and prowess, but also his royal descent from Priam, founder of the Merovingian dynasty, and thus, Eustace's Carolingian ancestry.⁹⁸

Eustace's behavior throughout the poem is exemplary, in both senses of the word. The poet tells us that both Hugh of Ponthieu and a Boulonnais vassal emulate his actions, and the emulation of others is suggested by the large band of warriors who surround

⁹³ (Muntz 1972): 34–35, Appendix B, part II and Appendix D for a discussion of the role of the non-Norman members of the Norman host. The translation is Morton and Muntz's with the exception of the beginning of the penultimate sentence; 'Aduocat Eustachium; linquens ibi prelia Francis/Oppressis ualidum contulit auxilium/Alter ut Hectorides, Pontiui nobilis heres/Hos comitatur Hugo, promptus in officio. . . .' Their translation, 'Like a second son of Hector, Hugh . . .' obscures the Latin's reference back to Eustace with the 'Alter ut Hectorides. . . .' This reading is strengthened by the direct reference to Eustace as Hector a few lines later in the poem which is given in the second passage. See (Muntz 1972) 117–118 for discussion of the Hectorides.

⁹⁴ (Muntz 1972): 36–37.

⁹⁵ Knowledge of Troy's fall was drawn from Dares the Phrygian's account, which was strongly pro-Trojan. (Keithley 1981): 5. In the early ninth century, the abbey of Reichnau had a copy of Dares; in the tenth century, St Remy, Reims, Cologne, and Fleury had copies of Dares; (Lesne 1938): 440, 604, 699, and 556. Cluny had a copy by the eleventh century, and St Bertin's library had a copy by 1104; (Lesne 1938): 4:530, 632; (Mantius 1931): 3:243.

⁹⁶ (Dares 1996): 148, 149, 150–2. 'Agamemnon called all the leaders to council and urged them to enter the fray and try to kill Hector especially, for Hector had slain some of their bravest commanders.' (Dares 1996): 150.

⁹⁷ (Dares 1996): 151.

⁹⁸ (Tanner 1993): 70–76.

Eustace when the poet first introduces him. Hugh followed Eustace to the final encounter between William the Conqueror and the English king Harold; and earlier in the battle Eustace provides a worthy example, to his own men as well as the duke's other companions.

But when the javelin was cast, the horse received the blow. It fell to the ground, and the duke was on foot and filled with rage! He wondered how he could defend himself or what to do, for he was stunned to have been robbed of two horses in a single encounter. . . . [William kills the man who had unhorsed him] And then Count Eustace, sprung from noble ancestors, surrounded by a great band of warriors, hastened to be held first to the duke's aid and became a foot-soldier so that he might depart mounted. There was a certain knight whom the count had reared; what Eustace had done for his commander, that man did for him.⁹⁹

In these three short passages, Eustace emerges as a preeminent warrior and a hero of the battle. This image was current not only during the generation of the combatants; the poem enjoyed a continued popularity in the twelfth century. Copies were made c. 1100 and again between c. 1125 and c. 1135.¹⁰⁰ The provenience of the copies—the abbey of St Eucharius-Matthias, Trier—had strong ties to the abbey of St Jacques, Liège and the bishop of Liège which in turn was strongly allied to the ducal house of Lorraine, and thus, through Countess Ida and Godfrey of Boulogne to the Boulonnais comital family.¹⁰¹ The timing of the copies was probably occasioned first by the alliance between Eustace III of Boulogne and Henry I of England in the autumn of 1101, and second, as Davis argued, by the marriage of Matilda of Boulogne and Stephen count of Mortain in 1125.¹⁰² The new transcriptions of the poem reinforced the societal perception of the Boulonnais comital family as one distinguished for martial skill.

Eustace's contribution to the victory at Hastings was also celebrated on the Bayeux tapestry. The Boulonnais count appears at a key moment in the battle, along with Odo of Bayeux, when a rumor of the duke's death had prompted the flight of some of the Norman

⁹⁹ (Muntz 1972): 32–33.

¹⁰⁰ (Davis 1978): 253–255 and (Engels 1979): 11–13. Engels' argument nuances but does not overturn Davis' analysis of the dating of the manuscripts.

¹⁰¹ (Muntz 1972): lxii.

¹⁰² (Davis 1978): 258.

contingent.¹⁰³ Eustace and Odo help Duke William rally the Normans to renew their attack on the English.¹⁰⁴ If the reports of William's death had not been squashed, the outcome of the battle would have been in all probability very different, as the death of a commander generally prompted his troops to flee the field. This certainly happened when Harold died at Hastings. Eustace is depicted on horseback carrying a ganfanon in one hand and pointing to William with the other. The ganfanon was a symbol of the ban (a formerly royal power coopted by the great magnates); it routinely appeared on seals as a symbol of rule.¹⁰⁵ Eustace's ganfanon on the Bayeux tapestry is decorated with a footed cross with four besants (one in each quadrant), just as one sees on Eustace II's coins and those of his descendants. Throughout the tapestry, the 'librettist' provides a terse account of the scene below, identifying only a few of the figures.¹⁰⁶ Eustace and Odo are the only members of Duke William's fighting force who are specifically named during the battle. The general anonymity of the majority of individuals depicted on the Tapestry gives further prominence to Eustace and his role in the victory.

The impact of the tapestry upon Eustace's fame and his family's reputation is impossible to ascertain, primarily because it is not known who commissioned the tapestry, where it was displayed, nor how often. The most prevalent theory is that Odo of Bayeux ordered the tapestry made between 1067 and 1082, in a workshop associated with St Augustine's, Canterbury, and that the piece was displayed in Bayeux cathedral at least on an annual basis, and quite possibly in the bishop's hall in his various residences.¹⁰⁷ Andrew Bridgeford

¹⁰³ (Muntz 1972): 37; WP/GG, 138; (Rud 1988): 86–89; 'Hic Harold Rex interfectus est. Et fuga verterunt angli (Here King Harold is killed. And the English turned in flight).'

¹⁰⁴ (Brown 1990): 8, 9.

¹⁰⁵ (Bedos-Rezak 1993): ch. 6, 15.

¹⁰⁶ Specifically identified in the tapestry: in the panels prior to the landing at Pevensey: Odo bishop of Bayeux, Guy of Ponthieu, Edward the Confessor, Turolde, Conon of Brittany, and Archbishop Stigand; in the panels depicting the invasion and the battle: Robert of Mortain, Odo of Bayeux, Vital, Wadard, Leofwine, Gyrth, Harold, and Eustace. See Bridgeford for a succinct and persuasive discussion of the question of whether the 'E . . . ius' identifies Eustace of Boulogne; (Bridgeford 1999): 180–4.

¹⁰⁷ The first direct evidence for the tapestry is in 1476 when it is recorded that the tapestry was displayed each year on the nave during the feast and octave of the relics. Adela of Blois is said to have a tapestry of the conquest in her bed-chamber; (Abrahams 1926). For a more general discussion of the date and origins

has recently argued that Eustace himself commissioned the tapestry and gave it to Odo as part of his negotiations to secure the release of his *nepos* after his rebellion in the autumn of 1067.¹⁰⁸ No matter who the patron was, it seems likely that Odo displayed the tapestry reasonably frequently. Not only was it a luxury item that displayed the owner's wealth and taste, its theme would have been pleasing to the bishop and his guests.

Although William of Jumièges and William of Poitiers, writing for a Norman audience and in the wake of the 1067 conflict in Kent, had little positive to say about Eustace II, the twelfth-century chroniclers routinely lauded his character and deeds, and those of his descendants.¹⁰⁹ Orderic Vitalis recounts that Eustace II was of great

of the tapestry see: (Brooks 1997); (Hart 1997); (Bertinsstein 1986): ch. 1. C.R. Dodwell has suggested that the tapestry has strong parallels to the chansons de geste, and therefore the bishop's hall was a more likely setting for the piece; (Dodwell 1997). Wolfgang Grape has argued that the tapestry was made at Bayeux, rather than in Kent, but still at the behest of Odo of Bayeux; (Grape 1994). Shirley Brown has posited a slightly later date for the tapestry's manufacture. She argues that the 'librettist' of Bayeux tapestry sought to convey the idea that the victory at Hastings was 'a direct result of an action stemming from the alliance of Odo of Bayeux, Duke William, and Eustace of Boulogne,' in the hopes of stimulating William's mercy towards his brother after the 1082 imprisonment. (Brown 1990).

¹⁰⁸ (Bridgeford 1999). Bridgeford's argument is plausible, but more comparison of the tapestries produced in the Pays Bas, Kent, and Normandy in the mid to late eleventh century is needed before coming to a final judgment where the tapestry was made. Cyril Hart argues vigorously for the tapestry's production at St Augustine's Kent; (Hart 1997) and (Hart 2000). '... the art-historical evidence for the design and manufacture of the *Bayeux Tapestry* at St Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury is now so extensive and formidable that such a provenance should be taken as an established fact.' (Hart 1997): 7.

¹⁰⁹ William of Jumièges wrote his *Gesta Normannorum ducum* in late 1070 or early 1071, and does not mention Eustace in his account of the conquest and only discusses his rebellion in 1067; WJ/GND, 2:176–8. This omission is both a reflection of William's typical brevity when discussing military actions as well as Eustace's recent rebellion which made him a persona non grata. At a crucial moment towards the end of the battle, William of Poitiers paints a picture of Eustace as a coward turning tail and urging retreat upon the duke; WP/GG, 138. None of the other contemporary accounts relate this incident, and it seems likely that William used the scene to foreshadow Eustace's treachery later in the year. Orderic Vitalis, using William of Poitiers' account as one of his sources, does repeat the story; OV, 2:178. Eustace's restoration to favor and his status as a valued continental ally in 1067 and after 1071 meant that William of Poitiers, who completed the *Gesta Guillelmi* by 1077, had to balance his portrayal of Eustace; 'sed parcendum sentimus personae multifariam illustri, comiti nominato, qui reconciliatus nunc in proximis Regis honoratur (but we feel should spare this illustrious person, called count, who is now reconciled with the king and honored by being in his immediate circle).' WP/GG, 184. See (Davis 1981): 83.

nobility, namely of Carolingian stock, and that his wife was known both for her liberality and her religiosity.¹¹⁰ The martial prowess of their sons are highlighted in the crusade chronicles, and four copies of the Boulonnais genealogy were included in late twelfth-century collections of works on the kingdom of Jerusalem.¹¹¹ The bulk of attention in the contemporary accounts of the crusades are given to Godfrey and Baldwin, in part because of the size of the army that Godfrey brought, but also because the two men were the first rulers of the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem.¹¹² Godfrey attracted praise for his bravery and skill, but also for his equitable temperament.¹¹³ Fulcher of Chartres praised him as, 'Quem ob nobilitatis excellentiam, et militiae probitatem, atque patientiae modestiam, necnon et morum elegantiam . . . (Which because of the superiority of (his) noble birth, and military prowess and patient discretion and also his refined character).'¹¹⁴ Peter Tudebode calls him 'inclito duci Godefredo' and 'audax et fortis'.¹¹⁵ Baldwin gained renown for his brilliance as a warrior, as well as his learning.¹¹⁶ Albert of Aachen praises his 'sanguine

¹¹⁰ OV, 2:206. 'Erat enim idem comes magnae nobilitatis ex prosapia scilicet Karoli Magni Francorum strenuissimi regis . . . generosam et religiosam nomine Ittam habuit uxorem, Godefredi Lotharingiae ducis sororem . . . (For that same count was of great nobility namely from the family of Charles, the Great most active king of the Franks, . . . he had a generous and religious wife by the name of Ida, sister of Duke Godfrey of Lorraine).'

¹¹¹ (Genicot 1975): 238 and 239, Tableau I.

¹¹² For a full discussion of Eustace III's contribution to the First Crusade see (Tanner, forthcoming).

¹¹³ 'Godefridum Lotharingie ducem egregium.' [(Guerard 1841): 272]; 'audax and fortis' [GF, 19]; (skill with crossbow), 'illuistrissime', piety, and 'manus bello doctissima erat (most learned hand of war)' [(Albert 1844–1895): 4:324, 385, 481, 508]; 'Hic vultu elegans, statura procerus, dulcis eloquio, moribus egregius (elegant face, tall of stature, sweet eloquence of speech, distinguished/admirable of character); 'prior omnium Francorum principum (first among all the French princes)', 'militiae decus egregium (distinguished military exploits)' [(Robert 1844–95): 3:731, 743, 786]; Guibert, 149; 'and believing him no less temperate and wise than his brother, they brought Baldwin from Edessa [and made him king]'. For similar comments see: Expug., 3:505, 705. The Charleville poet praises Godfrey thus, 'That renowned Godfrey, foremost glory of the dukes, was the example of goodness and soldiery to all, whether in throwing the spear as far as a Parthian shoots his arrow, or piercing chain mail in close-quarters combat, or cutting into flesh and bone, fighting with the sword, or urging on the close-packed ranks on horseback or on foot.' (Gilo 1997): 12–15.

¹¹⁴ (Fulcher 1866): 3:361, 370.

¹¹⁵ (Tudebode 1844–95): 3:25, 26.

¹¹⁶ The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* characterizes Baldwin of Boulogne

nobilissimus, Rex . . . gloriosissimus ac victoriosissimus, Dei athleta fortissimus . . . (most noble by blood, most glorious and victorious king, strongest athlete of God).¹¹⁷ The *Gesta Francorum expugnantium Iherusalem* describes Eustace III as a ‘vir magnae audacitatis et probitatis (a man of great courage and prowess).’¹¹⁸ The brothers were described as ‘nobilissimi comites et bellatores inclyti’ and likened to lions, just before the walls of Jerusalem were breached.¹¹⁹ Although the chroniclers emphasized the brothers’ martial skill, their nobility and distinguished lineage were also commented on.¹²⁰ Albert of Aachen states that Baldwin came from the most noble blood, and the closing poem of the *Gesta Francorum expugnantium Iherusalem*, describes Godfrey and Baldwin as noble princes born to Eustace and Ida, who was descended from Charlemagne and sister of the renowned Duke Godfrey of Lorraine.¹²¹ Raoul of Caen, in his eulogy for Godfrey writes, ‘Adeo belligeri comitis et comitissae religiosissimae filius, ut etiam ab aemulo audire mereretur ab belli studium ecce pater; circa Dei cultum, ecce mater (Truly, son of a warlike/bellicose count and a most religious countess, so that even by the enemy he deserved to be recognized as his father by his zeal for war and his mother

as a a ‘vir inclitus’ and a ‘mirificus comes’; GF, 24. (Fulcher 1866): 3:337, 383, 424, 437, with phrases like ‘miles optimus’ and ‘eum bellatorem esse probissimum’. (Tudebode 1844–95): 3:10, 30, 31—‘sapiens Christi athleta Balduinus frater ejus (his brother Baldwin, wise athlete of Christ);’ ‘Balduinus, comes egregius, frater ducis Godefredi;’ and ‘mirificus comes’. Baldric of Dol calls Baldwin ‘miles acerrimus’ (Baldric): 4:34. (Albert 1844–1895): 4: 315, 352, 353, 547—‘viro clarissimo et bellicis invictissimo;’ ‘egregii et nominatissimi principis;’ and ‘virum nobilem et propugnatorem fortissimum’ and ‘viro litteris erudito’. WM/GR, 1:660, ‘Baldwin . . . sought after brilliant opportunities in which his bravery might shine forth. . . .’ William of Tyre, ‘In his youth, Baldwin was well nurtured in the liberal studies. He became a cleric, it is said, and, because of his illustrious lineage, held benefices commonly called prebends in the churches of Rheims, Cambrai and Liege. Later, however, for reasons unknown to us he laid aside the clerical habit, assumed military arms, and became a soldier.’ For the Latin: (Guillaume 1986): 1:453. For the English translation: (Guillaume 1943): 1:415.

¹¹⁷ (Albert 1844–1895): 4:707–8.

¹¹⁸ Expug., 4:514.

¹¹⁹ GTP, 5:369; (Robert 1844–95): 3:505.

¹²⁰ The anonymous *Versus de viris illustribus diocesis Tarvanensis* (written c. 1140) begins his list with Godfrey, Baldwin and Eustace ‘quos nobilis Ida, Christe, tuae genti feliciter edidit, omni;’ *Versus*, 5:539–40, (Moeller 1904): 191–2. Henry of Huntingdon describes Eustace II as a powerful man, worthy of remembrance, and his son Baldwin as ‘strenuissimus;’ HH, 614, 442.

¹²¹ (Albert 1844–1895): 4:708; Expug., 3:543.

by his nearly equal cultivation of God).¹²² In a panegyric poem to Godfrey, Ralph likens his spirit to that of Hector.¹²³ Guibert of Nogent, in his account of Godfrey's successes wrote,

Duke Godfrey, the son of Count Eustace of Boulogne, had two brothers: Baldwin, who ruled Edessa, and succeeded his brother as king of Jerusalem, and who still rules there; and Eustace, who rules in the county he inherited from his father. They had a powerful father, who was competent in worldly affairs, and their mother was, if I am not mistaken, a learned Lotharingian aristocrat, but most remarkable for her innate serenity and great devotion to God. The joys she received from such exemplary sons were due, we believe, to her profound religious belief. . . . All three, in no way inferior to their mother in honesty, flourished in great military deeds, as well as in their restraint of their behavior.¹²⁴

The union of traits of Eustace II and Ida was the heart of the twelfth-century perception of the Boulonnais family. After noting that Eustace II fought with Duke William at Hastings, Orderic describes their son Godfrey as a 'vir regii sanguinis a proavis Christianae professionis (a man of royal blood, descended from ancestors who had spread the Christian faith).'¹²⁵ The three brothers, in Orderic's eyes, were wealthy, virtuous, and blessed with increasing worldly honors, and these qualities were further enhanced by their deeds on the First Crusade.¹²⁶ William of Malmesbury, in his account of the crusades, singles out Godfrey for commendation. Godfrey, son of Eustace count of Boulogne, 'more ennobled maternally, as by that line he was descended from Charlemagne.'¹²⁷ William goes on to described how

¹²² (Ralph 1844–95): 3:615. Referring to Baldwin, Ralph again notes that the brothers were the sons of Count Eustace, 3:632; 'Is, a Godefrido duce comiteque Eustachio Eustachides tertius. . . .'

¹²³ (Ralph 1844–95): 3:627.

¹²⁴ (Guibert 1879):146–7; for English translation see (Levine 1997): 52.

¹²⁵ OV, 5:174.

¹²⁶ OV, 5:174. 'Itam [Idam] sororem Godefredi Lotharingiae ducis uxorem duxit, ex, ea Godefredum et Balduinum et Eustachium genuit, Godefredum quos gratia Dei diuitis et uirtutibus in hoc seculo multipliciter honorauit, precipueque in expeditione Ierosolimitana probauit, corroborauit atque sullimauit.'

¹²⁷ WM/GR, 1:654–657. 'Initium ergo laudum rex Godefridus occupat, qui Eustachii comitis Bononiensis, de quo tempore regis Edwardi dixi, filius, materno excellentior genere, ad Karoli magni spectabat lineam.' See also WM/GR, 1:608; 'Godefridus, dux Lotharingorum . . . nulli unquam militi uirtute secundus; de antiqua Karoli magni origine lineam trahens, et cui uere plurimus inerat Karolus tam sanguine quam mente . . . (Godfrey duke of the Lotharingians . . . second to none, at any time, in military virtue, deriving from the origin of the ancient lineage of

Godfrey shone among the crusaders for his military skill.¹²⁸ 'Renowned from these successes, he was exalted to be king of Jerusalem, more especially because he was conspicuous in rank and courage without being arrogant.'¹²⁹

William of Tyre, writing in the mid-1160s, construes the Boulonnais family's virtues and ancestry in much the same way as the ecclesiastical writers of the early twelfth century. William emphasizes the nobility of Godfrey's lineage, both paternal and maternal, but endows Eustace II with a more religious character than the earlier chroniclers. 'Many were the notable deeds he wrought, and his memory as a religious and God-fearing man is still held in reverence and pious recollection by the great men of the neighboring lands.'¹³⁰ Godfrey's mother was equally noble in her birth, and 'renowned among the matrons of the west at that time as preeminent for her piety and distinguished with the title of generosity.'¹³¹ Once again, Godfrey was an amalgam of his parents' virtues—skilled in warfare and assiduous in his religious observances—and his brothers shared in his character, 'all worthy, by dignity of character and eminent valor. . . .'¹³² William of Tyre also recounts an anecdote about Godfrey's youth

Charles the Great, and truly in that one was not only the blood but the spirit of Charles).'⁷

¹²⁸ WM/GR, 1:656. 'Godefridus, habilem ad arma aetatem nactus, imperatori Henrico (de quo proximus liber loquitur) militiam suam consecravit. Ingentibus ergo sudoribus ejus in se transferens amicitiam, egregia liberalitate Caesaris totam pro stipendio accepit Lotharingiam (Godfrey, having received arms at the suitable time from Emperor Henry (from who it is said freely [he is] most intimate) he consecrated his military service. Therefore, he translated himself into a friendship by his great efforts, and received all of Lotharingia as a payment for his military service by the outstanding liberality of the Caesar/Emperor).' WM/GR, 1:658. '... et quamvis durum et exercitatum militem haberet, nullus tamen eo vel prior in congressu, vel promptior in effectu, habebatur (and although he had hard military training, nevertheless no one was either in front of him in a fight or more ready in performance than him).'

¹²⁹ WM/GR, 1:658. 'His successibus clarus, in regem Ierosolymae levatur; propterea quod esset genere et virtute conspicuus, nec tamen superbus (For his illustrious successes he was raised to the kingship of Jerusalem; which was on account of he was of remarkable birth/family and virtue, but not arrogant).'

¹³⁰ (Guillaume 1943): 1:386. (Guillaume 1986): 1:426; 'Pater eius fuit dominus Eustachius senior, illustris et magnificus eiusdem regionis comes, cuius multa et memorabilia fuerunt opera, quorum adhuc apud seniores finitimarum regionum memoria est in benedictione et in pia recordatione viri religiosi et timentis deum, ...

¹³¹ (Guillaume 1986): 1:426. '... mater vero inclita et inter Occidentis nobiles matronas tum morum prerogativa, tum generositatis titulo preclara, Ida nomine, ...

¹³² (Guillaume 1943): 1:386–387; (Guillaume 1986): 1:426.

which reveals Ida's prophetic vision of her sons' future.¹³³ The three brothers were playing together and after a squabble had run to their mother. Eustace II, upon entering the room, asked his wife what was causing the commotion under her cloak. She replied, 'Three great princes, the first of whom will be a duke, the second a king, and the third a count.'¹³⁴ In William's summation of Baldwin of Boulogne's character, he commends Baldwin's 'magnanimity and courage, his experience in the art of war, and of all other excellent characteristics of a well-balanced mind. These traits had been transmitted to himself and his brothers as a perpetual inheritance from their forefathers.'¹³⁵

Although denied the chance to rule Jerusalem, Eustace III's epitaph celebrates his deeds as a crusader.¹³⁶ It was his arms which made the Persian empire tremble and helped bathe the East in the blood of the pagans. His actions were rewarded with the acquisition of holy relics, and he ended his days in the exercise of monastic life. Eustace III's retirement to a monastery was not unusual, nor is the contrast between his secular and religious careers, but the blend of martial skill and piety is an echo of the reputation his parents had achieved among their peers. Eustace's piety was matched by that of his wife, Mary, whose own epitaph praises her for her royal birth, generosity to the poor, and upright character.¹³⁷

At her father's death, Matilda was the only surviving member (in the direct line) of the Boulonnais comital family.¹³⁸ She was therefore the sole heir to their Carolingian, Anglo-Saxon, and Scottish

¹³³ (Guillaume 1986): 1:427.

¹³⁴ (Guillaume 1943): 1:388; (Guillaume 1986): 1:427. '... illa respondisse dicitur 'tres magni principes, quorum primus dux, secundus rex, tercius comes esset futurus.'

¹³⁵ (Guillaume 1943): 1:417; (Guillaume 1986): 1:454. 'Porro magnificentiam, animositatem et discipline militariam experientiam et ceteras animi bene dispositi dotes egregias, quas velut iure hereditario a progenitoribus in se transfusas tam ipse quam fratres eius perpetuo possederunt, ...'

¹³⁶ (Marrier 1614): 1352. Also in Philippe Luto, *Mémoires sur l'histoire de la ville de Boulogne-sur-Mer et de son comté*, AM, Boulogne, Ms. 169A (325) 420. See Appendix 4 for full text and translation.

¹³⁷ Countess Mary's epitaph, (Dugdale 1817–1830): 5:94. For the text and translation see Appendix 4.

¹³⁸ Eustace II's illegitimate son Geoffrey's grandson, Faramus, was a younger contemporary of Matilda. His name seems to be a variation on Faramundus who was Priam's son according to the French royal and Boulonnais genealogies. The name may also play on the word pharos and the famous lighthouse erected by order of Charlemagne at Boulogne.

royal blood, to the martial spirit of her grandfather, father and uncles, to the saintliness of her grandmothers, and to the piety of her parents and uncles. As a woman, Matilda's actions attracted less attention from the chroniclers, and none of them offer a direct assessment of her character. However, it is possible to discern from the descriptions of her actions that she was considered a persuasive and wise counselor and a resolute defender of her family's position. Richard of Hexham and the *Battle Chronicle* record that it was Matilda's counsel that induced Stephen to make peace with David of Scotland in 1138.¹³⁹ After her husband's capture at Lincoln, Matilda used both diplomacy and force to win Stephen's release.¹⁴⁰ The *Liber Eliensis* speaks of her lofty wisdom and prudence in winning Stephen's freedom, and John of Hexham stresses her use of promises, supplication, and negotiation for the release of her husband.¹⁴¹ The *Gesta Stephani* calls her 'a woman of subtlety and a man's resolution' and 'forgetting the weakness of her sex and a woman's softness she bore herself with the valour of a man; everywhere by prayer or price she won over invincible allies.'¹⁴² She and William of Ypres were the commanders of the royal forces during 1141—during the retreat to Kent, the re-taking of London, and at Winchester. She was in sole command of the siege of Dover in 1138; Orderic Vitalis does not criticize her for this martial activity, and notes the Boulonnais people 'gladly carried out their lady's commands.'¹⁴³ Although she played a prominent role in the governance of the realm, her actions never garnered her the criticism that her cousin Empress Matilda received.¹⁴⁴

Matilda's politic tongue, wise counsel, and courageous defense of her family were never attributed to her celebrated ancestors by the Anglo-Norman chroniclers. In fact, little is said about her lineage in

¹³⁹ (Richard 1886): 3:176; '... ipsa mediante, ac feminea calliditate atque protervitate instante....' (Searle 1980): 140.

¹⁴⁰ '... the queen, expecting to obtain by arms what she could not by supplication, brought a magnificent body of troops [to the London suburbs];' GS, 122.

¹⁴¹ '... per suam regina Matildem, que tanquam altera Saba tunc celsius sapientia et prudentia enituit,' (Blake 1962): 322; (John 1885): 2:310.

¹⁴² GS, 122, 126.

¹⁴³ OV, 6:520.

¹⁴⁴ The *Gesta Stephani* speaks of her haughtiness, blazing temper, and abusive language she used toward the Londoners and the queen's envoys; GS, 118, 122. John of Worcester states that '... she did not listen to good advice but harshly rejected their petition.' (John 1995): 3:296. Even William of Malmesbury criticizes her judgment, although not as directly; HN, 96 and 98.

general since her husband's rival, Empress Matilda and she shared descent from Queen Margaret, and the pro-Angevin chroniclers did not want to praise her family and thus, her son.¹⁴⁵ However, her distinguished heritage is mentioned on a few occasions. Bernard of Clairvaux addresses her as a 'most illustrious lady and beloved daughter,' and William of Malmesbury calls her father a man 'of distinguished birth and eminent alike for prudence and valour,' and notes that her mother was Henry I's sister-in-law, Mary.¹⁴⁶ The Furness abbey register (15th century) emphasizes Mathilda's Scottish royal blood, rather than her Carolingian descent through her paternal ancestors. Although the passage is titled 'Progenies regis Stephani,' Stephen is dealt with summarily as the son of Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror and nephew of King Henry I.¹⁴⁷ Matilda is introduced as a 'most noble lady, daughter of the vigorous Count Eustace of Boulogne and Mary, daughter of Christina [sic] sister of Queen Margaret of Scotland.'¹⁴⁸ The monk then goes on to state that Margaret and her sister Christina were related by blood to Edward the Confessor, and that Margaret's daughters, Matilda and Mary, married Henry I and Eustace III respectively. Thus, not only was Matilda the heir to the royal and holy character of Queen Margaret and King Edward, her son Eustace (like William aethling) represented the same union of English and Norman bloodlines that Edward was popularly believed to have predicted on his deathbed.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Orderic Vitalis states that her parents are Eustace count of Boulogne and Mary but says nothing of their characters or lineage in introducing Matilda; OV, 6:42. There are no references to Matilda's ancestry in Henry of Huntingdon, John of Worcester, Richard of Hexham, John of Hexham, Robert of Torigny, or the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

¹⁴⁶ (Scott 1953): no. 376. Bernard also calls her dear daughter and greets her 'affectionately' in letter no. 198. The affection expressed was probably not a conventional greeting but based on Bernard's aid to Matilda during a difficult child birth; *Vita S. Bernardi*, 14:373. HN, 98; '... quod esset is et amplis maioribus ortus, simulque prudentia et fortitudine iuxta insignis.'

¹⁴⁷ As Furness is located in Lancashire, the author's emphasis of Matilda and her kin also has greater pertinence on a local level, as the Scottish king had ruled the region between 1141 and 1155.

¹⁴⁸ BL (London), Add Mss. 5485, f. 35r and (Atkinson 1886): 121–22. The author later corrects this error, stating that Margaret had two daughters, Matilda who married Henry I, and Mary who married Count Eustace.

¹⁴⁹ Edward prophesied that a green tree would be split down the middle of its trunk and the severed piece would be carried the space of three furlongs, after which it would be joined once more to the trunk and again produce leaves and fruit. Only then, Edward said, would England's ills cease; (Barlow 1992): 118. For

Little is heard from either of Margaret's granddaughters (Queen Matilda or Empress Matilda) on this claim to the throne since it gave neither of them a definite advantage. However, the letters of Stephen and his brother Henry in support of Edward the Confessor's canonization suggests a tentative play on this claim to *idoneitas*.¹⁵⁰

At Matilda's death, she was buried in the splendor of Faversham and her epitaph praised her as a '... happy wife of King Stephen, died distinguished by [her] character and honors (dignities)/a true worshiper of God and a supporter of the poor. ...'¹⁵¹ Survived by her children Eustace, William, and Mary, the chroniclers of Henry II's reign had little interest in her and Stephen's heirs. Eustace was universally acclaimed as a vigorous and skillful soldier.¹⁵² The *Gesta Stephani* also praises him for his courtesy and good lordship.

And Eustace himself, being, though certainly young in years, of settled character, eminent for soldierly qualities, and notable for inborn merit, gained the highest honours of fame and glory at the very outset of his career as a knight. He showed himself extremely gentle and courteous; everywhere he stretched forth a generous hand in cheerful liberality; as he had a very great deal of his father's disposition he could meet men on a footing of equality or superiority as occasion required; in one place he was entirely devoted to establishing pacts of peace, in another he confronted his enemies sternly and invincibly.¹⁵³

However, his sudden death while stirring up trouble in East Anglia, and in particular damaging monastic property, earned him criticism as well.¹⁵⁴ For example, Henry of Huntingdon, a pro-Angevin chron-

contemporary views of Henry I's marriage see: WM/GR, 1:414; ASC, a. 1100 'The king took Matilda for his wife, the daughter of King Malcolm of Scotland, and Margaret the good queen, King Edward's kinswoman, of the rightful kingly line of England.'

¹⁵⁰ In 1102, Edward's tomb was opened which suggests an interest in the possibility of his sanctity, but the cult did not begin to develop until the 1130s; (Barlow 1962): 114–5 and (Barlow 1979): 265–6. For Stephen's and Henry's letters; (Williamson 1929): nos. 16–17.

¹⁵¹ Queen Matilda's epitaph, see (Southouse 1671): 109 and Appendix 4.

¹⁵² Eustace is called a 'militem strenuum' in the *Libro abbatis de Feversham*, which was written in the early thirteenth century. This book has not survived but extracts from it were included in the Red Book of the Exchequer; (Hall 1896): 2:752. (Henry 1996): 768. Neither Orderic Vitalis nor William of Malmesbury assessed Eustace's character as he did not come of age until after their deaths. Gervase of Canterbury and Robert of Torigny do not offer an opinion of Eustace in their works.

¹⁵³ GS, 208. For the similarities to his father's character see (Tanner 1996): 46–50.

¹⁵⁴ The E version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in a section written after 1155, states that Eustace 'did not prosper much, and by good right for he was a bad

icler, characterizes Eustace as a 'a man proven in military skill, but obdurate against the things of God, very harsh towards the incumbents of churches, very loyal towards those who persecute her [the Church]'.¹⁵⁵ In the context of the civil war, it is not surprising that little mention is made of Eustace's maternal ancestry. Eustace IV could not play upon his relationship to Edward the Confessor or Queen Margaret, because his rival and cousin, Henry of Anjou, could make the same claim. The fame of his maternal great uncles as rulers of Jerusalem was widespread, but Henry's grandfather, Fulk of Anjou, had married Queen Melisende of Jerusalem, so the crusading élan of his maternal and paternal ancestors was not a trump card in the contest. His distinguished lineage did allow his parents to negotiate his marriage to King Louis VI's daughter and thereby strengthen the family's alliance system.¹⁵⁶ The addition of another royal bloodline to the Boulonnais family came to nothing when Eustace died without heirs. Although his brother William's actions are noted upon occasion in the Anglo-Norman chronicles, as was his sister Mary's marriage, nothing is said of their characters. It is not until Mary's daughters come of age, that the family assumes a new prominence. In 1172, three copies of the Boulonnais genealogy were made, strongly suggesting a renewed interest in the family.¹⁵⁷

Although the Boulonnais family's renown faded in the second half of the twelfth century, Godfrey and Countess Ida achieved an enduring fame in the romances of the Crusade cycle.¹⁵⁸ In two earliest

man, for wherever he went he did more harm than good. He robbed the lands and levied heavy taxes.' ASC, 202.

¹⁵⁵ (Henry 1996): 768.

¹⁵⁶ A copy was made of the Boulonnais genealogy at St Medard, Soissons between 1141 and 1154, which suggests an interest prompted by the marriage of Eustace and Constance (February 1140); (Genicot 1975): 232–3. This copy was later included in a collection strongly dominated by accounts of the crusades. Eustace is included in the *Genealogia regum Francorum tertiae stirpis*, written in 1160; (Bouquet 1738–1876): 14:3. Here he is described as a son of Stephen, and grandson of Adela of Blois, a daughter of Matilda of Flanders and William the Conqueror. His brother William is also mentioned and given the nickname 'Longus-ensis'. The author then enumerates Stephen's siblings.

¹⁵⁷ Genicot attributes the loss of interest after the 1170s to the fall of the house of Namur and the rise of new crusading heroes. (Genicot 1975): 273–288. While this first genealogy was no longer copied, a new genealogy was written for the family in the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century; BNF (Paris), Collection Baluze 45, f. 59r–61r and printed in (Michel 1840): 3:x–xvii.

¹⁵⁸ Although Godfrey's brother Baldwin had a longer reign and greater success, he was not seen to be as pious as his brother; William of Tyre admits that

romances, the *Chanson d'Antioch* and the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, all three brothers are portrayed as heroes. In the *Chanson d'Antioch* (mid twelfth-century), the poet devotes equal attention to celebrating the deeds of Bohemund and Godfrey.¹⁵⁹ Perhaps the most striking example of Godfrey's skill is the tale that he cut a mounted and armed Turk in two, after which the horse galloped away with the lower half of the warrior still in the saddle. Baldwin and Eustace of Boulogne are mentioned much less frequently, but they share Godfrey's skill and bravery.¹⁶⁰ At Nicea, the poet shows the brothers in action.

'Es vos le conte Witasse qui fu de Boulenois
Et vait ferir un Turc de l'espierl vienois
Toute plaine sa lance l'abat mort el jonçois,
Et Bauduins ses frere r'a ocis Champenois,
Le teste en fait voler ens en un bruierois,
S'escric: 'Saint Sepucrer! ferès avant François.'¹⁶¹

In the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, Godfrey is clearly the main hero, and this is established early in the poem. While riding along the walls of Jerusalem, after the crusaders had set up their positions, three kites fly by. Shooting them down with a single arrow, the birds land near the Temple, and crusaders and Saracens alike read this as a sign that the city will fall.¹⁶² Baldwin also has a prominent role in this tale, and his bravery is noted on several occasions.¹⁶³ For example, it is Baldwin who takes the Muslim leader Cornumaran prisoner while pursuing Raymond de St Gilles' captors.¹⁶⁴ Eustace ranks among the secondary heroes, with men like Bohemund, Robert of

he succumbed to lust and William of Malmesbury portrays him as ambitious. (Guillaume 1986): 1:453, 454; WM/GR, 1:576.

¹⁵⁹ (Dupar-Quioc 1976): 139, ll. 2432 'li bon dus de Buillon'; Godfrey's rallying speech to the starving crusaders, ll. 3451–3477, and his famous exploit of cutting a mounted and armed Turk in half, ll. 3690–7. The poet refers to Bohemund on 135 occasions (excluding interpolations and variant readings) compared to the ninety-two references to Godfrey; per the index.

¹⁶⁰ Baldwin is referred to sixty-nine times and Eustace only six times, per the index.

¹⁶¹ (Dupar-Quioc 1976): 85–6, ll. 1422–27. "Look you! Count Eustace, who was of Boulogne/And [he] goes to strike a Turk with a Viennese lance/With the full length of his lance he strikes him dead in the *jonçois*/And Baldwin his brother has killed a Champenois/Whose head he makes fly into some underbrush/He cried out, 'Holy Sepulchre! Strike hard about you, Frenchmen.'"

¹⁶² (Thorp 1992): 66–7, ll. 1415–1520.

¹⁶³ (Thorp 1992): 124–130.

¹⁶⁴ (Thorp 1992): 163, ll. 5790–5812.

Flanders, and Robert Curthose. His exploits in defense of the newly won Jerusalem are recounted, and he is often in his brother Baldwin's company.¹⁶⁵ The two are put in charge of attacking the Lion's Gate when the crusaders first arrive at Jerusalem.¹⁶⁶ He is right there with Baldwin in pursuit of Raymond's captors. And it is the three brothers, with the aid of Peter the hermit and the Tafur king, who defend St David's Gate against the retaliatory raid to recover Cornumaran.¹⁶⁷

Legendary tales of Godfrey of Bouillon's ancestry were added to the original poems on the capture of Jerusalem and Antioch, probably at the behest of Henry of Brabant, husband of Matilda III of Boulogne (d. 1211).¹⁶⁸ The earliest notice of Godfrey's legendary ancestor, the swan-knight, is alluded to in William of Tyre. William omits the story, which he believes is untrue although accepted by many other writers.¹⁶⁹ The story, in a much abbreviated form, is as follows. Elias, a knight and swan in human form, after defending the duchess of Bouillon from the duke of Saxony, marries her daughter, Beatrice. It is the destiny of their daughter, Ida, to marry Eustace of Boulogne and become the mother of Eustace, Godfrey, and Baldwin, who will win fame in recapturing Antioch.¹⁷⁰ The legend of the swan-knight, ancestor of Godfrey and Baldwin of Boulogne, appears consistently in the literature and letters throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Guy de Bazoches, in a letter of 1175, refers to the legend when speaking of Baldwin of Boulogne, and de Reiffenberg lists among the earliest references to the legend the romances of Graindor of Douai and Herbert of Paris, writing at the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁵ (Thorp 1992): 224, ll. 8471–8502.

¹⁶⁶ (Thorp 1992): 64, ll. 1312–1321.

¹⁶⁷ (Thorp 1992): 165–66, ll. 5897–5940.

¹⁶⁸ For a discussion of the origins and development of these tales and the aggregation see the introductions in the first two volumes of *The Old French Crusade Cycle*: (Nelson 1977) and (Nelson 1985). See also (Cramer): 5:2080–82.

¹⁶⁹ (Guillaume 1986): 1:427; (Guillaume 1943): 1:388. 'I purposely omit the story of the swan whence, legend declares, these brothers derived their origin, because, although many writers give that as true, yet it seems to be without foundation.'

¹⁷⁰ As described in the *Elioxe*, Elias, and his five siblings, were born to Lothar of Hungary and the mysterious lady Elioxe, and were transformed into swans when their wicked grandmother removed the silver necklaces they were born with. After various adventures, Elias and all but one of his siblings regain their human status, after which Elias goes to the defense of the duchess of Bouillon and her daughter, Beatrice. (Nelson 1977): xiv–xxvi. Elias' story is continued in the *Le Chevalier au Cygne* and *La Fin d'Elias*, contained in volume II of *The Old French Crusade Cycle*.

¹⁷¹ (Schurfranz 1959): 141–143; (Reiffenberg 1844–59): 4:ii–viii.

The legend also is told in Lambert of Ardres' gesta of the counts of Guines (1194), in the abbots' book of Faversham abbey (early 13th century), the chronicle of Brogne abbey (1211), and in a new genealogy of the counts of Boulogne, written in the late thirteenth-century.¹⁷²

The addition of the new romances—*La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*, *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, and *Les Enfances de Godefroi*—which expand upon the swan-knight's tale and Godfrey's youth, bring Countess Ida into great prominence and shifts Godfrey's identity from that of a son of Eustace of Boulogne and Ida, to the son of Ida and grandson of the Lotharingian/German swan-knight. In these poems Ida is wise, beautiful, and most importantly, a good mother.¹⁷³ Ida's greatness is predicted in a dream on her mother's wedding night, which has strong parallels to the *Vita S. Idae*. An angel appears to Beatrice and prophesies that her daughter, Ida, will become the lady of Boulogne and bear three sons who will recapture Antioch.¹⁷⁴ The angel then emphasizes that Ida must suckle her sons, just as Beatrice has suckled Ida. The importance of breast milk as the means by which the swan-knight's superior character and prowess are passed to his grandsons is reiterated in *Les Enfances de Godefroi*.¹⁷⁵ The tale clearly draws upon the contemporary perception of Ida's untypical practice of nursing her children expressed in her *vita* and by Ralph Diceto. As Emmanuel Mickel has argued, the origin of this motif can be found in the Moses story.¹⁷⁶ Moses refuses the breast of an

¹⁷² (Schurfranz 1959): 143; (Hall 1896): 3:753–4. In this account Eustace II is referred to as 'magnus'. Ida and Eustace had twin sons Godfrey and Baldwin who were kings of Jerusalem. The account concludes with a genealogy which starts from the marriage of Eustace III and Mary, daughter of Queen Margaret of Scotland, and their grandchildren, Eustace, William and Mary. The fourteenth-century genealogy is in Latin and the vernacular: BNF (Paris), Collection Baluze, 45, f. 59r–61r, specifically f. 60v; (vernacular) (Michel 1840): 3:xvi. The Latin version may have preceded the vernacular; this hypothesis is based on the errors in the vernacular version in the passage concerning the sons of Guy White-beard. This may only be an error of the scribe of the manuscript which Fr. Michel was looking at, rather than an error in the original.

¹⁷³ (Nelson 1985): §127. In the *Roman de Godefroi de Bouillon* Ida is praised for her prudence and sagacity, 'De sa mere li membre ki tant est ensegnie/Ydain le gentil dame, qui Dix soit en aie,' (Haighneré 1890–1): 6.

¹⁷⁴ (Nelson 1985): §36–44.

¹⁷⁵ (Mickel 1999): 114–118.

¹⁷⁶ (Mickel 1998): 177–79. Josephus' discussion of this in his *Antiquities of the Jews* shaped medieval understanding of the meaning of the incident.

Egyptian wet-nurse and Miriam (Moses' sister and servant of the Pharaoh's daughter) returns with a Jewish wet-nurse (her mother). God's miraculous intervention preserves Moses' purity and thus, his ability to save his people. One day when Ida was at Mass, a maid calls for a wet-nurse to silence Ida's son who is hungry and crying.¹⁷⁷ Returning home shortly after the baby has been fed, Ida is appalled and forces the baby to spit up the nurse's milk. Although she succeeds, the damage has been done and the child always lags behinds his brothers. Although not specifically named, the child is probably Eustace III, and the incident thus, 'explains' why he only became a count and not king of Jerusalem like his brothers. Ida's care for her sons and their future greatness is also demonstrated in the incident when Eustace II rebukes her for not rising to greet him.¹⁷⁸ She responds that their sons are sleeping under her cloak and that she does not want to disturb a future count, duke, and king, no matter how distinguished their father. Throughout the *Enfances Godefroi*, 'Ida's ability to prophesy is a principal feature of the narrative and of her personality.'¹⁷⁹ As Mickel argues in the early tales of the Old French Crusade Cycle, women are the means by which the Holy Land will be saved.¹⁸⁰ The duchess of Bouillon, her daughter Beatrice, and her granddaughter Ida all have the gift of prophesy, and it is through their agency that the men who will liberate Jerusalem will be born.¹⁸¹ The Marian imagery is particularly strong—Ida will give birth to the saviors of Jerusalem, and she will preserve their purity (and their ability to achieve their destiny) by breast-feeding them.¹⁸² Like the Angel Gabriel, Ida announces this miraculous delivery—the crusades and the men who will accomplish it.

Throughout the *Enfances Godefroi*, Eustace II is depicted as a most distinguished, noble, and courteous man, but the emphasis is upon Ida, for it is not his lineage and character that led to their sons' greatness. Version A and the manuscripts based upon it treat Eustace II, Eustace III, and Baldwin in the most cursory fashion. However, Version D, written contemporarily to Version A, puts a great deal

¹⁷⁷ (Mickel 1999): 706–13.

¹⁷⁸ (Mickel 1999): 118–19.

¹⁷⁹ (Mickel 1999): 16.

¹⁸⁰ (Mickel 1999): 12.

¹⁸¹ (Mickel 1999): 14–18.

¹⁸² (Mickel 1999): 12.

of emphasis upon Boulogne, and includes a lengthy section on the adventures of Eustace III (laissez 32–61).¹⁸³ Having been well educated in the arts of letters and *courtoisie* and martial skill, Eustace sets off to visit his father's dear friend the king of England, bringing with him a retinue of friends and servants. He is warmly received and becomes well-loved for his noble character. After more than a year, he receives a letter from his mother telling him of his father's illness and a rebellion against him led by Rainaume of Montreuil. Without taking leave of the court, Eustace races to Montreuil without his retinue. Upon his arrival he seeks Rainaume out and stuns everyone by his swift dispatching of his foe. Returning to London immediately, Eustace says nothing of his doings when the king inquires about his absence. But a messenger from Boulogne reveals his extraordinary deeds, and the king celebrates the fifteen-year-old's accomplishment by knighting him and making him his seneschal. The remainder of the poem tells of Godfrey's knighting and the defense of Yvon's daughter and her inheritance (laissez 62–82). In this version, Eustace III is the heroic equal of his younger brother, Godfrey. Version D also recasts the *Retour de Cornumarant* to include a much longer description of Cornumarant's travels through Picardy and Lotharingia and the future crusaders, companions of Eustace III and Godfrey.¹⁸⁴ Written in the mid-thirteenth century in the Picard dialect, it reflects the local interest in and knowledge of the Boulonnais comital family and their friends and allies who joined them on crusade. There are only two versions based upon Version D, which helps explain the effacement of Boulogne and the Eustaces from crusade romances and history. Version A and the manuscripts based upon it shaped the perception of Godfrey as his grandfather's namesake and heir to the duchy of Lower Lorraine, and thus, as German, not French. It was his maternal ancestry (in the form of the swan-knight) that helped elevate him to the throne in Jerusalem. The amalgam of fact and legend transformed Godfrey into one of the exemplars of Christian knighthood.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ (Mickel 1999): 118–142. For a discussion of the differences between Versions A and D see (Mickel 1999): 28–43.

¹⁸⁴ (Mickel 1999): 34–37 and 43–44.

¹⁸⁵ The swan-knight tales were later mutated into the tales of Garin of Lohengrin and ultimately to Wagner's opera based on Garin.

The formation of the identity of the counts of Boulogne and their family had its origins in the eleventh century. After successfully maintaining their independence from Flanders and Normandy in the tenth century, the Boulonnais comital family established its authority throughout the family's lands by engaging the allegiance of the lesser nobility and castellans in Boulogne, and through the use of monastic foundations. Their success is witnessed by the persistent distinction made by ecclesiastical writers between Boulogne and its neighbors. Beginning in the early eleventh century, the comital family gained a more defined self-identity which can be seen in the naming pattern and division of lands among heirs as well as their coins. These changes reveal the growth of a sense of lineage and primogeniture, as well as the continued importance of maternal kin, which can be seen in the choice of names and the commission of the *Vita S. Idae*. The reputation and societal perception of the family was primarily formed by the deeds of Eustace II, Ida of Lorraine, and their three sons. Military prowess and deep piety, rooted in their Carolingian blood, were the key characteristics of the family. These qualities were lauded in the *Genealogia comitus Buloniensium*, the *Carmen de Hastingae proelio*, the Bayeux tapestry, their epitaphs, and in the chroniclers and poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although connected to several other illustrious figures of the tenth through twelfth centuries, their social identity remained linked to the success of the First Crusade. The cohesion of this identity arose in part from the lack of success of the ensuing crusades, and by the declining fortunes of the comital house of Boulogne after 1154. The enduring fame of the family, however, came from the creation of the legend of the swan-knight and the transformation of Godfrey of Bouillon into one of the *exempla* of the perfect Christian knight in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

In the period between 879 and 1162, the Boulonnais counts parried the might of their princely neighbors by calling upon relatives, friends and allies with shared interests. Although the county of Lens was a benefice of the Flemish counts, Boulogne itself was not a Flemish fief nor is there any evidence that feodo-vassalic bonds shaped the interactions between counts in the Picardy and the Pays Bas. The counts of Boulogne acted with the same independence as their princely counterparts. The persistent survival of the independent counts of Boulogne in the face of the dynamic growth of the Flemish and Norman principalities as well as the reassertion of royal authority was not the result of the competing interests of the powerful feudal hegemons. Kin-based action groups were the fundamental means by which politics were conducted from the late ninth through early twelfth centuries, not the traditionally posited feudalism. These temporary coalitions were used in conjunction with Carolingian public instruments of governance—minting, the ban, and justice. Until the mid-eleventh century, politics and governance were dominated by non-institutional means of exercising power. Persistent opportunities (or threats)—minor heirs, failure of the male line, protracted warfare—transformed the ad hoc nature of kin-based coalitions. They were replaced by bureaucratic institutions manned by non-kin and affinities. Affinities or political factions and formal alliances remained rooted in the bonds of kinship, territorial interest, and friendship.

Although the comital house of Boulogne initially fell victim to the expansionism of Arnulf I of Flanders (918–965) and Baldwin IV (988–1036), Eustace I of Boulogne (1024–1047) and especially his son Eustace II (1047–c. 1089) restored and augmented the family's power. Their successes were the result of the skillful use of ad hoc kin-based coalitions that they created first with the Lotharingian rivals of the Flemish counts and second with the counts of Picardy and northern Normandy. These affiliations helped move the counts of Boulogne from the periphery to the center of political events. After Boulonnais allies in Lorraine, England, and Picardy suffered a series

of defeats in the mid-eleventh century, Eustace II rebuilt his power through an alliance with William the Conqueror. The Boulonnais-Norman alliance, although disrupted twice—between autumn 1067 and early 1071 and between 1088 and 1101—had important consequences. First, William the Conqueror's grants to Eustace II made him the tenth largest secular landholder in England, thereby substantially enlarging the counts of Boulogne's landed wealth and power. Second, these English land holdings helped enmesh the Boulonnais counts into the Anglo-Norman polity. The survival of the Boulonnais-Norman alliance was not only the product of the family's English lands but also their continued affiliation with the dukes of Lorraine which placed them at odds with the counts of Flanders. Although Eustace III of Boulogne (c. 1089–1125) maintained his independence, the foundations of this ability to do so were being undermined. The decision of his two younger brothers to remain in the Holy Land, and the survival of only one of his children restricted Eustace III's opportunities to create new affiliations among the French and Lotharingian nobility. The limitations imposed by the lack of kin were reinforced by the loss of his alliance with the count of Ponthieu, the growth of French royal power, and the consolidation of Flemish and Norman princely authority through innovations in administration.

Ironically, while the power and autonomy of the counts of Boulogne were threatened by these developments, the house achieved its greatest fame. The family's reputation was constructed upon the foundations of Eustace II's military prowess and his wife Ida's outstanding piety, which contemporaries perceived to have been rooted in their Carolingian blood and to have culminated in the careers of their sons Eustace III, Godfrey, and Baldwin. The marriage of Eustace III's daughter and heir, Matilda, to King Henry I of England's nephew and Anglo-Norman magnate, Stephen of Blois, was the death knell of the long-maintained independence of the counts of Boulogne. Boulogne remained incorporated into the Anglo-Norman polity throughout Stephen's rule as count of Boulogne and king of England and under the countship of his sons, Eustace IV and William. The declining fortunes of the Boulonnais comital house were reflected not only in the transmission of Boulogne into the hands of a cadet of the Flemish comital house, but also in the enduring reputation of Godfrey of Bouillon as a descendant of his maternal, Lotharingian family and not as the son of the count of Boulogne.

The political history of the comital family of Boulogne from the

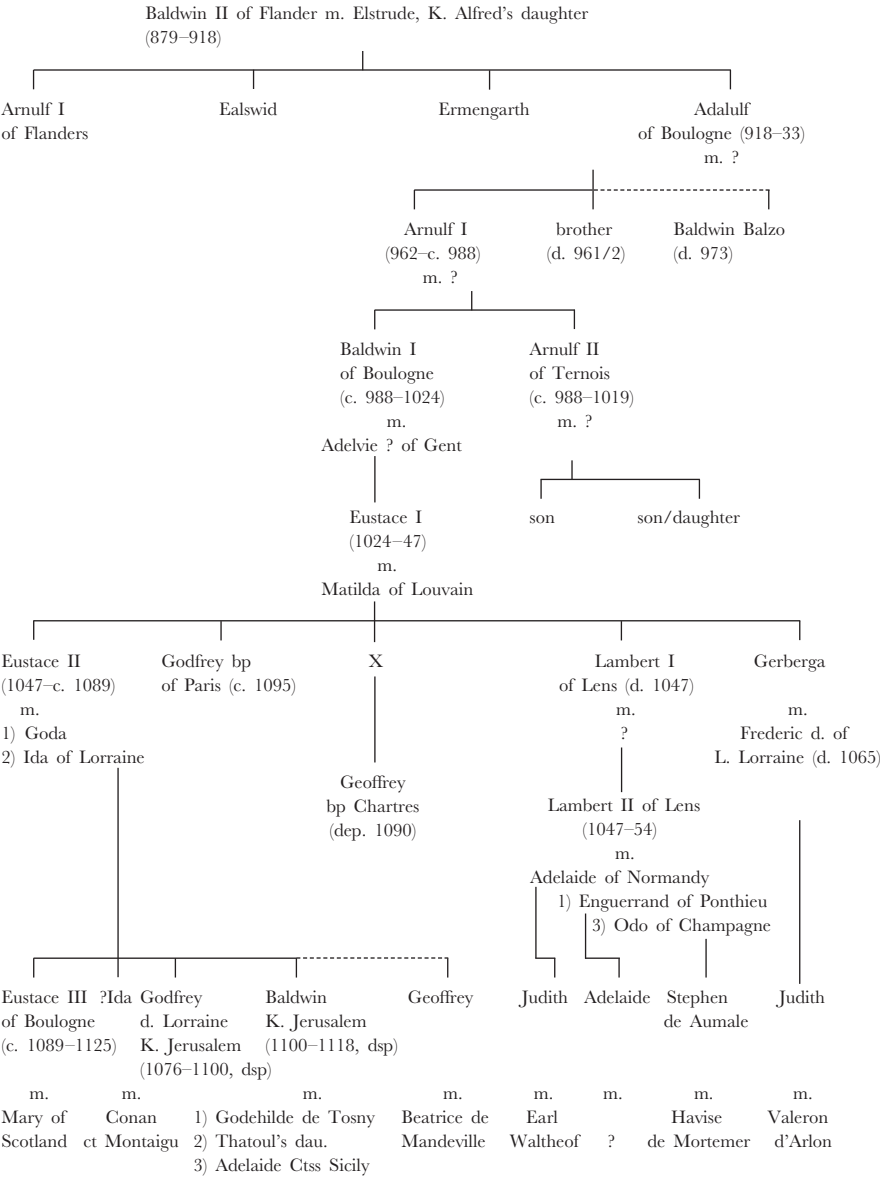
late ninth through mid-twelfth century reveals not only insights into the dynamics of specific events in northern France, Lorraine, and England but also into the political structures of northern France. Under the weight of the Viking invasions, counts bore the main burden of defense and increasingly assumed the duties and rights of royal governance—justice, minting, and protection of the Church. While these elements of institutional rule remained, kinship became the fundamental organizational principle of politics and governance. Counts, and other nobles, called upon their kin to help them carry out their public functions within their territories. To defend and extend their power, counts formed temporary coalitions of relatives, friends and formal allies who had a shared interest in the particular territory, right, or defeat of a rival. Therefore, not every relative or friend would join in a military campaign or political maneuverings; depending on the location of their lands, they might join the opposing coalition. These ad hoc coalitions also served to introduce individual members to potential kin, and created overlapping networks of alliance. It was this organizational structure rather than feudalism that dominated tenth- and eleventh-century politics. The dynamics of this practice influenced individuals' concept of family. Marriage brought dowry lands which could draw brothers and cousins apart or reunite two branches of a family. Persistent opportunities and threats in combination with the shift to primogeniture helped transform the means of governance from ad hoc kin-based coalitions to bureaucratic institutions and affinities. From the first third of the eleventh century, counts began to call upon men who were not related to help administer justice, collect revenues, and man castles within their counties. Flanders and Normandy led the way in this development. As a result, the Norman and Flemish counts could field larger armies and attract more men and allies to their ventures. These administrative developments were fostered in part by the need to replace revenues and lands lost to the ecclesiastical reform movements of the later eleventh century and by a concurrent revival of commercial activity. Nobles sought to capitalize on the demographic growth by exacting more taxes and services from those who lived in their lands, but also on local and long-distance trade. Kin-based coalitions remained an important element in twelfth-century politics, but bureaucracy and the establishment of feudo-vassalic bonds played an increasingly significant role. Lacking the wealth to compete effectively, counts of smaller and less bureaucratic polities were drawn

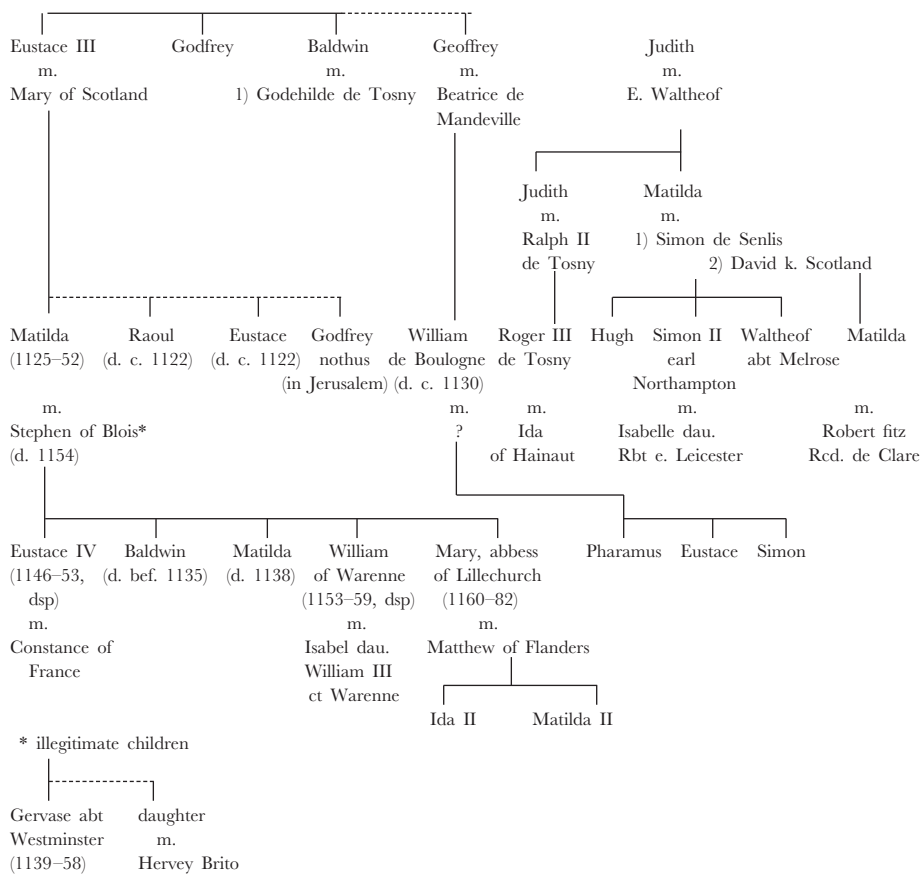
into subordinate relationships with the territorial princes and kings. Despite the growing centralization of government and kingdoms, kin-based action groups did not disappear.¹ Kings and nobles routinely used marriage as a means to strengthen an alliance and to unify the interests of the two parties through transference of property and the mixing of bloodlines. At the local level and in the development of affinities, the coalitions of family, friends and allies continued to shape governance and public life.

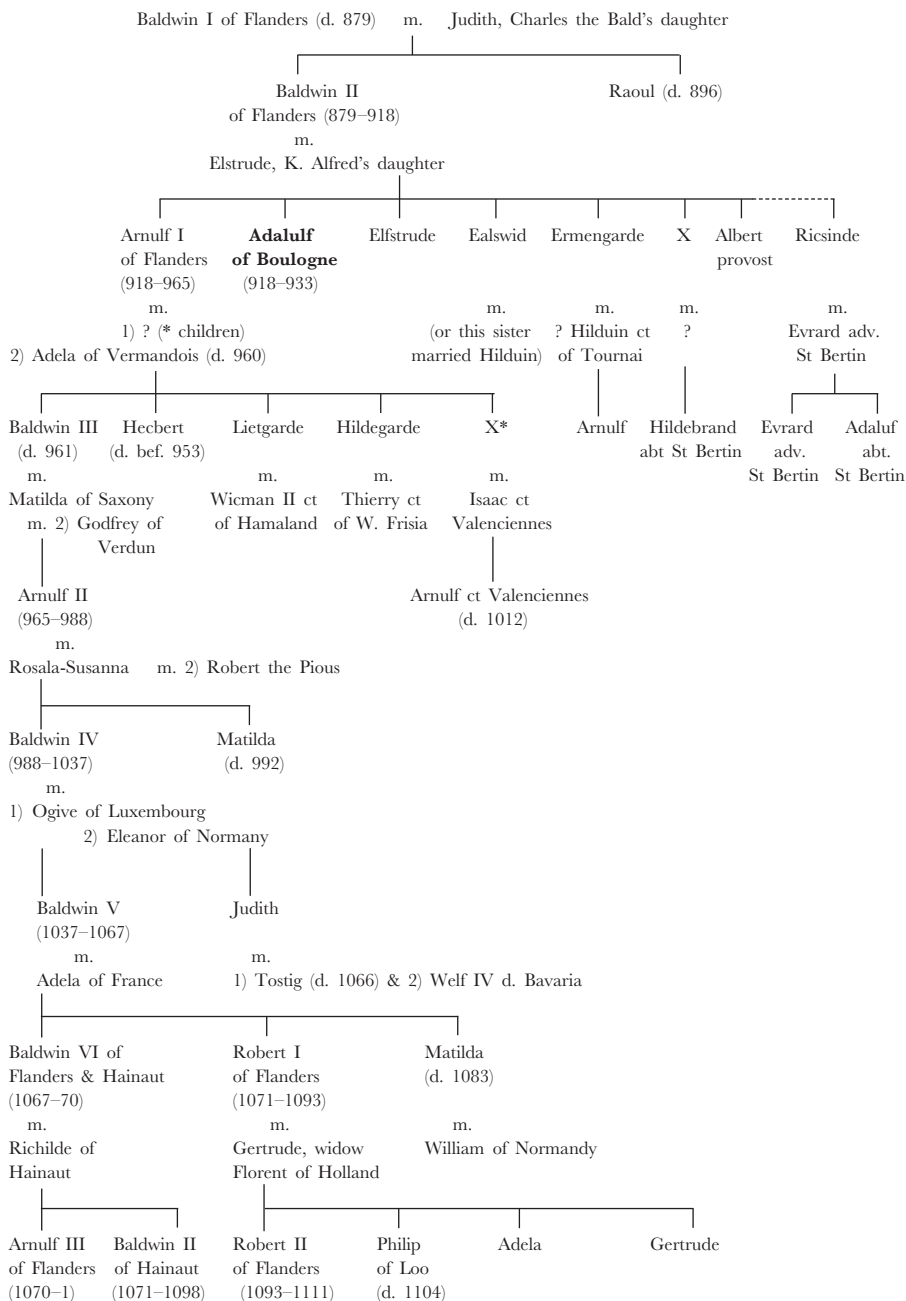
¹ For example see (Crouch 1994).

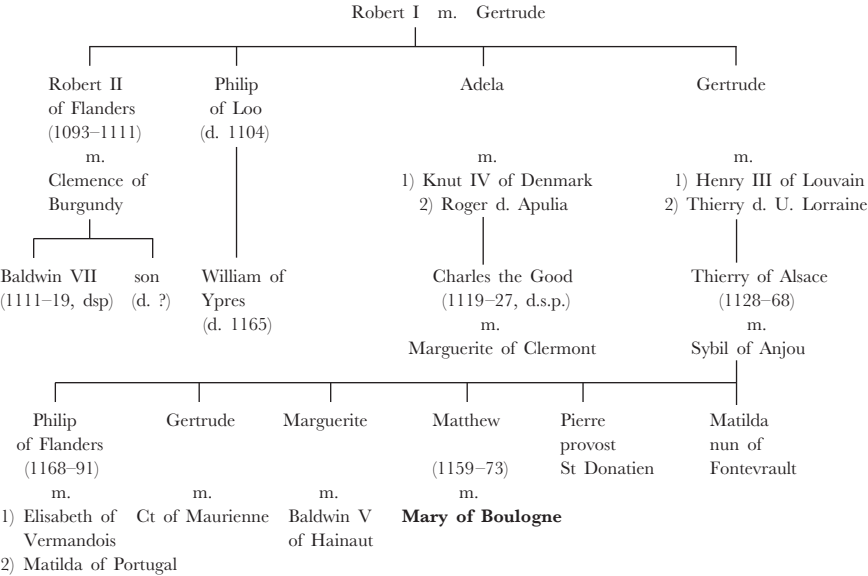
GENEALOGIES

Comital Family of Boulogne

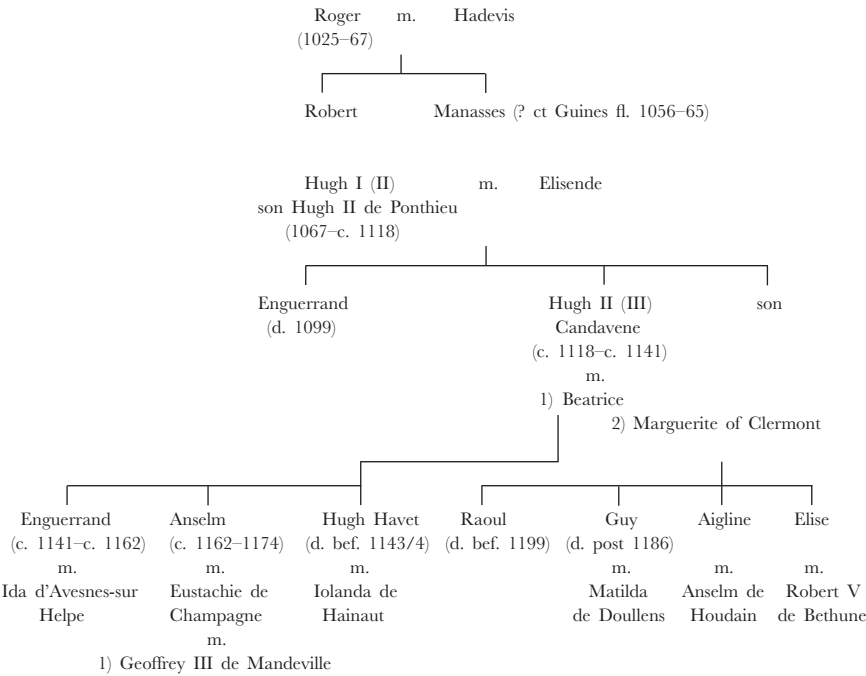




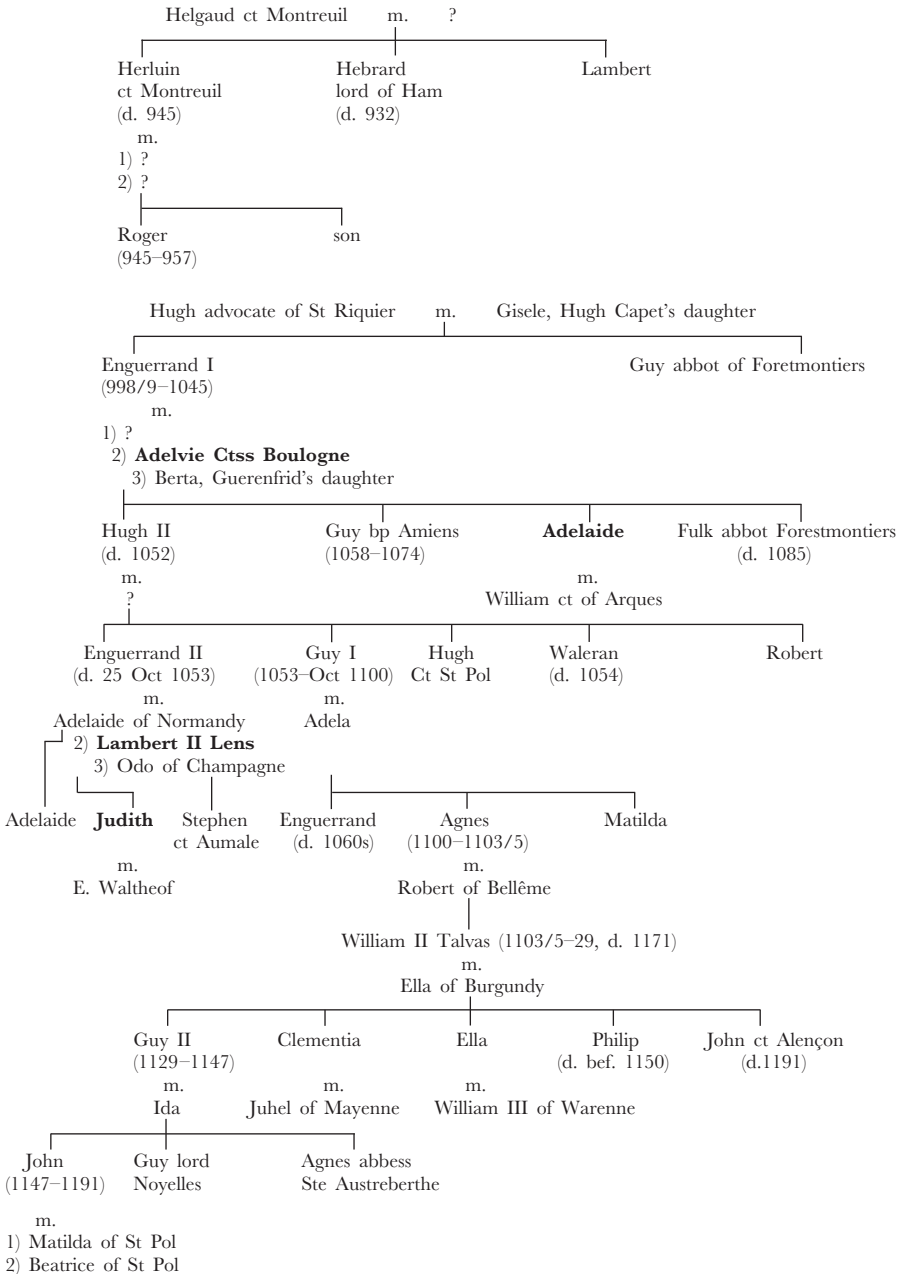
Comital Family of Flanders

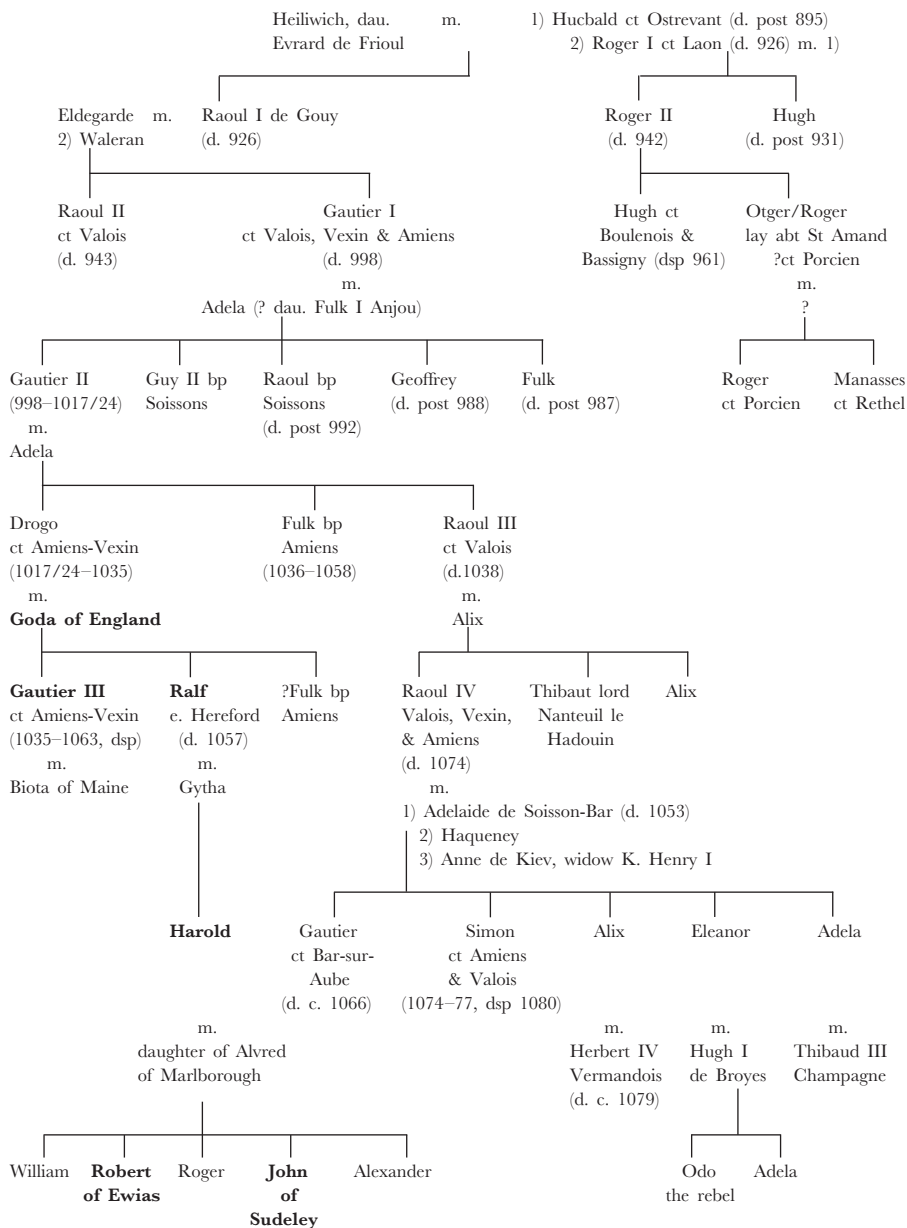


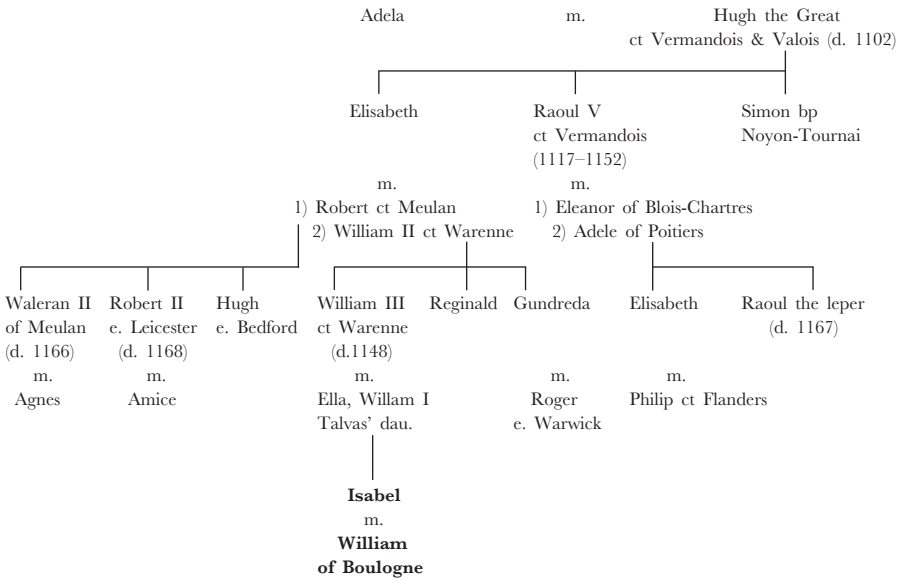
Comital Family of St Pol



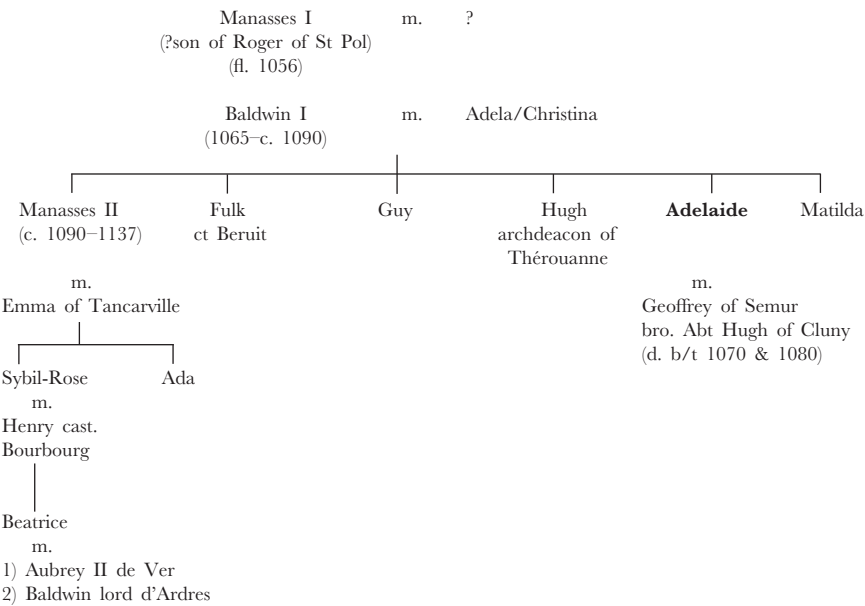
Comital Family of Ponthieu

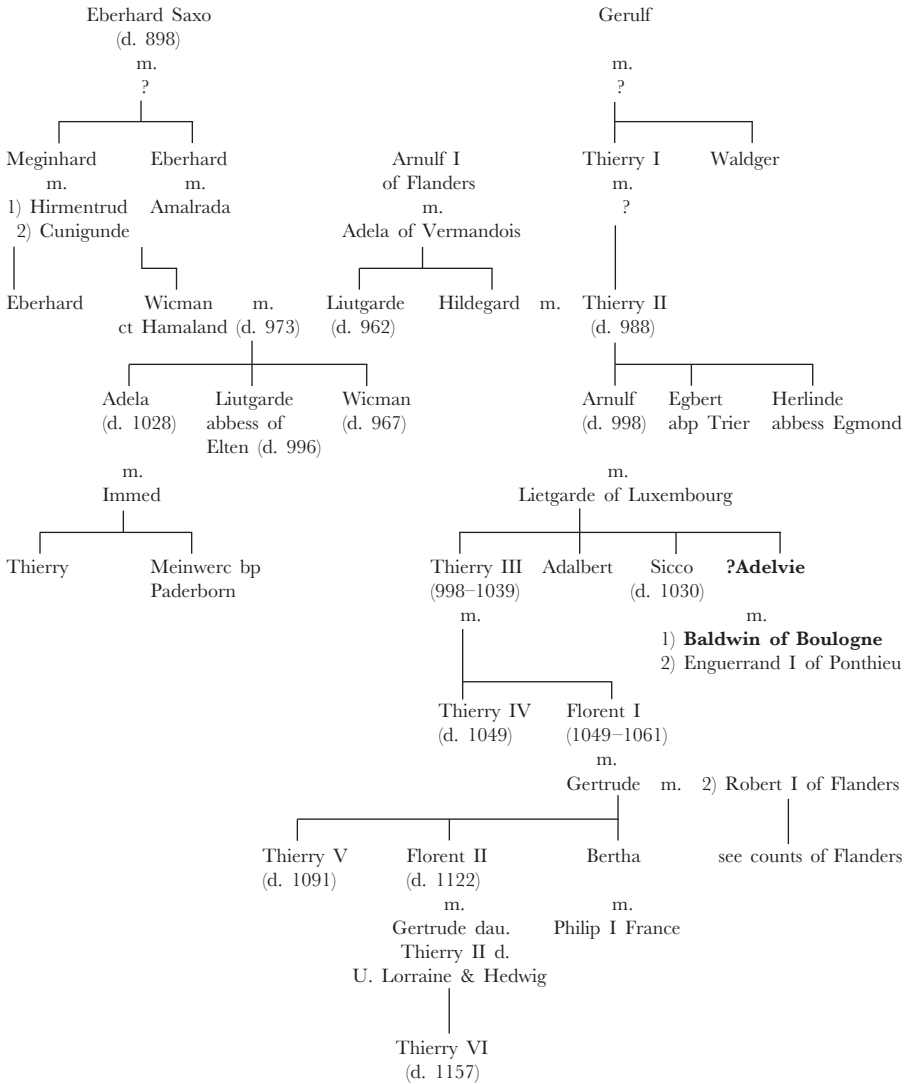


Comital Family of Amiens, Valois & Vexin

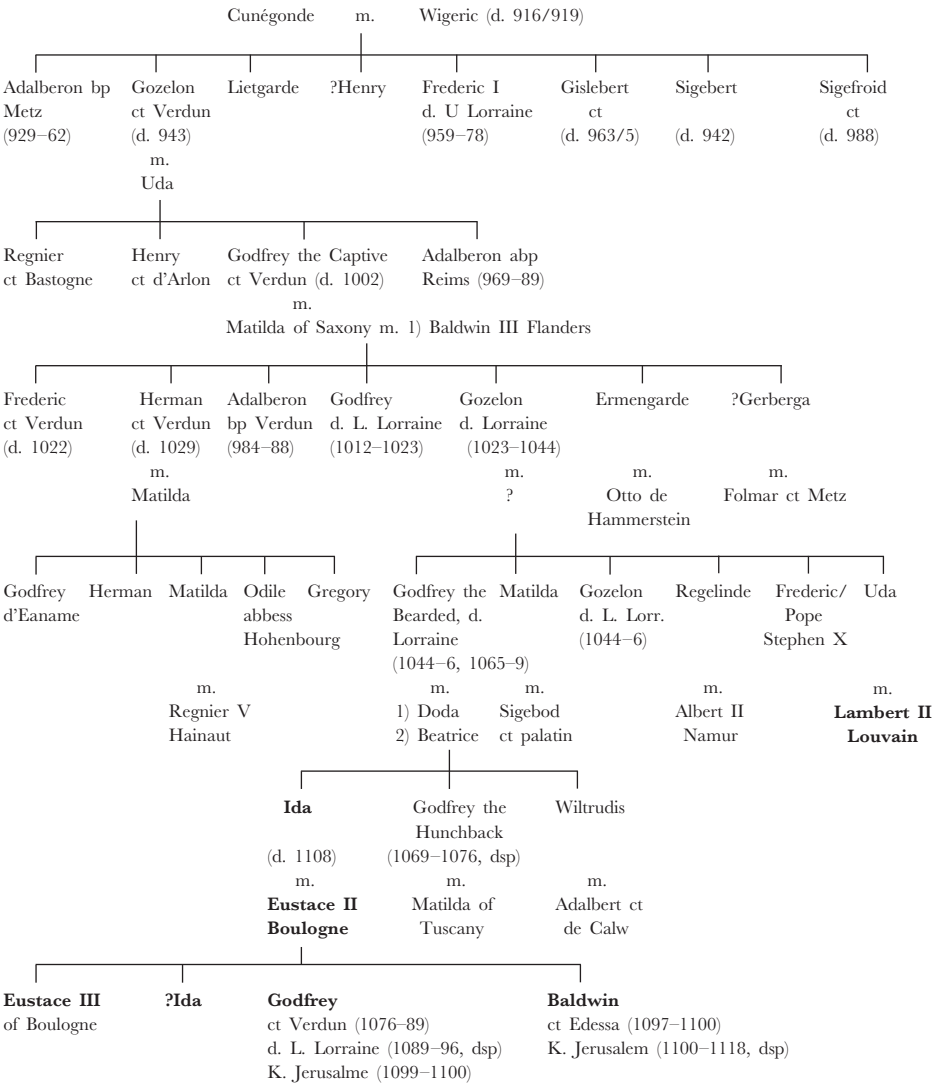


Comital Family of Guines

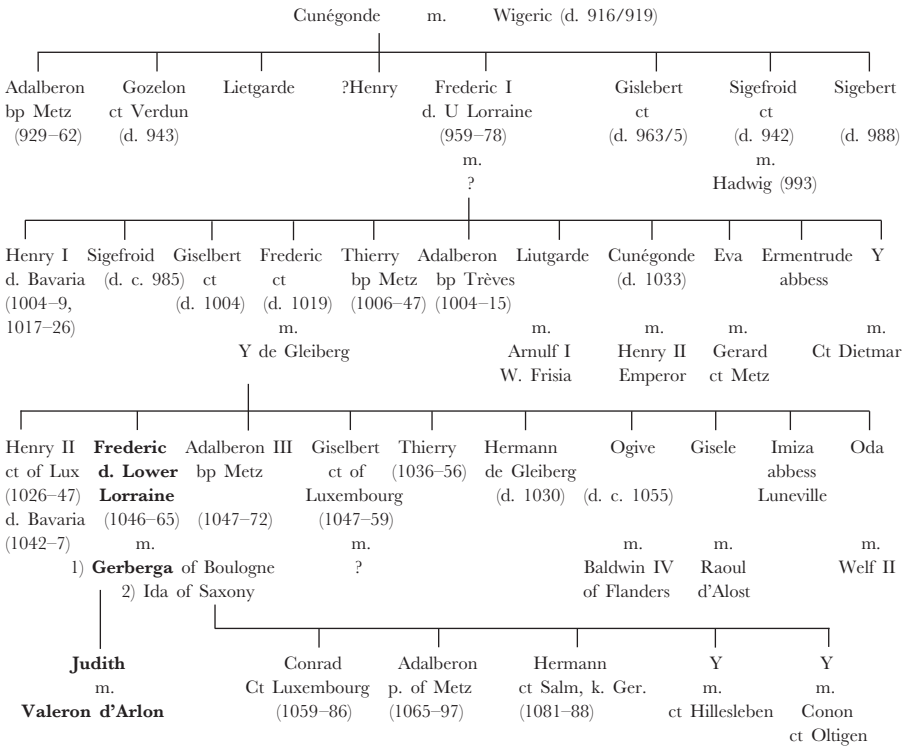


Comital Families of West Frisia and Hamaland

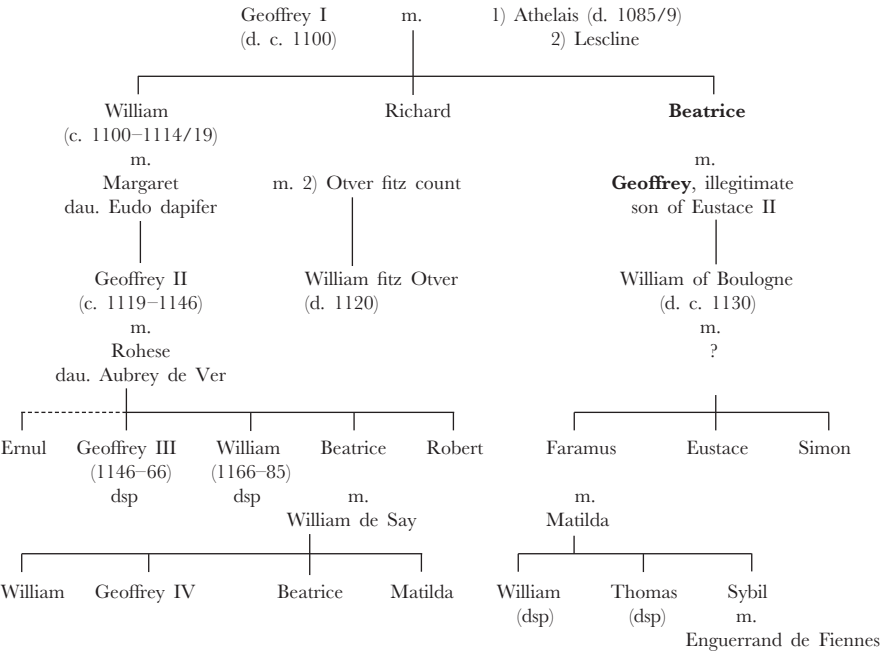
Ducal Family of Ardenne-Verdun



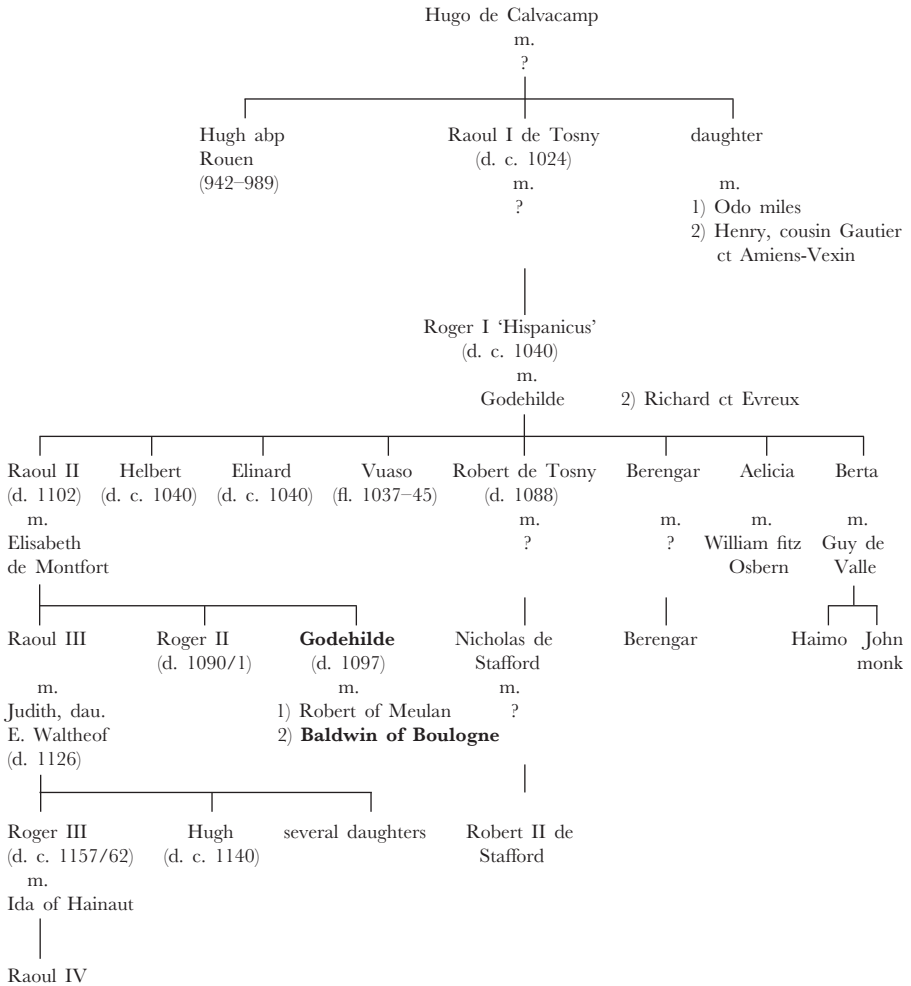
Ducal Family of Ardenne-Luxembourg



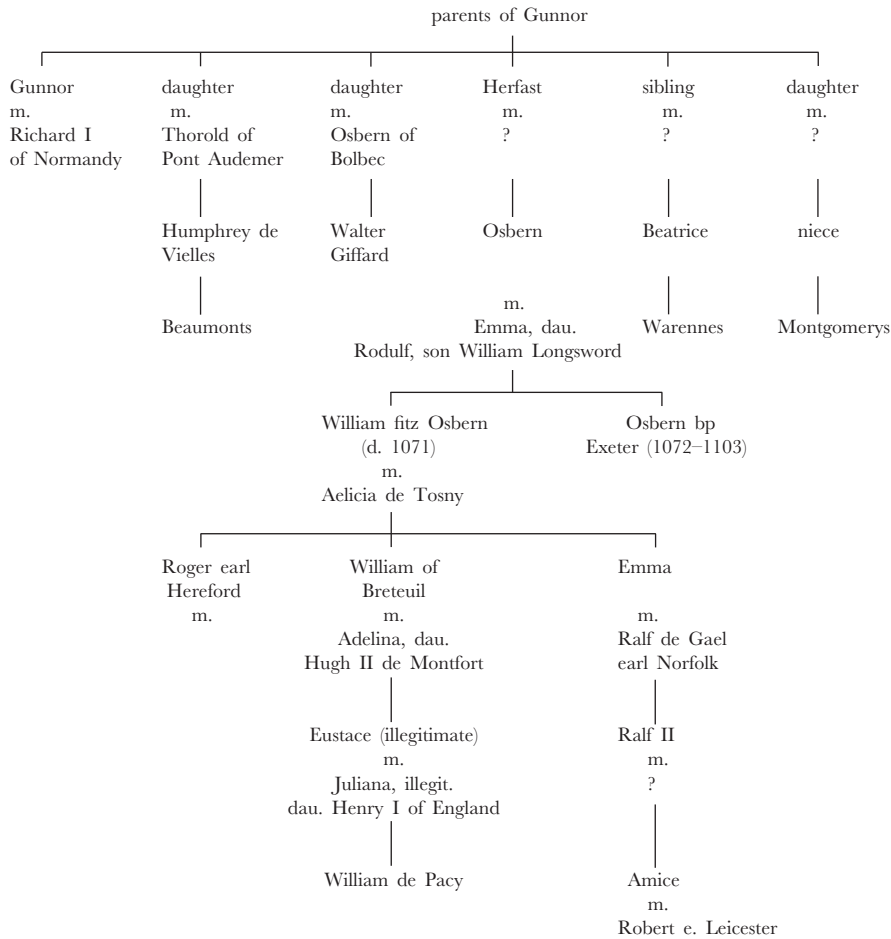
Mandeville & Tingry Families



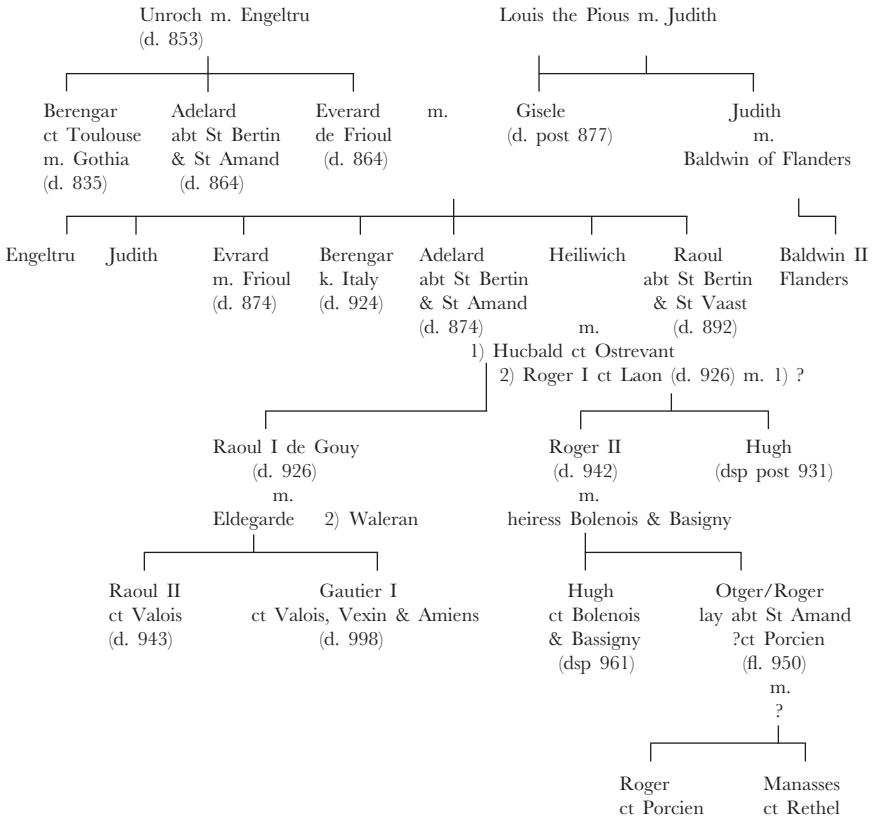
de Tosny Family



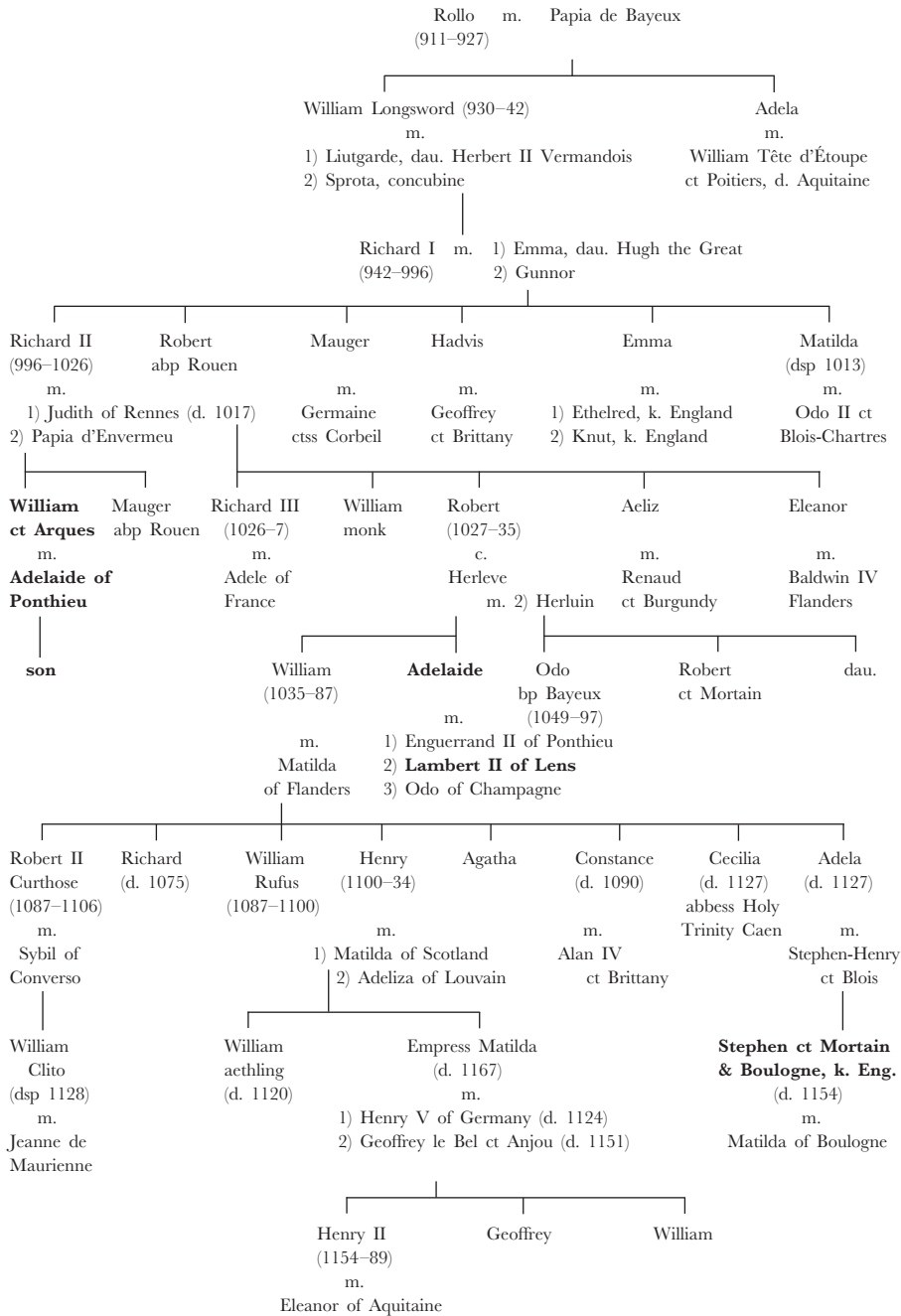
Fitz Osbern Family



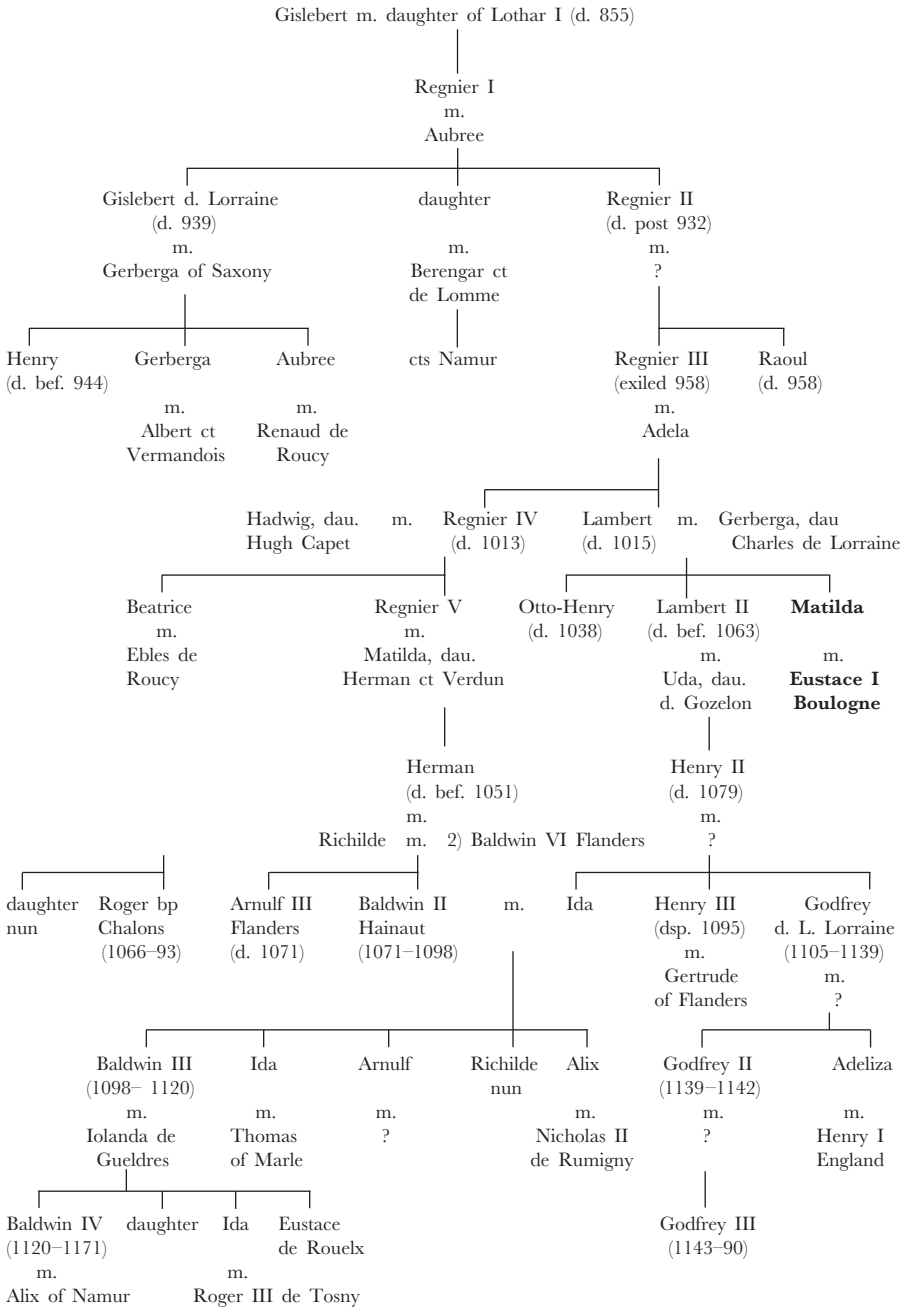
Unrochings



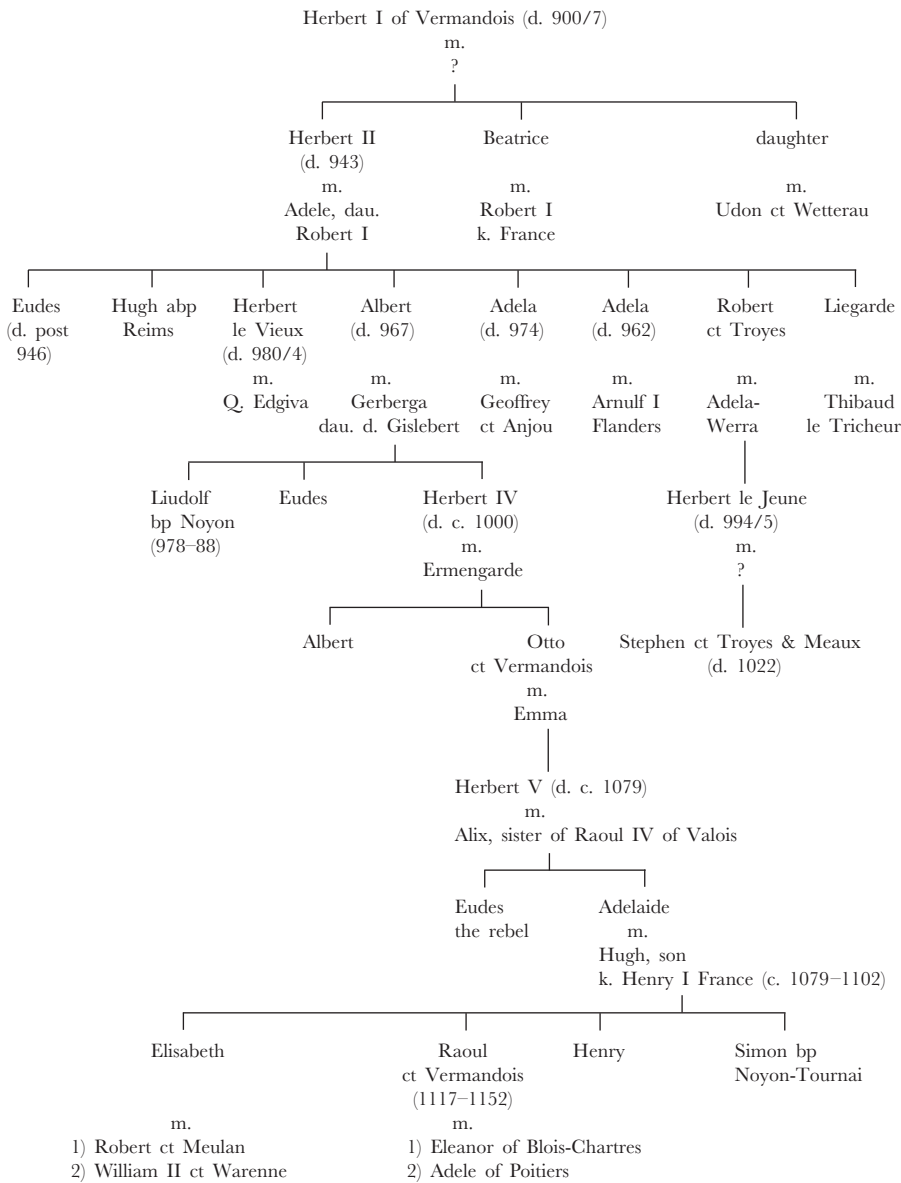
Ducal Family of Normandy



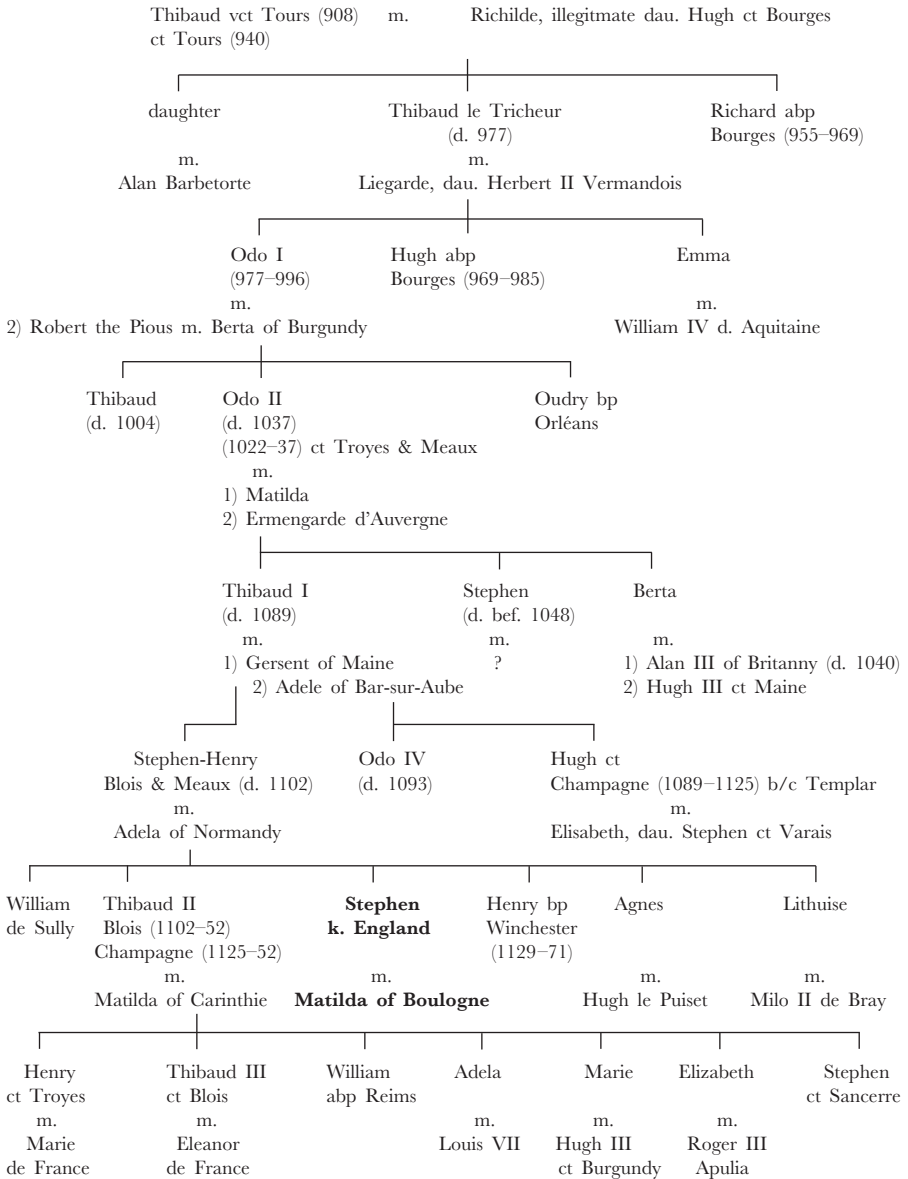
Comital Families of Hainaut & Louvain

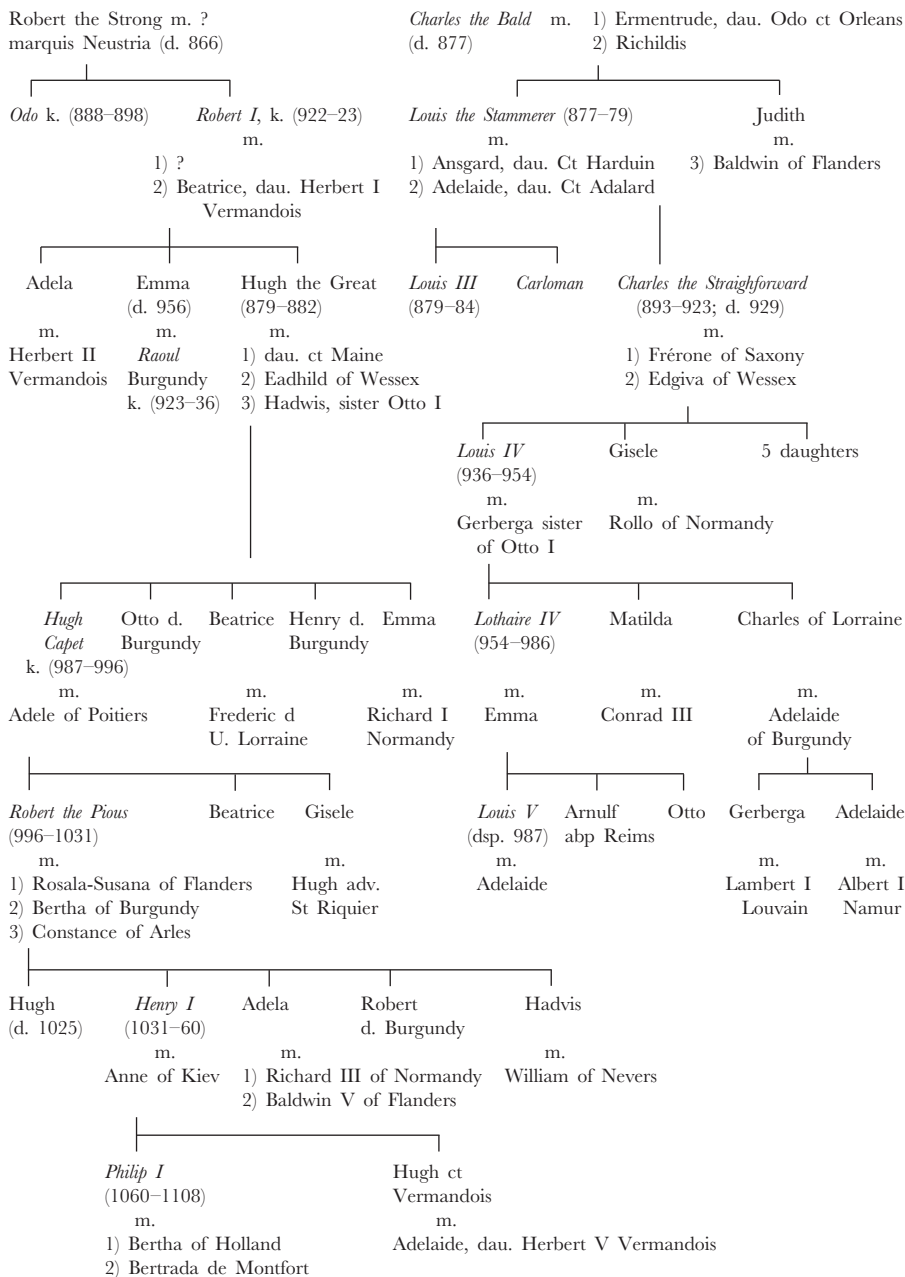


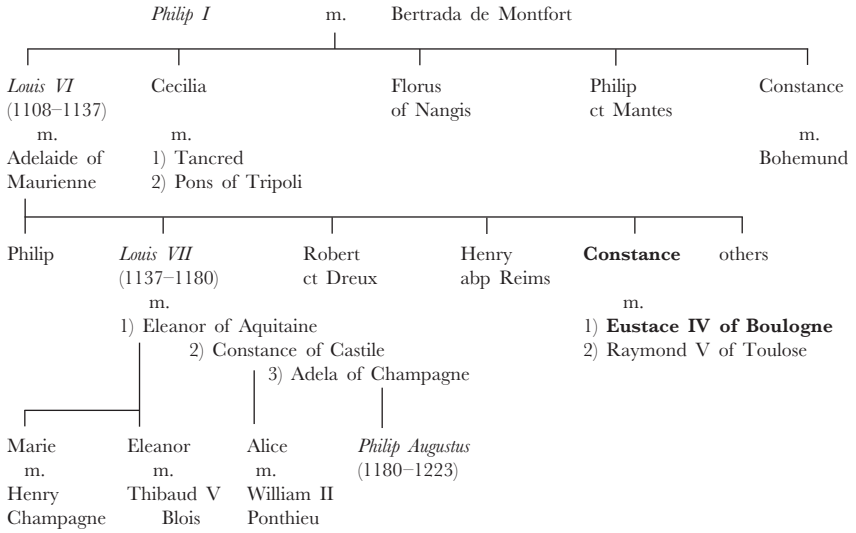
Comital Family of Vermandois



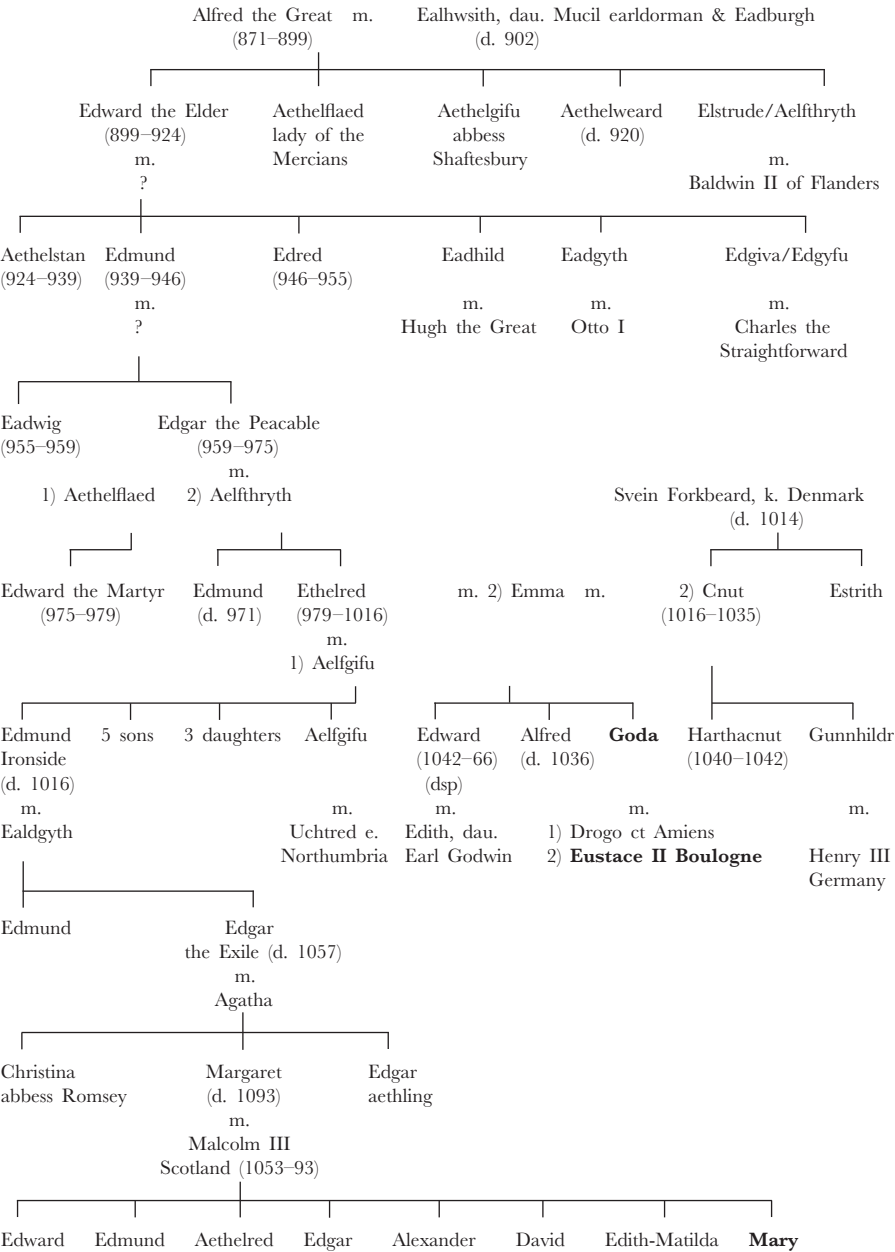
Comital Family of Blois-Chartres

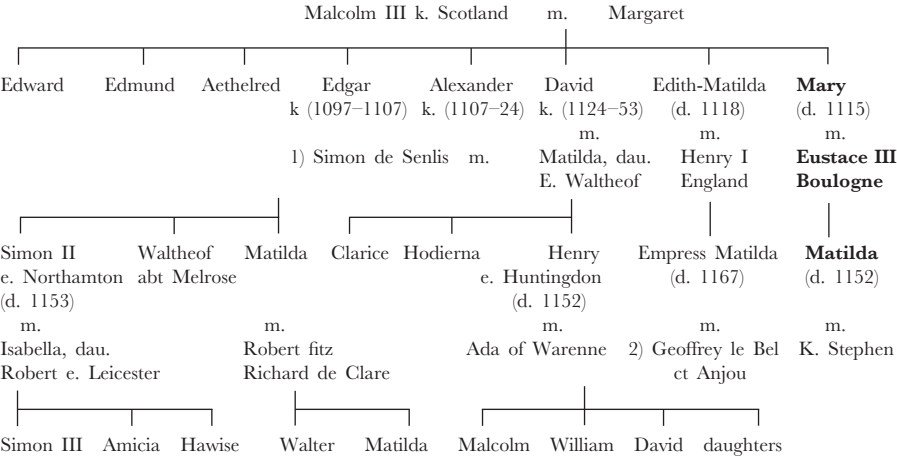


Royal Families of France

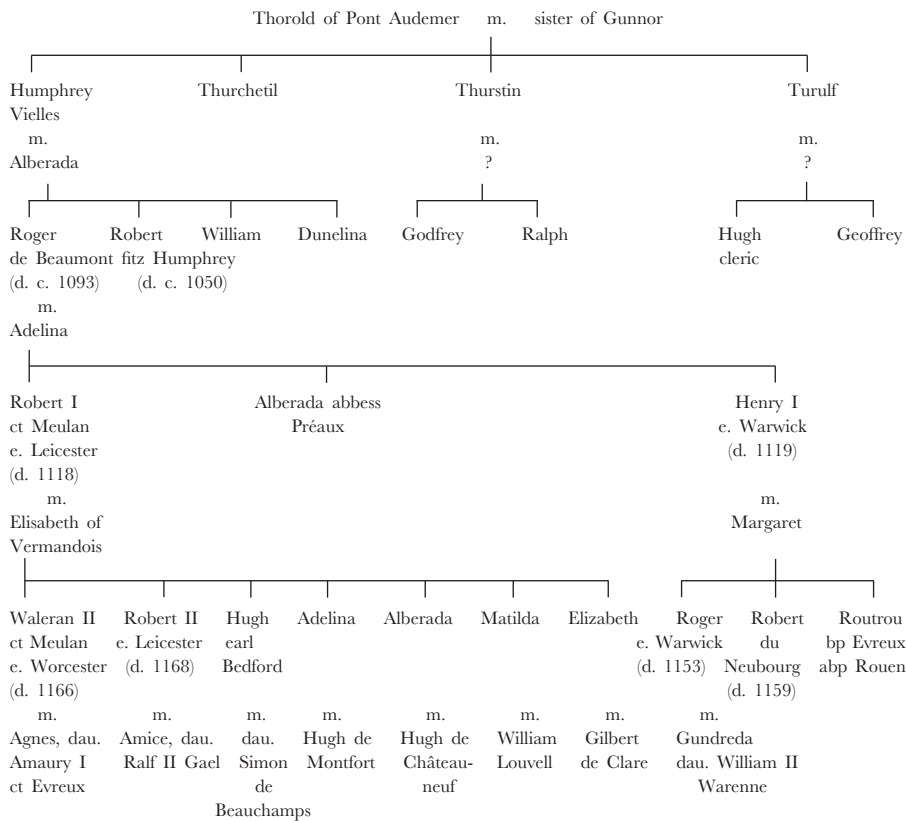


Royal Families of England

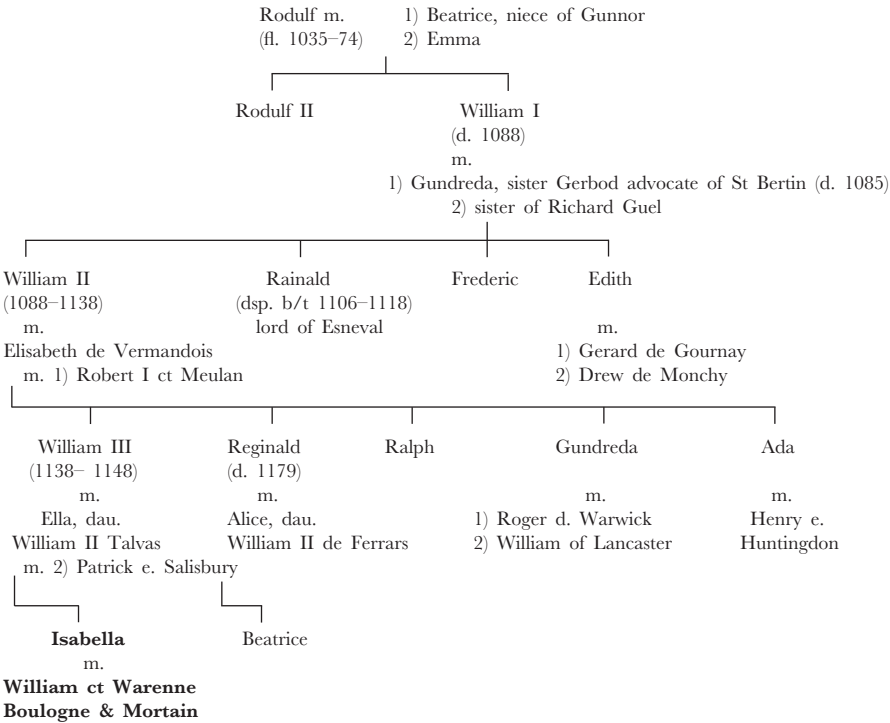




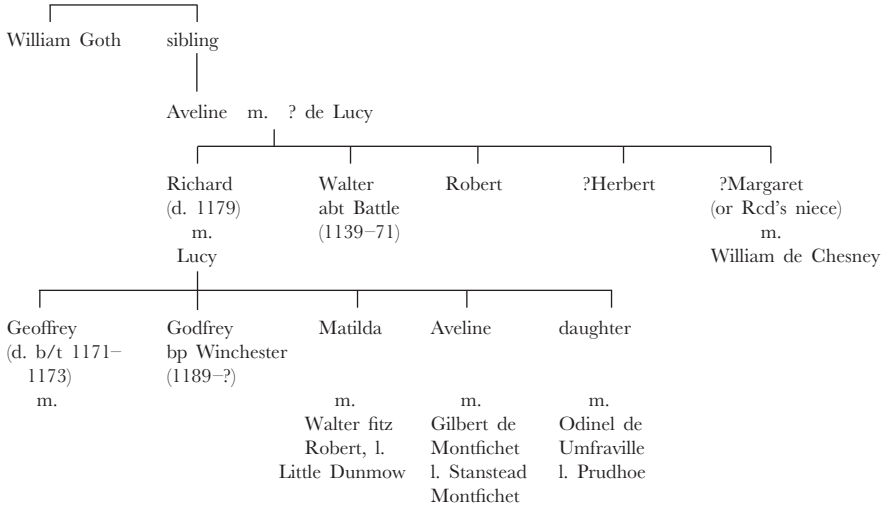
Comital Family of Beaumont



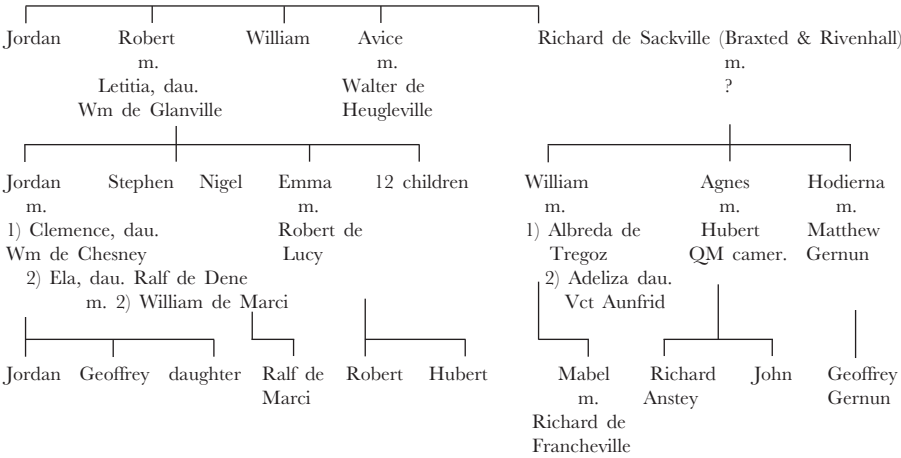
Comital Family of Warene



de Lucy Family



de Sackville Families



Appendix 1a

Charters & References to Lost Acta of the Boulonnais Comital Family (late 9th–mid-12th century)

Date	Grantor	Beneficiary	Contents	Type	Source
1060	Eustace II	St Amand	Lourches	Abt Malbod's conf.; cartulary	Duvivier, 37–9
c. 1067	Eustace II	N-D de Boulogne canons	privilege of exemption	16c. cartulary	MSAB 13 (1882–6) 95
1070	Eustace II & Ida	college of Lens	foundation	18c. copy	AN L964, piece 46, pp. i–v (M&F, 159)
1075–1085	Eustace II	St Martin le Grand, London	Ingelric's lands	15c. charter roll	WA, Mun. 5, f. 18r–v (Kempe)
1071–1088	Eustace II	St Martin le Grand, London	Stanford	original	WA, Ch. 968 (Scott, 72–3)
c. 1080–1101	Ida	St Wolmer	Nutfield	original; Henry I's conf.	Cart. Antq. A #30 (RRAN 2 #599)
c. 1093–1096	Eustace III & brother Baldwin	Christchurch, Canterbury	tolls of Wissant	original	Canterbury Cath. F130
1096	Ida	Affligchem	Genapes	18c. copy	M&F 1:77–78
1096	Ida	Munsterbilsen	Bucholz, Hirtheren, Riemest, Rudenchoeun, Reken, etc.	original; printed	Gysseling & Koch, no. 225
1098	Ida	St Bertin	Merck	13c. copy of 12c. cartulary	Guerard, 227–228
c. 1100	Ida	N-D de Boulogne canons	Avion & tithe (near Lens)	16c. cartulary	MSAB 13 (1882–6) 95–6
unknown	Eustace II/III	St Berthe, Blangy	7000 herring	18c. copy of Ida II's conf.	AN, K 187/1 (1)

Appendix 1a (*cont.*)

Date	Grantor	Beneficiary	Contents	Type	Source
c. 1094– c. 1120	Eustace III	St Georges d'Hesdin	grants of lands	late 12c. cartulary	Fossier, #110
1100–c. 1104	Mary	Bermondsey	Kingweston	late 13c. charter roll of Henry I's conf.	RRAN 2 #665
1099–1112	Eustace III	St Wolmer	grant of Frenc	18c. copy	Moreau t. 50, f. 121r–v
1100	Eustace III	Capelle	foundation	13c. cartulary (18c. copy)	Lille B1593, f. 2; M&F 2:1311–12
1106	Eustace III	St Paul's, London	quitclaims lands near cemetery	1241–2 register	Gibbs #198
1107	Eustace III & Mary	Cluny	St Wolmer	18c. copy	Moreau t. 42, f. 2334–234v (Haignere, 2:21)
1112	Eustace III	St Wolmer	confirmation of possessions	18c. copy	MSAB 12 (1880) 112–114
c. 1112	Eustace III & Mary	St Martin des Champs	Frévent church	original conf. of Bp Jean de Thérouanne	Depoin #141
1113	Eustace III	St Wolmer	Neuenna sheepfold	18c. copy 'ex autographo'	M&F 4:191–192
1115	Eustace III	Arrouaise	confirms Gervase's gift	1182/3 cartulary	Amiens, MS 1077C, f. 40r
c. 1115	Eustace III	Bermondsey	conf. Kingweston	15c., ref. to Eustace's conf.	Annales monastici, 3:432
1121	Eustace III	St Wolmer	confirmation of possessions	original	Arras, A 4/4b Laye de Boulgone (Marsy #1)

1122	Eustace III	St Bertin	freedom from customs of Merck	13c. copy of 12c. cartulary	Guerard, 229
1125	Eustace III	Rumilly	revenue from Fobbings	cartulary	BNF Ms Lat 5459, no. 29 (Brucel, #3984)
c. 1100–1125	Eustace III	St Martin le Grand, London	conf. Eustace II gift	original	WA Ch. 968
c. 1120–1125	Eustace III	St John's Colchester	conf. Eudo dapifer's gifts	late 13c. cartulary	ERO/Co T/A 369, f. 19
c. 1088–1125	Eustace III	Le Wast	Winterburn manor, Westerham church	13th c., ref. to gift	Bracton's Note Book, 216
c. 1088–1125	Eustace III	Licques	mansura in Sperleka	1174 conf. Alexander III; 18c. copy	MSAB 15 (1889–90) 52
1100–1125	Eustace III	Mary Magdalen hospital, Boulogne	20 livres from Butona manor	13th c. inspeximus of Henry I conf.	Dugdale 7:1114
c. 1093–1125	Eustace III	Mont St Eloi	1000 herring	18c. copy; ref. in Matilda conf.	Picardie t. 250, f. 268r–v
1135	Matilda	Mont St Eloi	conf. 1000 herrings from Eustace III	18c. copy	Picardie t. 250, f. 268r–v
1125–1135	Matilda	Cluny	freedom from tolls of Wissant & Boulogne	18c. copy	Baluze t. 127, f. 321
1128	Stephen & Matilda	St Josse-sur-Mer	judicial decision	13c. cartulary	Arras H2 Mi 50 f. 114v MSAB 3 (188206) 413
1125–1135	Stephen & Matilda	Longvilliers	foundation	18c. reference	Auvry, 2:247–8
1125–1135	Matilda & Stephen	St Osyth's	conf. of Chich	14c. charter roll	Bethell, 324–7

Appendix 1a (*cont.*)

Date	Grantor	Beneficiary	Contents	Type	Source
1125–1135	Matilda & Stephen	Bermondsey	manor in Somerset	original	Harley 4757, f. 8v–9r
1125–1135	Stephen	Mary Magdalen hospital, Boulogne	conf. of Eustace III's gift	Henry I conf.	Dugdale 7:1114
1125–1135	Matilda & Stephen	St John's Colchester	notification of gift of Gamlingay church	notification	Merton College no. 5525, i.
1125–1135	Stephen	St John's Colchester	Gamlingay church	letter	Merton College no. 5525, ii.
1125–1135	Stephen & Matilda	St Wulmer	conf. of possessions	18c. copy	Moreau t. 59, f. 156r–v MSAB 12 (1880) 117–119
1125–1135	Stephen & Matilda	Christchurch, Canterbury	market customs of Wissant	original	Canterbury Cath. F129
1125–1135	Stephen	St John's Colchester	conf. of Ida de Merck's gift	late 13c. cartulary	ERO/Co T/A 369, f. 20 (Moore 1:48–9)
1125–1135	Stephen & Matilda	St John's Colchester	Lillechurch	late 13c. cartulary	ERO/Co T/A 369, f. 20
1125–1135	Stephen	St Wulmer	general confirmation	18c. copy	MSAB 12 (1880) 120–123
1125–1135	Stephen & Matilda	St John's Colchester	Hecham	late 13c. cartulary	ERO/Co T/A 369, f. 20
1141, Feb. 9	Matilda & Eustace IV	Arrouaise	Merck	13c. inspeximus	Arras A4/5 (RRAN3 #24)
1142	Matilda & Eustace IV	Clairmarais	Eperlecques forest	18c. copy	St Omer Ms 850, p. 14 (RRAN3 #195)
1142, 23 June	Matilda & Eustace IV	Arrouaise	conf. Stephen's grant	1182/3 cartulary	Amiens 1077 f. 45 (RRAN3 #26)
c. 1142–1147	Matilda & Eustace IV	Clairmarais	a carucate in Eperlecques	18c. copy	St Omer Ms 850, p. 16 (RRAN3 #196)
1146–1153	Eustace IV	Holy Trinity Priory, London	conf. Hugh Tryket's sale	13c. plea rolls	PRO E13/77 & PRO C52/13 no. 8

1146–1153	Eustace IV	St Martin le Grand, London	order for peace	15c. charter roll	WA, Mun. 5, f. 16r
1146–1152	Eustace IV	Harrold priory	conf. Baldwin d'Ardres' gift	early 13c. psalter	Cheney #2
1146–1153	Eustace IV	Holy Trinity Priory, London	Braughing; conf. of Stephen's gift	13c. plea roll	PRO Cart. Antiq. C52 13
1146–53	Eustace IV	St John's Colchester	conf. mom's grant of E. Donyland	13c. cartulary	RRAN 3 #222
1146–53	Eustace IV	St John's Colchester	Witham manor	13c. cartulary	RRAN 3 #229a
1146–1153	Eustace IV	St John's Colchester	Tey	13c. cartulary	RRAN 3 #239e
1147–1148	Eustace IV	Templars	Witham	1185 inquest	RRAN 3 #847
1147–1153	Eustace IV	St Martin le Grand, London	Mashbury	14c. charter roll	RRAN 3 #551
c. 1148	Eustace IV	St Pancras, Lewes	service of Robert de Horestede' land	1444 cartulary	Salzman 1:109
1150	Eustace IV	college of Lens	founds a new prebend	18c. copy	M&F 1:583–4
c. 1150	Eustace IV	St Pancras, Lewes	Pevenesell fishery	1444 cartulary	Salzman 1:161
Aug 1153– Oct 1154	Constance	St Radegund's Cambridge	pymts for messuage, common field & fishery within Cambridge	?original	Gray, 75
1146–1159	Stephen, Matilda & William	St Osyth	conf. Baldwin constable's gift	Henry III inspeximus	Cal. Ch. Rolls, 2:332
1153–1154	William	Richard de Lucy	Stamford	PRO C 52/33, #10	RRAN 3 #569
1154	William	St Martin le Grand, London	constitution for prebends	original	WA charter 13247; (Kempe, 65)

Appendix 1a (*cont.*)

Date	Grantor	Beneficiary	Contents	Type	Source
1157	William	Ragniald castellan Lille & wife Matilda	Sainghin-en-Weppes	ref. in Thierry's charter	Hemptinne & Verhulst #171
1158	William	Furness	exchange w/Michael the Fleming	from original	Farrer, 307
1153–1159	William	Hugh fitz Ulger	conf. sister's dower	original, n.d.	ERO/Co T/A 367, Add ch. 28346
1153–1159	William	Faversham	Tring & Benedis	Edward III inspeximus	Dugdale 4:574
1153–1159	William	Beaulieu	Elingham	original	Amiens, MS 992 E
1153–1159	William	Blythburg priory	Dunwich	cartulary	Bethell #14
1153–1159	William	Blythburgh priory	Reigate	cartulary	Bethell #15
1153–1159	William	Faramus of Boulogne	Martock manor	1257–1300 charter roll	Cart. Antiq. Rolls, p. 17

*Abbreviation**Source*

Amiens	Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale
AN	Paris, Archives nationales
Annales monastici	Luard, Henry, ed. <i>Annales monastici</i> . Rolls Series. London, 1866.
Arras	Archives départementales de Pas-de-Calais
Baluze	Paris, BNF, Collection Baluze
Bethell	Bethell, Dennis. 'Richard of Belmeis and the Foundation of St Osyth's.' <i>Trans. of the Essex Archaeological Society</i> 2 (1970) 299–328.
BL	London, British Library
BNF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale
Bracton's Note Book	Maitland, F.W., ed. <i>Bracton's Note Book</i> . 3 vols. London, 1887. Rpt. Littleton, CO., 1983.

- Bruel
Cal. of Doc.
Canterbury Cath.
Cartae Antiq.
Cheney
Clay
Delisle
Depoin
Duchesne
Dugdale
Duvivier
ERO/Co
ERO/Ch
Fossier
Gibbs
Gray
Guerard
Gysseling & Koch
Haigneré
Kempe
Lille
M&F
Moreau
MSAB 12 (1880)
MSAB 13 (1882–6)
Picardie
PRO
RRAN2
RRAN3
Salzman
WA, Ch.
WA, Mun. 5
- Bruel, Alexandre, ed. *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*. Paris, 1894.
Round, J.H., ed. *Calendar of Documents preserved in France*. 2 vols. London, 1899.
Canterbury Cathedral archives
Landon, Lionel, ed. *The Cartae Antiquae Rolls 1–10*. London, 1939. Rpt. Kraus, 1977.
Cheney, C.R. 'Harrold Priory: A Twelfth-century Dispute.' *Medieval Texts and Studies*. Oxford, 1973.
Clay, C.T., ed. *Early Yorkshire Charters*. Wakefield, 1949.
Delisle, L. & E. Berger, eds. *Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc Normandie*. Paris, 1909–1927.
Depoin, Jules, ed. *Recueil des chartes et documents de Saint Martin des Champs*. Paris, 1912.
Duchesne, Andre. *Histoire généalogique des maisons de Guines, d'Ardres, de Gand*. . . . Paris, 1631.
Dugdale, William, ed. *Monasticon Anglicanum*. 6 vols. London, 1817–1830.
Duvivier, Charles. *Actes et Documents Anciens intéressants la Belgique* (Bruselles, 1898).
Essex Record Office, Colchester
Essex Record Office, Chelmsford
Fossier, Robert, ed. *Cartulaire et chronique du Prieuré Saint-Georges d'Hesdin*. Paris, 1988.
Gibbs, Marion, ed. *Early Charters of the Cathedral of St Paul's, London*. London, 1939.
Gray, Arthur. *The Priory of St Radegund, Cambridge*. Cambridge Antiquarian Society, no. 31. Cambridge, 1898.
Guerard, B., ed. *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin*. Paris, 1841.
Gysseling, M. & A.C.F. Koch, eds. *Diplomatica belgica ante annum millesimum centesimum scripta*. Brussels, 1950.
Haigneré, Daniel, ed. *Cartulaire des établissements religieux du Boulonnais*. 5 vols. Boulogne, 1880–1892.
Kemp, A.J. *Historical Notices of the Collegiate Church . . . of St Martin le Grand, London*. London, 1825.
Archives départementales du Nord
Mireaux, A. & J. Foppens, eds. *Opera diplomatica et historica*. Louvain, 1723–1748.
Paris, BNF, Collection Moreau
Haigneré, Daniel, 'Quelques chartes de Samer, 1107–1299.' MSAB 12 (1880) 110–123.
Haigneré, Daniel, ed. 'Cartulaire de l'église abbatiale Notre-Dame de Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1067–1567.' MSAB 13 (1882–6) 89–360.
Paris, BNF, Collection Picardie
London, Public Record Office
Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1100–1135. eds. Ch. Johnson & H.A. Cronne. Oxford, 1956.
Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1135–1154. eds. H.A. Cronne & R.H.C. Davis. Oxford, 1967.
Salzman, L.F., ed. *The Cartulary of the Priory of St Pancras, Lewes*. Sussex Record Office. Lewes, 1932.
Westminster Abbey Archives, Charter
Westminster Abbey Archives, Muniment Book 5

Appendix 1b
 Charters Concerning Boulogne & Honour of Boulogne
 Issued by Stephen & Matilda as king & queen

Date	Grantor	Beneficiary	Contents	Type	Source
1137	Matilda	Mortemer	funds for a church		Bouvet, 155
1139–1146	Matilda	Bec	Marchaltat	18c. copy	RRAN3 #76
1142–1152	Matilda	Christchurch, Canterbury	Sisted	original	RRAN3 #149
1136–1152, 1151?	Matilda	St Augustine's Canterbury	1 acre for nun Helmid		RRAN3 #157
1143–1147	Matilda	Clairmarias	use of land previously given	18c. copy	RRAN3 #198
1140–1141	Matilda	Coggeshall	Coggeshall foundation	13c. (Chart. Rot. 19 Ed. II)	RRAN3 #207
1148–1152	Matilda	St John's Colchester	East Donyland	13c. cartulary	RRAN3 #221
1148–1152	Matilda	St John's Colchester	notice of exchange	13c. cartulary	RRAN3 #224
1148–1152	Matilda	St John's Colchester	conf. of grant in Tey	13c. cartulary	RRAN3 #239b
1148–1152	Matilda	St John's Colchester	reseissin of Tey	13c. cartulary	RRAN3 #239d
1136–1147	Matilda	Gervase of Cornhill	10 marcates in Gamlingay	original	RRAN3 #243
1148–1152	Matilda	Faversham abbey	Tring	13c. (Chart. Rot. 19 Ed. II)	RRAN3 #301
1147–1152	Matilda	Holy Trinity London	mill near Tower of London	original	RRAN3 #503
1139–1156	Matilda	Holy Trinity London	conf. Hubert camerarius' gift		RRAN3 #509
1147–1148	Matilda	Holy Trinity London	conf. of Stephen's gift of Braughing	Cart. Antiq. roll 13	RRAN3 #512
1147–1148	Matilda	Holy Trinity London	church of Braughing	15c. copy	RRAN3 #513
1145–1147	Matilda	St Martin le Grand	Witham	original	RRAN3 #539

1145–1147	Matilda	St Martin le Grand	church of Witham	14c. charter roll	RRAN3 #541
1147–1152	Matilda	St Martin le Grand	marsh of Maldon	14c. charter roll	RRAN3 #548
1143–1147	Matilda	St Martin le Grand	church of Crishall	14c. charter roll	RRAN3 #553
1137–1147	Matilda	St Martin le Grand	queen's peace for Robert chaplain	14c. charter roll	RRAN3 #556
1137	Matilda	Templars	Cressing	late 12c. inquest	RRAN3 #843
1147–1148	Matilda	Templars	Witham	late 12c. inquest	RRAN3 #845
1138–1139	Matilda	Templars	Cowley	late 12c. inquest	RRAN3 #850
1136–1146	Matilda	Coggeshall	tolls	16c. copy	Davis, 167
1136–1152	Matilda	Faversham	Burdefield & Kingsdown	17c. reference	Southouse, 71
1136–1152	Matilda	St Osyth's	confirmation of gift	16c. reference	Leland, 5:171
1137	Stephen	St Mary Magdalen, Boulogne	conf. Eustace III gift of Boughton Aluph	14c. royal charter roll	RRAN3 #117
1142	Stephen	Arrouaise	tithe of Merck	1182/3 cartulary	RRAN3 #25
1140–1142	Stephen	Clairmarais	land in Éperlecques	18c. copy	RRAN3 #194
1142–1147	Stephen	Clairmarais	land in Éperlecques	18c. copy	RRAN3 #197
1143–1147	Stephen	Clairmarais	conf. RRAN3 #198	18c. copy	RRAN3 #199
1145–1150	Stephen	St Ghislain	conf. William de Tulin's gift	18c. copy	RRAN3 #775
1137	Stephen	Bec	conf. Eustace III's gift Boulogne tolls	17c. transcript	RRAN3 #73
1135–1154	Stephen	St Botulph's Colchester	notice re: lands in Tendring Hundred	15c. patent roll	RRAN3 #212
1148–1152	Stephen	St John's Colchester	E. Donyland & Lillechurch	13c. cartulary	RRAN3 #226
1148–1152	Stephen	St John's Colchester	warren in E. Donyland	13c. cartulary	RRAN3 #227

Appendix 1b (*cont.*)

Date	Grantor	Beneficiary	Contents	Type	Source
1136–1154	Stephen	St John's Colchester	Higham	13c. cartulary	RRAN3 #233
1136–1153	Stephen	St John's Colchester	conf. Ida de Marcy's gift	13c. cartulary	RRAN3 #234
1136–1152	Stephen	St John's Colchester	conf. Ida de Marcy's gift	13c. cartulary	RRAN3 #235
1153–1154	Stephen	St John's Colchester	quit of forest pleas in Tendring	13c. cartulary	RRAN3 #239
1153–1154	Stephen	St John's Colchester	quit of forest pleas in Tendring	13c. cartulary	RRAN3 #239a
1135–1154	Stephen	St John's Colchester	Tey	13c. cartulary	RRAN3 #239c
1153–1154	Stephen	Colne priory	conf. Eusemia de Ver's gift	cartulary	RRAN3 #242
1139–1154	Stephen	Gervase of Cornhill	Barksdon	original	RRAN3 #244
Christmas 1141	Stephen	Geoffrey de Mandeville	Ickleton, Maldon, Anstey & Braughing	original	RRAN3 #276
1137–1138	Stephen	Eye priory	general conf. & Raydon gift	original	RRAN3 #288
1139–1146	Stephen	Holy Trinity London	100s. land in Braughing	original	RRAN3 #508
1139–1146	Stephen	Holy Trinity London	conf. Hubert armiger's gift	original	RRAN3 #510
1147–1154	Stephen	market in Braughing	protection for all who attend	14c. (Chart. Rotuli 3 Ric II)	RRAN3 #514
1136–1154	Stephen	Holy Trinity London	conf. gift of Barksdon	original	RRAN3 #515
1140–1154	Stephen	Holy Trinity London	Leyton	14c. (Chart. Rotuli 3 Ric II)	RRAN3 #520
1139–1140	Stephen	St Martin le Grand	reseissin	original	RRAN3 #543
c. 1143–1147	Stephen	St Martin le Grand	Maldon	14c. charter roll	RRAN3 #544
1143–1147	Stephen	St Martin le Grand	Maldon	original	RRAN3 #545
1147–1152	Stephen	St Martin le Grand	Maldon	14c. charter roll	RRAN3 #546

1147–1152	Stephen	St Martin le Grand	marsh of Maldon	original	RRAN3 #547
1143–1154	Stephen	St Martin le Grand	marsh of Maldon	original	RRAN3 #549
1145–1147	Stephen	St Martin le Grand	conf. Crishall gift	14c. charter roll	RRAN3 #555
1135–1140	Stephen	St Martin le Grand	Good Easter, Maldon, etc.	original	RRAN3 #558
1143–1147	Stephen	St Martin le Grand	pleas of Good Easter	original	RRAN3 #559
1139–1154	Stephen	St Paul's London	Runwell	13c. register	RRAN3 #565
1149–1152	Stephen	Osney abbey	conf. gifts in Cowley	original	RRAN3 #633
1147–1153	Stephen	Sawtry	conf. gift in Gamlingay	pretended original	RRAN3 #814
1138–1139	Stephen	Templars	Cowley		RRAN3 #851
1139–1154	Stephen	Templars	exemption from shires & hundreds in Cowley		RRAN3 #852
1139–1147	Stephen	Templars	Wodewega (Cowley app.)	late 12c. inquest	RRAN3 #853
1147–1152	Stephen	Coggeshall	conf. Coggeshall gift of Matilda & Eustace	16c. confirmation roll	Davis, 166–7
1140–1154	Stephen	Coggeshall	conf. Geoffrey de Tregoz gift	16c. confirmation roll	Davis, 167
1147–1154	Stephen	Coggeshall	lands of Adam de Beaunay	16c. confirmation roll	Davis, 168
1148–1154	Stephen	Faversham	Tring	cartulary roll	Vincent #4
1143–1148	Stephen	Ickleton Priory	Ickleton	15c. confirmation roll	Vincent #6
1143–1154	Stephen	Ickleton Priory	church of Ickleton	16c. confirmation roll	Vincent #7

Royal/Non-Boulonnais Charters of Queen Matilda

Date	Grantor	Beneficiary	Contents	Type	Source
1141	Matilda	St Martin le Grand	Cripplegate	14c. charter roll	RRAN3 #530
1143–1147	Matilda	St Martin le Grand	Mashbury	14c. (Chart. Rot. 17 Ed. III)	RRAN3 #550
1147–1152	Matilda	St Martin le Grand	marsh of Maldon	14c. charter roll	RRAN3 #557
1136–1152	Matilda	Waltham abbey	freedom from gelds & scots		RRAN3 #917

Abbreviations

Bouvet	J. Bouvet, 'Le récit de la fondation de Mortemer,' <i>Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciencium Reformatorum</i> 22 (1960) 149–168.
Davis	R.H.C. Davis, <i>King Stephen</i> , 3 ed. (London: Longman, 1990).
Leland	John Leland, <i>The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1135–1543</i> , ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (London, 1907–10).
RRAN3	<i>Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum, vol. III 1135–1154</i> , eds. H.A. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).
Southouse	Thomas Southouse, <i>Monasticon Favershamiense</i> (London, 1671).
Vincent	Nicholas Vincent, 'New Charters of King Stephen,' <i>EHR</i> 114 (1999) 899–928.

Appendix 1c

Charters and References to Lost Acta for Honours of Eye, Lancaster, and Warenne & county of Mortain
Issued by Stephen and William of Boulgone

Date	Grantor	Beneficiary	Contents	Type	Source
1125–1127	Stephen	Furness	foundation	facsimile charter	Hatton #423
1125–1135	Stephen	Robert de Moliness	Liderlant	original charter	Farrer, 427
c. 1113–1125	Stephen	Eye priory	conf. Adelelm's gift	late 13c. cartulary	ERO/Ch D/DBy Q19, f. 22v. (Brown #19)
1125–1135	Stephen	Eye priory	church of Barrowby	late 13c. cartulary	ERO/Ch D/DBy Q19, f. 22v (Brown #20)
c. 1113–1125	Stephen	Eye priory	general confirmation	late 13c. cartulary	ERO/Ch D/DBy Q19, f. 23r (Brown #21)
1125–1129	Stephen	Eye priory	orders Robert fitz Walter to restore property	late 13c. cartulary	ERO/Ch D/DBy Q19, f. 23r (Brown #22)
1125–1135	Stephen	Broholm priory	confirmation		Dugdale 5:63
1121–1135	Stephen	Conques abbey	church of Horsham	notification Bp Herbert	EEA Norwich #30
1115–1125	Stephen	Ernald Rufus	gift of Stradbrook manor		Cal. Ch. Rolls, 1:46–7
1125–1135	Stephen	nuns of Mouton	order of peace	1310 vidimus	Haskins, 127, n. 17
1115–1125	Stephen	N.D. de Mortain	conf. & peace	1139 conf. Bp Herbert Avranches	Gallia Ch. 2:478–9
1127	Stephen	Bec abbey	conf. William Peverel's gift & brothers	original notification	RRAN2 #1547
c. 1130	Stephen	Bernard the Scribe	quitclaim on rent in Winchester		RRAN2 #1676

Appendix 1c (*cont.*)

Date	Grantor	Beneficiary	Contents	Type	Source
1134	Stephen	Redlington priory	conf. Emma ctss of Guines' gift		RRAN2 #1904
1115–1125	Stephen	Les Blanches, Mortain	wheat from Mortain mills; 40s. rent from Teilleul		Moolenbroek, 137, n. 118
	Stephen	Savigny	Haye & Moreta	Richard bp Avranches' conf.	AN L 967, no. 103 (Hill, 251)
1115–1135	Stephen	St Etienne, Caen	conf. of tenant's grant		Déville, 18
1124–1131	Stephen	Virey	conf. foundation	Henry I confirmation	RRAN2 #1588
	Stephen	Savigny	conf. William St Clare's gift	Henry II confirmation	Delisle 1:184–8
	Stephen	canons of Mortain		1333 vidimus	Boussard,
1115–1135	Stephen	St Mary's, Derlegh	tithe 3rd penny & meadow of Dereby, etc.		Cal. Ch. Rolls 1:89–90
1115–1159	Stephen or William		church of Launceston	Reginald of Cornwall's charter	Robinson, 77–8
c. 1150	William	St Pancras, Lewes	Guy de Mencecuria	1444 cartulary	Salzman 1:62
c. 1153–1155	William	Furness	general conf.	1397 patent roll	Farrer, 306
c. 1155	William & Isabella	St Pancras Lewes		1444 cartulary	Salzman 1:36
1155–1158	William	Coutances cathedral	houses in Coutances		Cal. of Doc. no. 961
c. 1156	William	St Pancras, Lewes	Massingham	1444 cartulary	Salzman 1:37
c. 1156	William	St Pancras, Lewes	Falemele	1444 carutlary	Salzman 1:37

1158	William	Les Blanches, Mortain	conf. Stephen's gift (rents from Teilleul & Monfautret)	18c. copy	van Moolenbroek, 137, n. 118
1148–1154	William	Holy Trinity, Caen	Anstey	original Henry II conf.	Deslisle DCI (no. 450)
1148–1159	William	Croxdon	church of Croxdon	from Henry II conf.	Dugdale 6:877
1148–1159	William	St Pancras, Lewes	land of Burchard for a hospice	original	Clay #52
1153–1159	William	Furness	forest & fishery of Lancaster	16c. cartulary	Farrer, 309
1153–1159	William	Furness	tolls & customs Wissant	Furness register	BL, Add Mss 5485, f. 35v
1153–1159	William	Utrid Hucklesone	Broctona	original	Farrer, 430
1153–1159	William	Waldeve	Walton-on-the-Hill, Wavertree, etc.	from John's 1199 conf.	Rot. Chart., p. 28a
1153–1159	William	Grestain abbey	privileges in Seaford	from Richard I conf.	Dugdale, 6:1091
1154–1159	William	Nostell	Herlingkona	cartulary	Clay #51
1154–1159	William	Bury St Edmund's	Turstanetuna	cartulary	B St E #188
1156–1159	William	Eye priory	conf. Stephen's gifts	late 13c. cartulary	ERO/Ch D/DBy Q19, f. 23r
1156–1159	William	Eye priory	general conf.	late 13c. cartulary	ERO/Ch D/DBy Q19, f. 23v

Abbreviations

B St E
Bethell
Boussard

Douglas, D.C., ed. *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmund's*. London, 1932.

Bethell, Dennis. 'Richard of Belmeis and the Foundation of St Osyth's.' *Trans. of the Essex Archaeological Society* 2 (1970) 299–328.

Boussard, J. 'Le comté de Mortain au XI^e siècle.' *Le Moyen Age*, 4 ser., 7 (1952) 253–279.

Appendix 1c (*cont.*)

- Brown Brown, Vivien, ed., *Eye Priory Cartulary and Charters*, pt. 1. Woodbridge, 1992.
- Cal. Ch. Calendar of Charter Rolls, v. I. London, 1903; v. II. London, 1906.
- Cal. of Doc. Round, J.H., ed. *Calendar of Documents preserved in France*. 2 vols. London, 1899.
- Clay Clay, C.T., ed. *Early Yorkshire Charters*. Wakefield, 1949.
- Delisle Delisle, L. & E. Berger, eds. *Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc Normandie*. Paris, 1909–1927.
- Déville Deville, E. *Analyse d'un ancien cartulaire de Saint Etienne de Caen*. Evreux, 1905.
- Dugdale Dugdale, William, ed. *Monasticon Anglicanum*. 6 vols. London, 1817–1830.
- EEA *English Episcopal Acta Norwich (1070–1214)*. eds. Christopher Harper-Bill. Oxford, 1990.
- ERO/Co Essex Record Office, Colchester
- ERO/Ch Essex Record Office, Chelmsford
- Farrer Farrer, W., ed. *Lancashire Pipe Rolls and Early Lancashire Charters*. Liverpool, 1902.
- Gallia *Gallia Christiana in provinciis ecclesiasticis distributa*. ed. monks of St Maur. Paris, 1856–65.
- Haskins Haskins, Charles H. *Norman Institutions*. Cambridge, MA., 1918.
- Hatton *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*. ed. L.C. Loyd & D.M. Stenton. Oxford, 1950.
- Hill Hill, B.D., 'The Counts of Mortain and the Origins of the Norman Congregation of Savigny.' *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages* eds. W.C. Jordan et al. Princeton, 1976.
- Robinson *The Register of Walter Brouncombe, Bishop of Exeter 1258–1280*. ed. O.F. Robinson. Woodbridge, 1995.
- Rot. Chart. *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londoniensi Asservati, Vol. 1, Pars I (1199–1216)*. ed. T.D. Hardy. London, 1837.
- RRAN 2 *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1100–1135*. eds. Ch. Johnson & H.A. Cronne. Oxford, 1956.
- Salzman Salzman, L.F., ed. *The Cartulary of the Priory of St Pancras, Lewes*. Sussex Record Office. Lewes, 1932.
- St John's Cambridge, St John's College Archives
- van Moolenbroek van Moolenbroek, Jaap. *Vital l'ermite, prédicateur itinérant...* trans. Anne-Marie Nanbot. van Gorcum/Maastricht, 1990.

Appendix 2—Honour of Boulogne

County	Property	Domesday Holder	Domesday Value
Bedfordshire	Bromham	Arnulf d'Ardres	20s.
Bedfordshire	Little Odell	Arnulf d'Ardres	60s.
Bedfordshire	Pavenham	Arnulf d'Ardres	none listed
Bedfordshire	Stagsden	Godwi Englishman	25s.
Bedfordshire	Stevington	Arnulf d'Ardres	£14
Bedfordshire	Toft	Robert fitz Rozelin	40s.
Bedfordshire	Turvey	Arnulf d'Ardres	10s.
Cambridgeshire	Duxford	Hernulf/Arnulf	100s.
Cambridgeshire	Duxford	Guy	28s. 8d.
Cambridgeshire	Grantchester	Robert Fafiton	£8
Cambridgeshire	Ickleton	Eustace II	£20
Cambridgeshire	Trumpington	Arnulf d'Ardres	£4
Dorset	Bockhampton	Countess Ida	£3
Dorset	Swanage	Countess Ida	0
Dorset	Winterbourne	Countess Ida	£6
	Monkton		
Essex	Abberton	Ralf de Marci	60s.
Essex	Alresford	Hacon	60s.
Essex	Belchamp	Bernard	30s.
	St Ethelbert		
Essex	Belchamp Otton	Ulmar	£4
Essex	Bendish Hall	Eustace II	£12
Essex	Bircho	Robert	£4 7s.
Essex	Blacham	Eustace II	7s.
Essex	Blunts Hall	Eustace II	10s.
Essex	Boreham	Lambert	£8
Essex	Boreham	Eustace's knight	none listed
Essex	Boxted	Eustace II	£12
Essex	Chiche	Eustace II	£10
Essex	Chipping Ongar	Eustace II	£8
Essex	Chipping Ongar	Ralf Baignard	none listed
Essex	Claret	Eustace II	£22
Essex	Coggeshall	Eustace II	£14
Essex	Colchester,	Eustace II (11)	0
	12 houses	Engelric (1)	
Essex	Colne Engaine	Robert	40s.
Essex	Crawleybury	Roger de Sumeri	10s.
Essex	Creshall	Eustace II	£15
Essex	Dunmow	Adelulf de Merck	£8
Essex	East Donyland	Eustace II	5s.
Essex	East Donyland	Robert	12d.
Essex	East Thorpe	Hugh	30s.
Essex	Elmdon	Roger de Sumeri	£20

Appendix 2 (*cont.*)

County	Property	Domesday Holder	Domesday Value
Essex	Finchingfield	Guy	16s.
Essex	Finchingfield	Guy	40s.
Essex	Fobbing	Eustace II	£36
Essex	Frinton	Ralf de Marci	£4 10s.
Essex	Fyfield	Richard	10s.
Essex	Good Easter	St Martin le Grand	£10
Essex	Goldhanger	Adelulf de Merck	30s.
Essex	Gravesend	Eustace II	20s.
Essex	Great Birch	Hugh	100s.
Essex	Great Parndon	Junain	£4
Essex	Great Tey	Eustace II	£22
Essex	Harlow	Geoffrey	11s.
Essex	High Laver	Ralf	30s.
	(120 ac.)		
Essex	High Laver	Eustace II	£20
Essex	Horndon on the Hill	Warner	50s.
Essex	Iltney	Eustace II	30s.
Essex	Lambourne	David	60s.
Essex	Latton	Adelulf de Merck	60s.
Essex	Lawford	Adelulf de Merck	£10
Essex	Lawford	Eustace II	none listed
Essex	Laver de la Hay	Eustace II	£3
Essex	Leebury	Roger de Sumeri	100s.
Essex	Little Baddow	Lambert	£6
Essex	Little Bardfield	Adelulf de Merck	£10
Essex	Little Chishall	Guy de Anjou	£16
Essex	Little Chishall	Guy de Anjou	10s.
Essex	Little Holland	Adelulf de Merck	£4
Essex	Little Laver	Richard	10s.
Essex	Little Stanford	Alvric	10s.
Essex	Little Stanford	Eustace II	40s.
Essex	Little Waltham	Lambert	60s.
Essex	Little Wigborough	Eustace II	none listed
	(1/2 Hundred)		
Essex	Longenhoe	Eustace II	£17 5s.
Essex	Maldon	St Martin le Grand	20s.
Essex	Newenham	Eustace II	£12
Essex	Newland Hall	Mauger	£7
Essex	Orsett	Eustace II	20s.
Essex	Plesinchou	Bernard	10s.
Essex	Purleigh	Eustace II	23s.
Essex	Ridgewell	Eustace II	£24
Essex	Rivenhall	Eustace II	30s.
Essex	Rivenhall	Eustace II	£12
Essex	Runwell	Lambert	20s.
Essex	Shenfield	Roger	60s.
Essex	Shopland	Eustace II	£10

Appendix 2 (*cont.*)

County	Property	Domesday Holder	Domesday Value
Essex	Shortgrove	Adelulf de Merck	33s.
Essex	Shortgrove	Adelulf de Merck	40s.
Essex	Smeeton Hall	Raner	£8
Essex	Stanford Rivers	Eustace II	£40 blanch
Essex	Steeple Bumstead	Adelulf de Merck	100s.
Essex	Tendring	Eustace II	60s.
Essex	Tendring	Bernard	£4
Essex	Tollesbury	Almerfrid	£3
Essex	Tolleshunt	Eustace II	20s.
Essex	Tolleshunt	St Martin le Grand	30s.
Essex	Tolleshunt Guines	Adelulf de Merck	100s.
Essex	Toppesfield	Bernard	20s.
Essex	Uleham	Robert	14s.
Essex	Weston	Adelulf de Merck	25s.
Essex	White Notley	Eustace II	£10
Essex	Witham	Richard	20s.
Hertfordshire	Anstey	Eustace II	£14
Hertfordshire	Barksdon Green	Robert	£3
Hertfordshire	Beauchamps	Rumold	20s.
Hertfordshire	Boreson	Eustace II	£3
Hertfordshire	Braughing	Eustace II	£16
Hertfordshire	Cockhamstread	Eustace II	£7
Hertfordshire	Corneybury	Robert	13s. 4d.
Hertfordshire	Hoddesdon	St Martin le Grand	15s.
Hertfordshire	Hormead	2 Englishmen	£3
Hertfordshire	Hormead	William from Ralph Bainard	5s.
Hertfordshire	Layston	Rumold	40s.
Hertfordshire	Layston	2 knights	3s.
Hertfordshire	Reed	Robert fitz Rozelin	£4
Hertfordshire	Throcking	Rumold	2s.
Hertfordshire	Tring	Eustace II	£22, Count's white pennies
Hertfordshire	Wakeley farm	Robert	5s.
Huntingdonshire	Chesterton	Eustace II	40s.
Huntingdonshire	Glatton	Eustace II	£10
Huntingdonshire	Sibson	Eustace II	50s.
Huntingdonshire	Stebbington	Junain	none listed
Kent	Boughton Aluph	Eustace II	£40
Kent	Westerham	Eustace II	£40
Norfolk	Anmer	Eustace, Osmund, sokemen	80s.
Norfolk	Frenge	Eustace II, 2 sokemen	60s.
Norfolk	Little Massingham	Guy de Anjou	50s.
Norfolk	Neyland	Eustace II	10s.
Norfolk	Thorpe Ashwell	Eustace II	£6
Norfolk	Witchingham	Eustace II	£7

Appendix 2 (*cont.*)

County	Property	Domesday Holder	Domesday Value
Oxfordshire	Cowley	Roger	40s.
Somerset	Belluton	Alvred de Merleberg	£4
Somerset	Chilwood	Alvred de Merleberg	60s.
Somerset	Combwich	Alvred de Merleberg	40s.
Somerset	Compton Bishop	Matilda	100s.
Somerset	Kingweston	Countess Ida	£6
Somerset	Laxworthy	Evrard	30s.
Somerset	Loxton	Eustace II	100s.
Somerset	Newton	Alvred de Merleberg	£4
Suffolk	Buxhall	Eustace II	£4
Suffolk	Elvedon	Eustace II	40s.
Suffolk	Higham	Ralf de Merck	20s.
Suffolk	Little Finsborough	Eustace II	100s.
Suffolk	Little Finsborough	7 freemen	100s.
Suffolk	Ousden	Eustace II	£7
Suffolk	Rattleden	Aldred	10s.
Suffolk	Raydon	Eustace II	none listed
Suffolk	Stanfeld	Hato	40s.
Surrey	Nutfield	Countess Ida	£15
Surrey	Oxted (1 house in Southwark)	Eustace II	£14
Surrey	Wachelestedede (15 houses in Southwark)	Eustace II	£20

Appendix 2a—Honour of Boulogne
Additions from the reign of Henry I

County	Property	Holder
Cambridgeshire	Gamlingay	Gunnor, Peter de Valognes' wife
Cambridgeshire	Shakeldown grange	Eustace III
Cambridgeshire	Woodbury (Westhorpe)	Eustace III
Hertfordshire	Newsellsbury	de Merck family
Kent	Lillechurch	Lillechurch priory
Somerset	Martock	Pharamus of Boulogne

Appendix 3: Tenants of the Honour of Boulogne 1135–54

Bedfordshire:

Arnulf II d'Ardres (d. 1139)
Baldwin I d'Ardres (1139–1147)
Arnulf viscount of Merck & lord d'Ardres (1147–c. 1176)
Hugh Triket (c. 1150), his father

Cambridgeshire:

Geoffrey de Mandeville (Christmas 1141–Michaelmas 1143)
Eusemia countess of Oxford (c. 1150)
Gunnor and her husband Peter of Valognes
Gervase of Cornhill (1136–?)
Walchelin marshal, then Ilbert de Carençy
Eustace, son of Robert Lafaited
Arnulf II d'Ardres (d. 1139)
Baldwin I d'Ardres (1139–1147)
Arnulf viscount of Merck & lord d'Ardres (1147–c. 1176)
Roger, son of Peter de Valognes
William fitz Robert (heir of Guy d'Anjou's son Baldwin)

Dorset:

monks of Le Wast

Essex:

Richard de Lucy (pre 1152, definitely by 1153)
Osbert Martel
Tuold of Boreham
John, sheriff of Norfolk or William de Chesney
Hugh Bigod
Graland de Tany
Roger de Tany
Geoffrey de Mandeville (Christmas 1141–Michaelmas 1143)
Robert fitz Richard (received Baynard lands in 1111)
Robert Dosnel
Faramus of Boulogne
Fulk of Merck
Simon of Merck, son of Fulk
Baldwin of Wissant
Roger of Wissant, Baldwin's son
Thomas, son of Thomas Arden
Viscount Elinald
Bernard, Vct Elinald's son (or his brother William)

Thomas de Camville's son (?Richard de Camville)
 Geoffrey de Tresgoz (?son of William, by 1147)
 Ralph de la Haye and his sons Maurice and Walter
 Oger de Curtona (?)
 descendant of Haimo dapifer
 Turgis Hardechin
 Malcolm of St Liz & son Walter
 Baldwi of Builli
 William Peverel
 Robert de Vere
 Simon de Molendinis & wife Adelaide
 Richard of Boulogne (d. by 1147)
 Robert of Boulogne, Richard's son (c. 1147-?)
 Ranulf of Venions
 Richard fitz Herbert (or fitz Hubert) de Anstey
 Manasser
 Walter of Guerris
 Maurice of Chiche
 Adam de Sumer
 Walter de Provins, Theobald of Blois' bailiff
 Hugh, Stephen's son (of Tendring)

Hertfordshire:

Geoffrey II de Mandeville (Christmas 1141-Michaelmas 1143)
 Hugh Triket
 Faramus of Boulogne & his tenants: Rumold II & sons Payn and Bernard
 Henry of Furneaux
 Theobald of Braughing
 Fulk of Merck
 Simon of Merck, Fulk's son
 Richard de Anstey
 Hubert, Queen Matilda's chamberlain
 Gervase of Cornhill
 ?Simon de Gerardville
 ?Roger of Caieu

Huntingdonshire:

lords of Doudeauville
 Henry of Merck (1147-67)
 Serlo de Marci and son Haimo

Kent:

St John's Colchester, then Lillechurch priory
 Hospital of St Mary Magdalene, Boulogne
 Le Wast priory

Norfolk:

William de Chesney

Oxfordshire:

Baldwin of Osterwic

William de Chesney (1149–?)

Richard de Camville (1149–?)

Somerset:

Robert of Ewias

Faramus of Boulogne

Suffolk:

Adam, Warin's son

Godfrey, Elenard's son

Robert Darnel (c. 1152)

Robert, Baldwin's son

Ida & her husband Ralf de Marci

Richard Hoveel

Surrey:

Richard de Anstey

Ralph of Oxted

Faramus of Boulogne

List of tenants based on the following sources of information:

J.H. Round, "The Counts of Boulogne as English Lords," *Peerage and Family History* (London, 1901).

The Victoria History of the Counties of England.

Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, III (1135–54), eds. H.A. Cronne & R.H.C. Davis (Oxford, 1968).

R.H.C. Davis, *King Stephen*, 3rd edn. (Longmans, 1990), Appendix VIII.

Monasticon Anglicanum, ed. William Dugdale (London, 1823–1830) 6 vols.

Philip Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex* (London, 1768).

William Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees* (Manchester, 1925).

The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families, eds. Lewis C. Lloyd, C.T. Clay & D.C. Douglas (Leeds, 1951).

I.J. Saunders, *English Baronies: A Study of the Origin and Descent, 1086–1327* (Oxford, 1960).

Stoke by Clare Cartulary, eds. Christopher Harper-Bill & Richard Mortimer (Woodbridge, 1982).

Blythburgh Priory Cartulary, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1980).

Sibton Abbey Cartularies, ed. Philippa Brown (Suffolk Record Society, Woodbridge, 1985).

PRO, Ancient Deeds (E40): 1005, 1048, 823, 11967.

Westminster Abbey archives, charters 984 & 8114.

British Museum: Harleian Ms 662 (Dunmow Priory cartulary); Harley charter 83A 53; Cotton Charter xxvii 96.

The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, ed. Michael Gervers (Oxford, 1982).

*Appendix 4: The Epitaphs of Eustace III, Countess Mary, and
Queen Matilda III*

Eustace III's Epitaph [*Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, ed. Martin Marrier and Andre Quercentan (Matiscone, 1915) col. 1352. Also in Philippe Luto, *Mémoires sur l'histoire de la ville de Boulogne-sur-Mer et de son comté*, (18c.), Ms 169A (325) (Boulogne) 420.]

In Epitaphio Eustachij Comititis, Versus

Principis Eustachij quo Gallia floruit olim
 Exuuiis praesens nobilitatur humus
 Istius arma viri tremuerant Persica Regna
 Et Babylon timuit qua timor orbis erat
 Aethiopum proprio rubuit nigredo cruore
 Quem fudit Christo dextra sacra ducis
 Pallet adhuc Oriens stupefactus cade suorum
 dum pavet occiduo rursus ab hoste premi
 Regia Hierusalem Christi veneranda trophaeis
 Hoc duce captivum tollit ad astra caput
 Spem Cluniace suae tibi credit iste salutis
 ut sibi placaret te mediante Deum
 Hac spe longinquis veniens peregrinus ab oris
 Hic iacet et pro se supplicat ecce tibi
 Aurea crux geminae cellae piscesque marini
 clamant quod nihil huic iure negare potes
 Hujus tu membris sicut tua claustra parasti
 Sic prece spiritui regna superna para
 Haec quoque felici quae contegis ossa sepulchro
 Post hoc hospitum redde suae patriae.

The present grave of Prince Eustace, by whom France once prospered, is made famous by [his] arms.

The arms of this man made the Persian empire tremble,
 And Babylon, which was the fear of the world, feared him.

The darkness of Ethiopia reddened with its own blood,
 which the sacred right hand poured out for Christ.

The East was still pale, stunned by the slaughter of its men;

While its fears to be oppressed again by the enemy falling upon them.
 Jerusalem the capital having been captured by this duke, he raised
 to the stars the battle standards, the royal relics of Christ, deserving to
 be venerated.

This man believes in you, Cluny [and] in the hope of his salvation,
 so that he might please God and himself, with you [Cluny] helping.

A pilgrim coming from distant shores with this hope,

And lo, this man lies dead here, and on his behalf he prays for you.

The golden cross of the twin chapels and the fish of the sea,
 proclaims that you may not refuse anything to this oath,
 You have prepared your chambers for the limbs of man
 now prepare with this prayer the heavenly kingdom for the Spirit.
 And these bones which you bury in a fortunate Sepulchre
 after this sojourn, return to his native land.

Countess Mary's epitaph [William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols. (London, 1817–30) 5:94.]

Nobilis hic tumultata jacet comitissa Maria
 Actibus haec nituit; larga benigna fuit.
 Regum sanguis erat; morum probitate vigebat;
 Compatiens inopi; vivit in arce Poli.

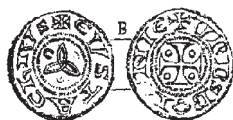
The noble Countess Mary lies dead here buried;
 By these deeds she shone; she was bountifully kind;
 She was of royal blood; she was strong in upright character;
 Compassionate to those in need; she lives in the vault of heaven.

Queen Matilda's epitaph [Thomas Southouse, *Monasticon Favershamiense* (London, 1671) 109.]

Anno milleno C quinquagenoq; primo
 Quo sua non minuit sed sibi nostra tulit.
 Mathildis foelix conjunx Stephani quoque Regis
 Occidit insignis moribus et titulis.
 Cultrix vera Dei, cultrix et pauperiei
 Hic subnixa Deo quo frueretur eo;
 Foemina si qua polos conscendere quaeque meretur
 Angelicis manibus diva haec Regina tenetur.

In the year one thousand, one hundred fifty-one
 in which her [life] did not lessen but brought her to us (?)
 Mathilda, happy wife of King Stephen,
 died distinguished by [her] character and honors/dignities.
 A true worshiper of God and a cultivator/supporter of the poor
 Here she rests in God so that she may rejoice in him
 If any woman at all deserves to mount to heaven [it is she],
 and there this holy queen is held in the hands of angels.

Appendix 5: Comital Coins from the Mints Boulogne and Lens



Row 1: Eustace II (Boulogne mint)
Deschamps de Pas, "Note . . . nom d'Eustace" p. 48



Row 2: Eustace III (Boulogne mint); Eustace III (Boulogne mint)
Deschamps de Pas, "Note . . . nom d'Eustace" p. 57 & Deschamps de Pas, "Note sur . . ." p. 291



Row 3: Stephen and Matilda (Lens mint); Stephen and Matilda (Boulogne mint)
Deschamps de Pas, "Note sur . . ." p. 284

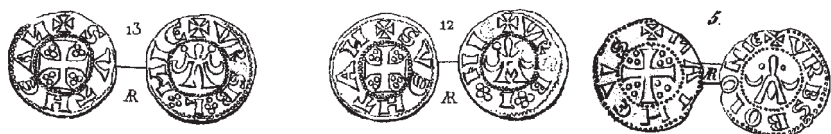


Row 4: William (Boulogne mint); Eustace IV (Lens mint)
Deschamps de Pas, "Essai . . ." Pl. II, nos. 3-4



Row 5: William (Boulogne mint)

Deschamps de Pas, "Etude . . ." Pl. XI, nos. 10–11



Row 6: Matthew (Boulogne mint)

Deschamps de Pas, "Etude . . ." Pl. XI, nos. 12–13

Sources

- L. Deschamps de Pas, "Essai sur l'histoire monétaire de Boulogne-sur-Mer," *Revue numismatique* 3 (1838): 19–34.
 —, "Etude sur les monnaies de Boulogne," *Revue numismatique* (1885): 264–295.
 —, "Note sur deux monnoies inédites se rattachant à l'histoire de Boulogne-sur-Mer," *Revue numismatique* 4 (1839): 284–294.
 —, "Note sur les monnaies de Boulogne au nom d'Eustache," *Revue numismatique* 4 (1859): 48–59.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival Sources

Abbeville, Bibliothèque municipale

Ms 189 Cartulaire Abbaye Auchy-les-Moines

Ms 190 (19c. copy) Cartulaire de St-Josse-sur-Mer

Amiens, Archives départementales de la Somme

2 Mi 38/9 Cartulaire de chapitre d'Amiens

F 459 Abbaye de St Prix

F 465 (1751 copy) Hela countess Ponthieu for St Josse-sur-Mer

Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale:

Ms 1077 & Ms 1077C Cartulaire d'Arrouaise

992E (original charter) William count Boulogne for Beaulieu abbey

Arras, Archives départementales du Pas-du-Calais:

Serie A: 4/4, 4/4bis, 4/5: Trésor des chartes (Artois)

Serie H: Cartulaire de l'évêque d'Arras, Cartulaire de Saint Vaast, Cartulaire de l'Abbaye d'Auchy-les-Moines, H 2 Mi 50: Cartulaire de Saint-Josse-sur-Mer

Beauvais, Archives départementales d'Oise:

Serie H: 1864 & 4914: charters for Breteuil abbey

5987, 5992, 6037: charters for Prémontré abbey

Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale:

H 104–244: Saint Wulmer

Ms 144 & 803: Cartulaire de Saint Bertin

Ms 146 Cartulaire de Saint Bertin de Folcuini

Ms 169A Philip Luto, *Mémoires manuscrits sur l'histoire de Boulogne et de son comté* (18c.)

Ms 746 Spicilegium Sithiensi

Ms 892 cartulaire de l'église de N.D. de Saint Omer

Ms 1025 piece 17 genealogy of Counts of Boulogne

Bruxelles, Rijksarchief:

Trésor des chartes de Flandre: 1964, 2062, 2063

Cartulaire d'Affligchem (microfilm no. 86)

Cambridge, St John's College:

Class A, Drawer O: D46.6, D46.27, D46.58

Canterbury, Cathedral Archives:

DCC Cartae Antiquae: F66, F118, F129, F130, F132, L17

Chelmsford, Essex County Record Office:

T/A 367, Add. charter 28346 William of Boulogne charter for Hugh Fitz Ulger

D/DPr 149 Colne Priory cartulary

D/Du 102/28 1437 Court Roll

D/DBy Q19 Cartulary of Eye Priory

Colchester, Essex County Record Office:

T/A 369 Cartulary of St John's Colchester

Gent, Rijksarchief:

Sint-Pieterabdij: 1ste reeks, nr. 7 & 2^{eme} reeks

Sint-Pieterabdij charters: (c. 966–7), (1056), (1070), (1282 vidimus)

Lille, Archives départementales du Nord:

Arrouaise, carton de chartes originales: 13, 45

B 1593: Cartulaire d'Artois

40 H 2, 40 H 3, 40 H 72: chartes de Saint-Jean de Valenciennes:

40 H 187: Cartulaire de Saint-Jean de Valenciennes

10 H 323: Cartulaire de Marchiennes

12 H 1: Cartulaire de Saint Amand

1 H 35, piece 394; 1 H 38, piece 429; 1 H 454, piece 4069; 5 H 10, piece

62d: Anchin abbey charters

London, British Library:

Add. Charters 24606 & 24607: Hubert de Anstey charters

Add. Mss. 5485: Furness abbey register

Add. Mss 122: Cartulary of Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate

Add. Mss. 50121: Lilleshall cartulary

Cotton Nero C III: Holy Trinity Priory Aldgate charters

Harleian Ms. 3688: Missenden cartulary

Harleian Ms. 662: Dunmow Priory cartulary

Lansdown Ms. 391: Harrold Priory cartulary

Campbell charter xiv (24): Richard de Lucy charter

Cotton charter: xiii 18 (5–10, 13): Holy Trinity Priory Aldgate charters

Harley charters: 83 A 53; 83 A 25; 83 A 46: Sawtry abbey charters

London, Public Record Office:

Ancient Deeds E 40: 500, 506, 823, 1005, 1040, 1042, 1043, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1051, 1110, 1752, 1769, 1813, 2326 (3), 2420, 5420, 6101, 11967, 13849, 14890, 14897, 14898, 14899, 14900: Holy Trinity Priory charters

Ancient Deeds E 42: 394: Henry de Sumeri charter for St Albans

Cartae Antique C 52, roll 13, m. 3: Holy Trinity Priory charter roll

London, Westminster Abbey Archives:

St Martin le Grand, charter roll: Roll 13167

St Martin le Grand: Muniment Book 5

charters 964, 984, 1119, 1253, 8040, 8114, 13525, 13247: by comital family or Honour of Boulogne tenants

Mons, Archive d'État

Microfilm MH #33: Cartulaire d'Hasnon

Microfilm MH #38 Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Ghislain

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale:

Collection Baluze: tomes 38, 45, 47, 58, 127, 199

Collection Moreau: tomes 30, 31, 35, 38, 39, 42, 48, 50, 57, 59

Collection Picardie: tomes: 39, 45, 110, 111, 150, 202, 231, 233–235, 240, 250, 255, 313, 346

Mss. Latin: 12695 (St Sauveur, Ste Austrebesse, St Josse-sur-Mer), 17675 (Extraits St Sauveur d'Ham), 18369 (Cartulaire de Mortemer), 10058 (Cartulaire de Priory of Envermeu)

Paris, Archives nationales:

K21 n. 5³: Jean bishop Thérouanne re: gift of Frencq to St Martin des Champs

L964, piece 46 Eustace II & Ida of Boulogne for Lens chapter (1070; 1772 copy)

Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine Maritime:

6 H 6: Notre Dame d'Eu

7 H 12, 7 H 53, 7 H 53, 7 H 57, 7 H 623 & 7 H 2030: Fécamp

8 H 8: Foucarmont

9 H 26, 9 H 30: Jumièges

13 H 8: St George, Boscerville

14 H 259, 14 H 279, 14 H 448, 14 H 774, 14 H 805 & 14 H 911: St Ouen

16 H 27, 16 H 30: St Wandrille

17 H 1 & 17 H 18: St Michel, Tréport

20 HP cartons 2 and 5: Priory de Bonne-nouvelle

51 HP 5: Bival

52 HP 28 Bondeville

St Omer, Archives municipales:

Cartulaire du chapitre de N.D. de Saint Omer: G53

Primary Sources

Abbon. *Le Siège de Paris Par Les Normands*. Edited by Henri Waquet. Paris: Belles lettres, 1964.

Abrahams, Phyllis, ed. *Les Oeuvres de Baudri de Bourgueil*. Paris: H. Champion, 1926.

Aethelweard. *The Chronicle of Aethelweard*. Edited by A. Campbell: T. Nelson, 1976.

Ailred, of Rievaulx. "Relatio de Standardo." In *Chronicles in the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, edited by Richard Howlett, 181–201. London: Longman, 1886.

Alberic, de Trois Fontaines. *Chronicon*. Edited by M. Bouquet. Vol. 11, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de La France*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1738–1876. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1963.

—. "Chronicon." In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, edited by P. Scheffer-Boichorts, 674–950. Hannover: Hahn, 1870. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus Reprints, 1963.

Albert, of Aachen. "Historia Hierosolymitana." In *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Occidentaux*, 264–713. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1844–1895.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Translated by D.C. Douglas, D. Whitelock, and S.I. Tucker. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1961.

"Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia." In *Annales Monastici*, edited by Henry Luard. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Robert & Green, 1866.

The Annals of Fulda. Translated by Timothy Reuter. Vol. 2, *Ninth Century Histories*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992.

The Annals of St Bertin. Translated by Janet Nelson. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991.

Arnulf of Lisieux. *Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*. edited by Frank Barlow 3rd series ed. Vol. 61. London: Camden Society, 1939.

Atkinson, J.C., ed. *The Coucher Book of Furness*. Manchester: Chetham Society, 1886.

Balderic. *Chronique d'Arras et de Cambrai Par Balderic, Chantre de Térouanne aux XI^e Siècle*. Translated by M.M. Faverot. Valenciennes: Lemaitre, 1856?

Baldric, bishop of Dol. *Historia Jerosolimitana*. 5 vols. Vol. 4, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*. Paris: Imprimerie royale.

Barlow, Frank. *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster*. 2 ed. Oxford, 1992.

—, ed. *Vita Aedwardis Regis*. London: Nelson's Medieval Texts, 1962.

Barre, Louis-François-Joseph de la, ed. *Spicilegium de Dom Luc d'Achery*. Paris: Montalant, 1723.

- Bates, David. ed. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, the Acta of William I (1066–1087)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
- Bautier, Robert-Henri. ed. *Recueil des Actes d'Études Roi de France (888–898)*. Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1967.
- Bernard, of Clairvaux. *Sancti Bernardi Opera*. Edited by C.H. Talbot, J. Leclercq, and H.M. Rochais. 8 vols. Rome: Editions Cistercienses, 1957–1977.
- Bernard, of Ypres. "Genealogia Comitum Flandriae." In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, edited by L.C. Bethman, 317–36. Hannover: Hahn, 1851.
- Betencourt, Dom, ed. *Cartulaire de L'Abbaye d'Auchy*. Paris: none, 1829.
- Bethman, L.C., ed. *Chronicon S. Andreae*. Vol. 7, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1846. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1963.
- , ed. *De Arnulfo Comite*. Vol. 9, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1851.
- , ed. *Flandria Generosa*. Vol. 9, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1851. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1963.
- , ed. *Genealogia Comitum Boloniensium*. Vol. 9, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1851. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1963.
- , ed. *Genealogiae Arnulfi Comititis*. Vol. 9, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1851. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1963.
- , ed. *Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium*. Vol. 7, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1846. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1963.
- Bibliotheca Sanctorum*. Rome: Instituto Giovanni XXIII nella Pontifica Universita Lateranense, 1964.
- Blake, E.O., ed. *Liber Eliensis*. Vol. 92, *Camden Historical Society, 3rd Series: Offices of the Royal History Society*, 1962.
- Bled, O., ed. *Regestes des Évêques de Thérouanne 500–1553*. St. Omer: H. d'Homont, 1904–1907.
- Boretius, Alfred, ed. *Capitularia*. 3 vols, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Hannover: Hahn, 1883–1897.
- Bormans, S., E. Schoolmeesters, and E. Poncelet, ed. *Cartulaire de L'Église Saint Lambert de Liège*. 6 vols. Bruxelles: F. Hayes, 1893–1933.
- Bouquet, M., ed. *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1738–1876.
- Brewer, J.S., ed. *Chronicon Monasterii de Bello*: Anglia Christiana Society, 1846.
- Brooke, Adrian Morey and C.N.L., ed. *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.
- Brown, Philippa, ed. *Sibton Abbey Cartularies*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1985.
- Brown, Vivien, ed. *Eye Priory Cartulary and Charters*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992.
- Bruckner, Albert, ed. *Regesta Alsatie Aevi Merovingici et Karolini (496–918)*. Strasbourg: P.H. Heitz, 1949.
- Bruel, Alexandre, ed. *Recueil des Chartes de L'Abbaye de Cluny*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1876–1903.
- Bruges, Galbert of. *The Murder of Charles the Good*. Translated by James Bruce Ross. Toronto: Columbia University Press, 1982.
- Brunel, C., ed. *Recueil des Actes des Comtes de Ponthieu (1026–1279)*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1930.
- Buzelin, Johan. *Annales Gallo-Flandriae*. Douai: M. Wyon, 1624.
- Campbell, Alistair, ed. *Encomium Emmae Reginae*. Vol. 72, *Camden, 3rd Series*. London: Royal Historical Society, 1949.
- Chaplais, Pierre, ed. *Diplomatic Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office, V. I (1101–1272)*. London: HM Stationery Office, 1964.
- "Charte de Milon Évêque des Morins." *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de la Morinie* 4 (1872): 509.
- Chibnall, Marjorie. *Select Documents of the English Lands of the Abbey of Bec*. Vol. 73, *Camden 3rd Series*. London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1951.

- "Chronicon Sancti Bavoni." In *Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae*, edited by J.J. de Smet. Bruxelles: M. Hayez, 1837.
- Clay, C.T., ed. *Early Yorkshire Charters*. Vol. 8. Wakefield: West Yorkshire Publishing Co., 1949.
- Comnena, Anna. *The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena*. Translated by Elizabeth A.S. Dawes. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967.
- Coussemaker, Ignace de, ed. *Cartulaire de L'Abbaye de N.D. de Bourbourg*. Lille: V. Ducoulombier, 1882–1889.
- , "Documents Relatifs à La Flandre Maritime: Extraits du Cartulaire de L'Abbaye de Waten." *Annales du comité flamand de France* 5 (1860).
- Cronne, H.A. & R.H.C. Davis, ed. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1135–1154*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.
- Dares, the Phrygian. "The Fall of Troy." In *The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.
- Davies, J. Conway, ed. *Cartae Antiquae Rolls 11–20*. n.s. Vol. no. 33, *Pipe Roll Series*: J.W. Ruddock & Sons, 1957.
- Davis, H.W.C. and R.J. Whitwell, ed. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066–1100*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913.
- de Giesebrecht, William and Edmund L.B. ab Oefele, ed. *Annales Altahenses Maiores*. Vol. 20, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1868. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1963.
- de Hemptinne, Thérèse and Adriaan Verhulst, ed. *De Oorkonden Der Graven Vlaandren Juli 1128–September 1191*. Bruxelles: Paleis der Academiën, 1988.
- de Loisne, Auguste, ed. *Le Cartulaire de Saint-Barthélemy de Béthune*. St Omer: H. d'Homont, 1895.
- , ed. *Le Cartulaire Du Chapitre d'Arras*. Arras: Rohard-Courtin, 1896.
- de Marsy, A. "Trois Chartes Sur l'Artois de la Collection de M.A. de Marsy." *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de la Morinie* 5 (1872–1876): 417–21.
- de Menilglaise, Marquis Godefroy, ed. *Chronique de Guînes et Ardres Par Lambert, Curé d'Ardres (918–1203)*. Paris: Jules Renouard, 1855.
- "De S. Bertulpho Renticae et Gandavi in Belgio." In *Acta Sanctorum*, edited by Godfrey Henschen and Daniel Papebroch, 5 February. Antwerp: Culture et civilisation, 1675. Reprint, Bruxelles: Culture et Civilisation, 1968.
- Dehaisnes, C., ed. *Les Annales de Saint-Bertin et de Saint-Vaast*. Paris: Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1871.
- Delisle, Léopold and Elie Berger, ed. *Recueil des Actes de Henri II, Roi d'Angleterre et Duc de Normandie, Chartes et Diplômes Relatifs à l'Histoire de France*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1909–1927.
- Depoin, Jules, ed. *Cartulaire de Saint-Martin de Pontoise*. Paris: Longman & Co., 1895–1901.
- , ed. *Recueil des Chartes et Documents de Saint Martin des Champs*. Paris: Jouve, 1912.
- Diceto, Ralph de. *The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto*. Edited by William Stubbs. 2 vols, *Roll Series*. London: Longman & Co., 1876. Reprint, 1965.
- Douglas, D.C., ed. *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmund's*. London: Oxford University Press, 1932.
- Drival, E. Van, ed. *Cartulaire de Saint-Vaast d'Arras Rédigé au XII^e Siècle Par Guiman*. Arras: A. Courtin, 1875.
- Dubois, Raymond. "Cartulaire du Prieuré de Luchaux et Prieuré de Gros-Tiron." *Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de Picardie* 47 (1937): 113–547.
- Dudo, of St Quentin. *De Moribus et Actis Primorum Normanniae Ducum*. Edited by Jules Lair. Caen: F. Le Blanc-Hardel, 1865.
- Dufour, Jean, ed. *Recueil des Actes de Louis VI, Roi de France (1108–1137)*. 2 vols. Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1992.
- , ed. *Recueil des Actes de Robert Ier et de Raoul*. Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1978.

- Dugdale, William, ed. *Monasticon Anglicanum*. 6 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1817–1830.
- Dupar-Quioc, Suzanne, ed. *La Chanson d'Antioche*. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1976.
- Duvivier, Charles, ed. *Actes et Documents Anciens Intéressant La Belgique*. Bruxelles: Hayes Impr. de l'Académie royal des sciences, des lettres, et des beaux-arts, 1898.
- Eadmer. *Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England*. Translated by Geoffrey Bosanquet. London: Cresset Press, 1964.
- Edwards, E., ed. *Liber Monasterii de Hyda, Roll Series*. London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Oyer, 1886.
- "Ex Sermone de Adventua SS. Wandregisili, Ansberti et Vulframni." In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, edited by L. de Heinemann. Hannover: Hahn, 1887.
- "Ex Vita Bertulfi Abbatis Renticensis." In *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de La France*, edited by M. Bouquet. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1738–1876.
- Faroux, M., ed. *Recueil des Actes des Ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066*. Rouen: Caron, 1961.
- Farrer, William, ed. *Early Yorkshire Charters*. Vols. 1–3. Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1914.
- , ed. *The Lancashire Pipe Rolls and Early Lancashire Charters*. Liverpool: H. Young & Sons, 1902.
- Feuchère, Pierre. "Regestes des Comtes de Saint-Pol." *Revue du Nord* 39 (1957): 43–48.
- Fisher, John, ed. *Cartularium Prioratus de Colne*. Colchester: Essex Archaeological Society, 1946.
- Flodoard. "De Triumphis Christi Apud Italiam." In *Patrologia Latine*, edited by J.-P. Migne. Paris: none, 1878–1949.
- . Laurer, Philippe, ed. *Les Annales de Flodoard*. Paris: Champion, 1905.
- . "Historia Remensis Ecclesiae." In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, edited by G. Waitz. Hannover: Hahn, 1871. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1963.
- Florence, of Worcester. "Chronicon." edited by Benjamin Thorpe. London: Sumptibus Societatis, 1848–1849.
- Fossier, Robert, ed. *Cartulaire et Chronique du Prieuré Saint-Georges d'Hesdin*. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1988.
- Foster, C.W. & K. Major, ed. *Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*. 8 vols. Hereford: Lincoln Record Society, 1931.
- Fowler, G.H., ed. *Records of Harrold Priory*. Vol. 17: Bedfordshire Historical Record Society Publication, 1935.
- Friedberg, A., ed. *Corpus Iuris Canonici*. 2 vols. Graz: Akademische Druck u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959.
- Fröhlich, Walter, ed. *The Letters of Anselm of Canterbury*. 2 vols. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990.
- Fulcher, of Chartres. *Chronicle of the First Crusade*. Translated by Martha Evelyn McGinty. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941.
- . *Historia Iherosolymitana*. 5 vols. Vol. 3, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*. Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1866.
- Galbert, of Bruges. *Galbertus Notarius Brugensis: De Multro, Traditione, et Occisione Gloriosi Karoli Comitiss Flandriarum*. Edited by Jeff Rider. Turnholt: Brepols, 1994.
- Gawlik, Alfred and Dietrich von Gladiss, ed. *Constitutiones et Acta de Heinrich IV*. Vol. 6, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Legum Sectio*. Hannover: Hahn, 1947.
- "Généalogie des Comtes de Boulogne." In *Chronicon Anglo-Normandes, Recueil d'Extraits et d'Écrits Relatifs à L'Histoire de Normandie et d'Angleterre Pendant Les XI^e et XII^e Siècles*, edited by Francisque Michel, x–xvii. Paris, 1840.
- Gerbert. *The Letters of Gerbert*. Translated by H.P. Lattin. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.
- Gervase, of Canterbury. *Opera Historica*. Edited by William Stubbs, *Roll Series*. London: Longman & Co., 1879.

- Gervers, Michael, ed. *The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*. Translated by Rosalind Hill. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1962.
- "Gesta Francorum Expugnantium Iherusalem." In *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Occidentaux*, 487–544. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1844–95.
- The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*. Translated by Elisabeth M.C. van Houts. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
- Gesta Stephani*. Translated by K.R. Potter. 2 ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- "Gesta Triumphalia Pisanorum in Captione Iherosolimitane." In *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Occidentaux*, 368–70. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1844–95.
- Gibbs, Marion, ed. *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul's, London*. Vol. 58, *Camden 3rd Series*. London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1939.
- Gilbert, Crispin. "Vita Herluini." In *The Works of Gilbert Crispin Abbot of Westminster*, 183–212. London: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Giles, J.A., ed. *Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense*. New York: Ben Franklin, 1967.
- Gilo, of Paris. *The Historia Vie Hierosolimitane of Gilo of Paris and a Second Anonymous Author*. Translated by C.W. Grocock and J.E. Siberry. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Giry, Thomas Duchet and Arthur, ed. *Cartulaire de L'Église de Thérouanne XI^e–XV^e Siècles*. Saint-Omer: Fleury-Lemaire, 1881.
- Gislebert, of Mons. *Chronique de Hainaut Rédigée Par Gilbert, Chancelier Du Comte de Hainaut Baudouin V (1040–1195)*. Edited by Marquis de Godfroy Ménilglaise. Vol. 14, *Mémoires de La Société Historique et Littéraire de Tournai*. Tournai: Malo et Levasseur, 1874.
- Glaber, Raoul. *Rodulfus Glaber Opera*. Translated and edited by Neithard Bulst, John France, and Paul Reynolds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Grat, F., J. de Font Teaulx, G. Tessier, and R.-H. Bautier, ed. *Receuil des Actes de Louis II Le Bègue, Louis III and Carloman II Rois de France, 877–884*. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1978.
- Grat, F., J. Viellard and S. Clemencet, ed. *Annales de Saint Bertin*. Paris, 1964.
- Gray, Arthur, ed. *The Priory of St Radegund, Cambridge*. Vol. 31. Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1898.
- Grierson, Philip, ed. *Les Annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand*. Brussels: Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1937.
- Guerard, Benjamin, ed. *Cartulaire de L'Abbaye de Saint-Bertin*. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1841.
- , ed. *Cartulaire de L'Abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*. 2 vols. Paris: Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1840.
- Guibert, of Nogent. *Gesta Dei Per Francos*. Vol. 4, In *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*. Paris, 1879.
- Guigue, Georges, ed. *Obituaire de Saint-Claude (IX^e–XI^e S.)*, *Obituaires de La Province de Lyon*. Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1951.
- Guillaume, de Tyr. *Chronique*. Edited by R.B.C. Huygens. 2 vols. Turnhout: Typographi Brépol, 1986.
- , ed. *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*. Translated by Emily Atwater and A.C. Krey Babcock. 2 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.
- Gysseling, M. and A.C.F. Koch, ed. *Diplomatica Belgica Ante Annum Millesimum Centesimum Scripta*. Brussels: Belgisch Inter-Universitair Centrum voor Neerlandistiek, 1950.
- Haigneré, Daniel. "Cartulaire de L'Église Abbatiale Notre-Dame de Boulogne-Sur-Mer 1067–1567." *Mémoires de la société académique de l'arrondissement de Boulogne* 13 (1882–6): 89–360.
- , ed. *Cartulaire des Établissements Religieux du Boulonnais*. 5 vols. Boulogne: Veuve C. Aigre, 1880–1892.
- , ed. "Chartes de L'Abbaye de Saint-Wulmer de Boulogne." *Bulletin de la société académique de Boulogne* 1 (1873): 372–81.

- . "Chartes Inédites de La Fin du XI^e Siècle Concernant Le Prieuré de Beaurain-Chateau." *Le Cabinet historique de l'Artois et de la Picardie* 6 (1891–1892): 269–77.
- . "Donation à l'Abbaye d'Arrouaise d'une Terre Située a Vieille-Église Par La Reine Mathilde, Comtesse de Boulogne." *Bulletin historique de la société des antiquaires de la Morinie* 35 (1886): 682–85.
- . "Donation Faite au Prieuré de Saint-Georges-Lez-Hesdin Par Eustace III, Comte de Boulogne." *Le Cabinet historique de l'Artois et de la Picardie* 1 (1886–1887): 45–46.
- . "Les Chartes de L'Abbaye de Beaulieu." *Mémoires de la société académique de l'arrondissement de Boulogne* 3 (1882–86): 377–412.
- . "Les Chartes de L'Abbaye de Notre-Dame de Licques." *Mémoires de la société académique de l'arrondissement de Boulogne* 14 (1889–1890).
- , ed. *Les Chartes de Saint-Bertin D'après Le Grand Cartulaire de Dom Charles-Joseph de Witte*. Saint-Omer: H. d'Homont, 1886.
- . "Quelque Chartes de L'Abbaye de Samer, 1107–1299." *Mémoires de la société académique de l'arrondissement de Boulogne* 12 (1880): 110–23.
- . "Quelques Charte Inédites, Concernant Les Abbayes, Les Prieurés ou Les Paroisses de L'Ancien Boulonnais." *Mémoires de la société académique de l'arrondissement de Boulogne* 13 (1864–1872): 413–78.
- . "Supplement au Recueil des Chartes de Samer." *Mémoires de la société académique de l'arrondissement de Boulogne* 3 (1882–1886): 361–76.
- . "Trois Chartes Inédites des Comtes de Boulogne." *Bulletin de la société académique de l'arrondissement de Boulogne* 1 (1864–1872): 367–81.
- Hall, Hubert, ed. *Red Book of the Exchequer*. 3 vols. London: Eyre & Spottiswood, 1896.
- Halphen, Louis and Ferdinand Lot, ed. *Recueil des Actes de Lothaire et de Louis, Rois de France (954–987)*. Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1908.
- Hanquet, K., ed. *Chronique de Saint-Hubert*. Bruxelles: Editions Culture et Civilisation, 1906.
- Hariulf. *Chronique de L'Abbaye de Saint-Riquier*. Edited by F. Lot. Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1894.
- . "Vita Arnulfi." In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, edited by L. de Heinemann. Hannover: Hahn, 1887. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus Reprints, 1963.
- Harper-Bill, Christopher, ed. *Blythburgh Priory Cartulary*. *Suffolk Record Society*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1980.
- , ed. *English Episcopal Acta, Norwich 1070–1214*. Edited by C.R. Cheney and B.E.A. Jones. Vol. 6. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Harper-Bill, Christopher and Richard Mortimer. *Stoke-by-Clare Cartulary*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1982.
- Heinemann, L. de, ed. *Ex Miraculis et Translatione S. Bertae*. Vol. 15, In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1887. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1963.
- , ed. *Miracula Sancti Donatiani*. 38 vols. Vol. 15:2, In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1887.
- Henry, of Huntingdon. *Historia Anglorum*. Translated by Diana Greenway. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Herlihy, David, ed. *The History of Feudalism*. New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1970.
- Herman, of Tournai. *The Restoration of the Monastery of Saint Martin of Tournai*. Translated by Lynn Nelson. Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1996.
- Hodgett, Gerald A.J., ed. *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*. London: London Record Society, 1971.
- Holder-Egger, Oswald, ed. *Chronica Monasterii Watinensis*. Vol. 14, In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1883. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1963.
- Hunter, Joseph, ed. *Great Rolls of the Pipe for the Second, Third, and Fourth Years of Henry the Second*. London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1844.

- Jean, of Ypres. "Ex Chronico Sithiensi." In *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de La France*, edited by M. Bouquet, 70–80. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1738–1876.
- Jenkins, J.G., ed. *The Cartulary of Missenden Abbey*. 2 vols. London: HM Stationary Office, 1939–1962.
- John, of Hexham. *Continuatio Historia Regum de Symeonis*. Edited by Thomas Arnold. 2 vols. London: Longman, 1885.
- John, of Marmoutier. "Historia Gaufredi Ducis Normannorum et Comitis Andegavorum." In *Chroniques des Comte d'Anjou et des Seigneurs d'Amboise*, edited by L. Halphen and R. Poupardin. Paris: A. Picard, 1913.
- John, of Salisbury. *Historia Pontificalis*. Translated by Marjorie Chibnall. London: T. Nelson, 1956.
- . *The Letters of John of Salisbury. The Early Letters (1153–1161)*. Edited by W.J. Millor, S.J. Butler, H.E. Butler. rvd. C.N.L. Brooke. Edinburgh: T. Nelson, 1955.
- John, of Worcester. *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*. Translated by Jennifer Bray and P. McGurk. Edited by R.R. Darlington and P. McGurk. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Johnson, Ch. & H.A. Cronne, ed. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1100–1135*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956.
- Kurth, G., ed. *Chartes de L'Abbaye de Saint-Hubert en Ardenne*. Bruxelles: Kiessling et Cie, P. Ingreghts, successeur, 1903.
- Lambert, d'Ardres. *Historia Comitum Ghisnensium*. Edited by Johann Heller. Vol. 24, In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1876. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1964.
- Lambert, de Wattrelos. *Annales de Cambrai*. Vol. 16, In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1885.
- Lambert, of Schaafnaburg. "De Rebus Gestis Germanorum." In *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de La France*, edited by M. Bouquet. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1738–1876.
- Lambert, of St Omer. "Genealogia Comitum Flandriac." In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, edited by L.C. Bethman, 308–12. Hannover: Hahn, 1851. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1963.
- Landon, Lionel, ed. *The Cartae Antiquae Rolls 1–10*. London, 1939. Reprint, Kraus rpt., 1977.
- Laurent. *Gesta Episcoporum Virdunensium Continuatio*. Vol. 4, In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. edited by G.H. Pertz Hannover: Hahn, 1841. Reprint, Stuttgart, 1963.
- Laurer, Philippe, ed. *Receuil des Actes de Charles III Le Simple Roi de France*. Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1940.
- , ed. *Recueil des Actes de Louis IV Roi de France (936–954)*. Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1914.
- Ledru, Busson, ed. *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis in Urbe Degentium*. Mans: Société des Archives historiques du Maine, 1902.
- Lees, Beatrice A., ed. *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: The Inquest of 1185*. London: Oxford University Press, 1935.
- Levine, Robert, ed. *The Deeds of God through the Franks*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997.
- Loyd, L.C. and D.M. Stenton, ed. *Sir Christopher Hatton's Books of Seals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950.
- Luard, Henry, ed. *Annales Monasterii de Waverleia*. In *Annales Monastici*. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, 1866.
- Luchaire, Achille, ed. *Louis VI Le Gros: Annales de Sa Vie et de Son Règne*. Paris: Culture et Civilisation, 1890.
- Maitland, F.W., ed. *Bracton's Note Book*. 3 vols. London: C.J. Clay, 1887. Reprint, Littleton, CO.: F.B. Rothman, 1983.

- Marneffe, E. de. *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye d'Affligem et des Monastères qui en Dépendaient. Analectes Pour Servir à L'Histoire Ecclesiastique de La Belgique*. Louvain, 1894–1901.
- Marrier, M. and André Duchesne. *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*. Paris: R. Fovet, 1614. Reprint, Matiscone, 1915.
- Martène, Edmond and Ursin Durand, ed. *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*. 5 vols. New York: B. Franklin, 1968.
- Matthew, of Paris. *Chronica Majora*. edited by Henry Luard. 7 vols., *Roll Series*. London: HM Stationery Office, 1872–83.
- Maur, Monks of St., ed. *Gallia Christiana in Provinciis Ecclesiasticis Distributa*. Paris: Firmin Didot fratres, 1856–1865.
- Michel, Fr. *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes. Recueil d'Extraits et d'Écrits*. 3 vols. Paris, 1840.
- Mickel, Emanuel. ed. *Les Enfances de Godefroi*. 10 vols. Vol. 3, *The Old French Crusade Cycle*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999.
- Migne, J.-P., ed. *Patrologia Cursus Completus. Series Latina*. Paris: none, 1878–1974.
- Miraeus, A., ed. *Diplomatica Belgica*. Louvain, 1723.
- Miraeus, A. & J. Foppens, ed. *Opera Diplomatica et Historica*. Louvain, 1723–1748.
- Monk, of Le West. “De B. Ida, Vidva, Comitissa Bononiae in Gallo Belgica.” In *Acta Sanctorum*, edited by Godfrey Henschen and Daniel Papebroch, April 13th. Antwerp: Culture et civilisation, 1675. Reprint, Bruxelles: Culture et Civilisation, 1968.
- Monks of St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate. *The Book of Saints*. New York: Cromwell, 1966.
- Moore, S.A., ed. *Cartularium Monasterii S. Johannis Baptiste de Colecestria*. London: Roxburghe Club, 1897.
- Morris, John, ed. *Domesday Book*. Chichester: Phillimore, 1975–1984.
- Muntz, Hope and Catherine Morton, ed. *The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens, Medieval Texts*. Oxford: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1972.
- Mynors, R.A.B., R.M. Thompson and M. Winterbottom, ed. *Gesta Regum Anglorum*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
- Nancy, Jean Bridot, ed. *Chartes de L'Abbaye de Remiremont des Origines à 1231*. Nancy: Université de Nancy, 1980.
- Nelson, Jan A., ed. *Le Chevalier Au Cygne and La Fin d'Elias*. Vol. 2, *The Old French Crusade Cycle*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1985.
- Nelson, Jan A. and Emanuel J. Mickel, ed. *La Naissance Du Chevalier Au Cygne*. Vol. 1, *The Old French Crusade Cycle*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1977.
- Office, Public Record, ed. *Calendar of Charter Rolls*. London: H.C. Maxwell-Lyte, 1895.
- Pertz, G.H., ed. *Annales Elnonensis Minores*. Vol. 5, In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1843. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1964.
- . ed. *Annales Laubiensis et Annales Leodienses*. Vol. 4, In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1841. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1963.
- . ed. *Annales Vedastini*. Vol. 1, In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1826. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1963.
- , ed. *Continuatio Valcellensis*. 38 vols. Vol. 6, In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1844. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus reprints, 1963.
- , ed. *Hermannii Augiensis Chronicon*. Vol. 4, In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1844. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1963.
- , ed. *Vita Balderici Episcopi Leodiensis*. Vol. 4, In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1841. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1963.
- Prou, Maurice, ed. *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Ier*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1908.
- Pruvost, Alexandre, ed. *Chronique et Cartulaire de L'Abbaye de Bergues Saint-Winnoc*. Bruges: d'Aimé de Luttere, 1875–8.
- Putte, F. Van de. *Annales Abbatiae Sancti Petri Blandiensis*. Gent: C. Annoot-Braeckman, 1842.
- , and C.L. Carton, ed. *Chronicon et Cartularium Abbatiae Sancti Nicholae Furnensis (1120–1354)*. Bruges: Vandecasteele-Werbrouck, 1849.

- Ralph, of Caen. "Gesta Tancredi in Expeditione Hierosolymitana." In *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Occidentaux*, 587–716. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1844–95.
- Ransford, Rosalind. *The Early Charters of the Augustinian Canons of Waltham Abbey, Essex*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989.
- Regino of Prüm. Frideric Kurze, ed. *Chronicon*. Hannover: Unveränderter Nachdruck der Augs., 1890.
- Reiffenberg, Baron de Frédéric-Auguste-Ferdinand-Thomas, ed. *Monuments Pour Servir à La L'Histoire des Provinces de Namur, de Hainaut et de Luxembourg*. 8 vols. Brussels: F. Hayez, 1844–59.
- Richard, of Hexham. "De Gestis Regis Stephani." In *The Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, edited by Richard Howlett. London: Longman, 1886. Reprint, 1964.
- Richer. *Histoire de France* edited by Robert Latouche. Paris: La Belle lettres, 1937.
- Robert, of Torigny. "Chronica." In *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, edited by Richard Howlett. London: Longman, 1889.
- Robert, the monk. "Historia Iherosolimitana." In *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Occidentaux*, 717–882. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1844–95.
- Robertson, J.C., ed. *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket Archbishop of Canterbury*. 8 vols. London: Longman, 1877–1879.
- Robinson, O.F., ed. *The Register of Walter Bronescombe, Bishop of Exeter 1258–1280*. 2 vols. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995.
- Roland, C.G. "Les Seigneurs et Comtes de Rochefort." *Annales de la société archéologique de Namur* 20 (1893): 63–141.
- Ross, James Bruce, ed. *The Murder of Charles the Good. Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- Round, J.H., ed. *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*. London: HM Stationary Office, 1899.
- Rousseau, F., ed. *Actes des Comtes de Namur de La Première Race, 946–1196*. Bruxelles: M. Hayez, 1937.
- Salzman, L.F., ed. *The Chartulary of the Priory of St Pancras of Lewes*. Vol. 38. Lewes: Sussex Record Society, 1932.
- Schmitt, F.S., ed. *Opera Omnia Ad Fidem Codicum Recensuit*. Edinburgh: T. Nelson, 1946–1952.
- Scott, Edward J.L. "Two Documents B.M. Nov, 29, 1893." *The Athenaeum* 3449 (1893): 772–73.
- Scott, James Bruno, ed. *Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*. London: A.M.S. Press, 1953.
- Searle, Eleanor, ed. *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Shopkow, Leah, ed. *The History of the Count of Guines and Lords of Ardres*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Siebert, of Gembloux. *Auctuarium Sieberti Aquicinense*. Edited by G.H. Pertz. Vol. 6, In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 1844. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1963.
- Simeon, of Durham. *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*. Edited by Thomas Arnold. London: Longman, 1882–5.
- Simon, of Saint Bertin. *Gesta Abbatum Sancti Bertini Sithiensium*. 38 vols. Vol. 13, In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*. Hannover: Hahn, 187.
- Smet, J.J. de, ed. *Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae*. Bruxelles: M. Hayez, 1837.
- Smith, David M., ed. *English Episcopal Acta, Winchester 1070–1204*. Vol. 8. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Southern, R.W., ed. *Vita Anselmi*. London: Nelson Medieval Texts, 1963.
- Southouse, Thomas. *Monasticon Favershamiense*. London: T. Passenger, 1671.
- Suger. *La Vie de Louis Le Gros*. Translated and edited by A. Molinier. Paris: A. Picard, 1887.
- . *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*. Edited by H. Waquet. Paris: Catholic University of America Press, 1929.

- Tardiff, Jules, ed. *Monuments Historiques, Carton des Rois*. Paris: J. Cayce, 1866.
- Teulet, Alexandre, ed. *Layettes et Trésor des Chartes*. Paris: H. Plon, 1863.
- Thietmar, von Merseberg. *Chronicon*. Translated and edited by Werner Trillmich. Berlin: Rütten & Loenig, 1957.
- Thorp, Nigel R., ed. *La Chanson de Jérusalem*. Vol. 6, *The Old French Crusade Cycle*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992.
- Tock, Benoit-Michel, ed. *Chartes des Evêques d'Arras*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1991.
- Tudebode, Peter. "Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere." In *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Occidentaux*, 1–118. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1844–95.
- Van Lokeren, A., ed. *Chartes et Documents de L'Abbaye de Saint-Pierre de Gand*. Gent: H. Hoste, 1868.
- Vanderkindere, Leon, ed. *Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*. Bruxelles: Kiessling, P. Imbreghts, successeur, 1900.
- Vercauteren, Fernand, ed. *Actes des Comtes de Flandre 1071–1128*. Bruxelles: Palais de académies, 1938.
- Vernier, Jules J., ed. *Chartes de L'Abbaye de Jumièges (v. 825 à 1204)*. 2 vols. Rouen: A. Lestringant; A. Picard, 1916.
- "Versus de Viris Illustribus Diocesis Tarvanensis Qui in Sacra Fuere Expeditione." In *Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Historicum . . . Amplissimo Collectio*, edited by E. Martène and U. Durand, 539–40. Paris: Montalant, 1729.
- "Vita S. Bernardi." In *Recueil des Historiens de Gaules et de La France*, edited by J.J. Brial. Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1806.
- Vitalis, Orderic. *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*. Translated by Marjorie Chibnall. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–1980.
- Walter, of Théroutanne. "Vita Karoli Comitis Flandriae." In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*, edited by R. Koepke, 537–61. Hannover: Hahn, 1856. Reprint, Stuttgart: Kraus, 1963.
- Whitlock, D., D.C. Douglas, and S.I. Tucker, ed. *English Historical Documents I, 500–1042*. 2 ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- William, abbot of Andres. "Chronique de L'Abbaye d'Andres." In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, edited by J. Heller. Hannover: Hahn, 1876.
- William, of Jumièges. *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*. Edited by Jean Marx. Rouen: Société de l'histoire de Normandie, 1914.
- William, of Malmesbury. *Historia Novella*. Edited by Edmund King. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
- William, of Newburgh. *The History of English Affairs*. Edited by P.G. Walsh, & M.J. Kennedy. Warminster: Aris & Philips, 1988.
- William, of Poitiers. *Gesta Guillelmi Ducis Normannorum et Regis Anglorum*. Edited by Raymonde Foreville. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1952.
- . *The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*. Translated by R.H.C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Williamson, E.W., ed. *The Letters of Osbert of Clare*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929.
- Witger. "Genealogiae Comitae Flandriae." In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, edited by L.C. Bethman, 302–04. Hannover: Hahn, 1851.

Secondary Sources

- Adair, Penelope A. "Countess Clemence: Her Power and Its Foundations." In *Queens, Regents and Potentates*, edited by Theresa M. Vann, 63–72. Dallas: Academia, 1993.
- . "Ego et Uxor Mea: Countess Clemence and Her Role in the Comital Family and in Flanders." Ph.D., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1993.

- Airlie, Stuart. "Semper Fideles? Loyauté Envers Les Carolingiens Comme Constituant de L'Identité Aristocratique." In *La Royauté et Les Élités Dans L'Europe Carolingienne*, 129–43. Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1998.
- Alberdinck-Thijm, P.P.H. "Les Ducs de Lotharingie et Spécialement Ceux de Basse-Lotharingie, au X^e et au XI^e Siècle." *Mémoires couronnés et mémoires des savants étrangers publiés par l'académie royale de Belgique* 53 (1894): 1–34.
- Amt, Emilie. *The Accession of Henry II in England*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993.
- . "Richard de Lucy, Henry II's Justiciar." *Medieval Prosopography* 9 (1988): 61–85.
- Andressohn, J.C. *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Publications, 1947.
- Aube, Pierre. *Godefroy de Bouillon*. Paris: Fayard, 1985.
- Auvry, Dom Claude. *Histoire de La Congregation de Savigny*. 2 vols. Rouen-Paris: A. Lestringant; A. Picard et fils, 1886–8.
- Bacquet, Gérard. *Le Ponthieu*. Abbeville: G. Bacquet, 1992.
- Barlow, Frank. "The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio." In *Studies in International History*, edited by K. Bourne & D.C. Watt, 35–67. London: Archon Books, 1967.
- . *Edward the Confessor*. 2 ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.
- . *The Feudal Kingdom of England 1042–1216*. 2 ed. London: Longmans, Green, 1961.
- . *William Rufus*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- Barnes, Patricia M. "The Anstey Case." In *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*, edited by P.M. Barnes & C.F. Slade, 1–24. J.W. Ruddock, Lincoln, 1960.
- Barrow, G.W.S. "King David and the Honour of Lancaster." *English Historical Review* 70 (1955): 85–89.
- . "The Scots and the North of England." In *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, edited by Edmund King, 231–54. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- . "Scottish Rulers and the Religious Orders 1070–1153." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 3 (1953): 77–100.
- Barthélemy, Dominique. "Debate: The 'Feudal Revolution'." *Past and Present* 152 (1996): 196–205.
- . "La Mutation Féodale a-t-elle eu Lieu?" *Annales E.S.C.* 47 (1992): 767–77.
- . "L'État Contre Le 'Lignage'." *Médiévales* 10 (1986): 37–50.
- . *L'Ordre Seigneurial XI^e–XII^e Siècle*. Paris: Seuil, 1990.
- Bates, David. "The Character and Career of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux." *Speculum* 1 (1975): 1–20.
- . "Lord Sudeley's Ancestors: The Family of the Counts of Amiens, Valois, and the Vexin in France and England During the Eleventh Century." In *The Sudeleys—the Lords of Toddington*, 34–48. Manorial Society of Great Britain, 1987.
- . "Normandy and England after 1066." *English Historical Review* 104 (1989): 851–80.
- . *Normandy before 1066*. London: Longman, 1982.
- . "The Origins of the Justiciarship." *Anglo Norman Studies* 4 (1981): 1–12.
- . *William the Conqueror*. London: G. Philip, 1989.
- Bautier, Robert-Henri. "Anne de Kiev, Reine de France, et La Politique Royale au XI^e Siècle." *Revue des études slaves* 57 (1985): 539–64.
- Bearman, Robert. "Baldwin de Redvers: Some Aspects of a Baronial Career in the Reign of King Stephen." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 18 (1995): 19–46.
- Beauchamp, Fernand. "Un Monument à Sauver: Un Joyau de L'art Roman en Boulonnais." *Revue du Nord* 23 (1938): 195–7.
- Bequet, J. ed. *L'Abbaye d'Henin-Lietard. Introduction Historique. Chartes et Documents (XII^e–XVII^e Siècle)*. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1965.
- Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte. "The Social Implications of the Art of Chivalry: The Sigillographic Evidence (France 1050–1250)." In *Form and Order in Medieval France*, 1–31. Aldershot: Variorum, 1993.

- Benton, Robert. "The Revenue of Louis VII." *Speculum* 42 (1967): 84–91.
- Berlière, U. "Abbaye de Saint Nicholas des Prés." *Monasticon Belge* 1 (1890–7): 428–39.
- Bernard, Claire. "Étude Sur Le Diplôme de 968, Par Lequel Gerberge, Veuve de Louis IV d'Outremer, Donne à Saint-Remi de Reims Son Domaine de Meersen." *Bulletin de la commission royale d'Histoire* 123 (1958): 191–224.
- Bernard, P. "Études Critique Sur Les Chartes des Comtes de Flandre Pour L'Abbaye de Saint-Bertin." *Positions de theses de l'école des chartes* (1923): 5–12.
- Bertinsein, David. *The Mystery of the Bayeux Tapestry*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1986.
- Bethell, Dennis. "Richard of Belmeis and the Foundation of St Osyth's." *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* 2 (1970): 299–328.
- Bisson, Thomas N. "The 'Feudal Revolution'." *Past and Present* 142 (1994): 6–42.
- . "Medieval Lordship." *Speculum* 70 (1995): 743–59.
- . "Nobility and Family in Medieval France." *French Historical Studies* 16 (1990): 597–613.
- . "Reply. Debate: 'Feudal Revolution'." *Past and Present* 155 (1997): 208–25.
- . "The Rise of Catalonia: Identity, Power and Ideology in a Twelfth-Century Society." In *Medieval France and Her Pyrenean Neighbors*, edited by Thomas N. Bisson, 125–52. London: Hambledon, 1989.
- Blackburn, Mark. "Coinage and Currency." In *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, edited by Edmund King, 145–206. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Bloch, Marc. *Feudal Society*. Translated by L.A. Manyon. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Blommaert, W. *Les Châtelains de Flandre*. Gent: E. van Goethem & Cie, 1915.
- Bonenfant, P. & G. Despy. "La Noblesse en Brabant aux XII^e et XIII^e Siècles." *Le Moyen Age* 64 (1958): 27–67.
- Bonenfant, P. & A.M. Bonenfant-Feytmans. "Du Duché de Basse-Lotharingie au Duché de Brabant." *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 46 (1968): 1129–65.
- Bonnassie, Pierre. *La Catalogne du Milieu du X^e à La Fin du XI^e Siècle. Croissance Et Mutation d'une Société*. Toulouse, 1976.
- Bonnaud-Delamare, R. "La Paix en Flandre." *Revue du Nord* 39 (1957): 147–52.
- Boreau, Alain. "Placido Tramite. La Légende d'Eustache, Empreinte Fossile d'un Mythe Carolingien?" *Annales ESC* 37 (1982): 682–99.
- Bouchard, Constance. "Consanguinity and Noble Marriages in the Xth and XIth Centuries." *Speculum* 56 (1981): 268–87.
- . "The Origins of the French Nobility: A Reassessment." *American Historical Review* 86 (1981): 501–32.
- . "The Structure of a Twelfth-Century French Family: The Lords of Seignelay." *Viator* 10 (1979): 39–56.
- . *"Those of My Blood" Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. "Marriage Strategies as Strategies of Social Reproduction." In *Family and Society: Selections from the Annales E.S.C.*, edited by Robert Forester and Orest Ranum, 117–44. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1976.
- Bournazel, Eric. *Le Gouvernement Capétien au XII^e Siècle, 1108–1180*. Paris: Universitaires de France, 1975.
- Bournazel, Eric and Jean-Pierre Poly. "Couronne et Mouvence: Institutions et Représentations Mentales." In *La France de Philippe Auguste. Le Temps des Mutations*, edited by Robert-Henri Bautier, 217–36. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, 1982.
- . *La Mutation Féodale X^e–XII^e Siècles*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1980.
- . "Que Faut-il Préférer au 'Mutationnisme'? Ou le Problème du Changement Social." *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 72 (1994): 401–12.

- Boussard, J. "Les Comté de Mortain au XI^e Siècle." *Le Moyen Age* 7 (1952): 253–79.
- . "Les Destinées de La Neustrie du IX^e au XI^e Siècle." *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 11 (1968): 15–28.
- Bouvet, J. "Le Récit de La Fondation de Mortemer." *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium reformatorem* 22 (1960): 149–58.
- Bradbury, Jim. *Stephen and Matilda: The Civil War of 1139–53*. Phoenix Mill, Gloucs.: Sutton Publications, 1996.
- Brand, P.A. "New Light on the Anstey Case." *Essex Archaeology and History* 15 (1983): 68–75.
- Bridenthal, Renate. "The Family: The View from a Room of Her Own." In *Rethinking the Family*, edited by Barrie Thorne and Marilyn Yalom, 225–37. New York: Longman, 1982.
- Bridgeford, Andrew. "Was Count Eustace II of Boulogne the Patron of the Bayeux Tapestry?" *The Journal of Medieval History* 25 (1999): 155–85.
- Brière, Pierre. "Les Origins de La Première Maison de Luxembourg." *Publications de la section historique de l'Institut G.D. de Luxembourg* 80 (1962): 9–22.
- Brooke, Christopher N.L. *London 800–1216: The Shaping of a City*. Berkeley: Seeker & Warburg, 1975.
- Brooks, N.P. & H.E. Walker. "The Authority and Interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry." In *The Study of the Bayeux Tapestry*, edited by Richard Gameson, 64–92. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997.
- Brown, Elizabeth A.R. "The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe." *American Historical Review* 79 (1974): 1063–88.
- Brown, R.A. *The Normans and the Norman Conquest*. London: Constable, 1969.
- Brown, Shirley Ann. "The Bayeux Tapestry: Why Eustace, Odo and William?" *Anglo-Norman Studies* 12 (1990): 7–28.
- Bull, Marcus. "The Capetian Monarchy and the Early Crusade Movement: Hugh of Vermandois and Louis VII." *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 40 (1996): 25–46.
- Bullough, D.A. "Early Medieval Social Groups: The Terminology of Kinship." *Past & Present* 45 (1969): 3–18.
- Bur, Michel. *La Formation du Comté de Champagne (v. 950–v. 1150)*. Nancy: Publications de l'Université de Nancy II, 1971.
- . "L'image de La Parenté Chez Les Comtes de Champagne." *Annales E.S.C.* 38 (1983): 1016–39.
- . *Suger Abbé de Saint-Denis*. Paris: Perrin, 1991.
- Büttner, Heinrich. "Kaiserin Richgard und Die Abtei Andalu." In *Geschichte Des Elsass I*. Sigmaringen, 1991.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. "Mysticism and Asceticism of Medieval Women: Comments on the Typologies of Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch." In *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*. New York: Zone Books, 1991.
- Calmet, Dom Augustin. *Histoire Ecclésiastique et Civile de La Lorraine*. Nancy: J.B. Cusson, 1728.
- Campbell, Miles W. "The Anti-Norman Reaction in England in 1052: Suggested Origins." *Mediaeval Studies* 38 (1976): 428–41.
- Chandler, Victoria. "Ada de Warenne, Queen Mother of Scotland (c. 1123–1178)." *The Scottish Historical Journal* 60 (1981): 119–39.
- Chanteux-Vasseur, Marguerite. "Étude Géographique et Historique sur le Comté de Guines, des Origines à 1283." *Position des theses de l'école des chartes* (1935): 57–64.
- Charlton, Ann. "A Study of the Mandeville Family and Its Estates." Ph.D., University of Reading, 1991.
- Chedeville, Andre. *Chartres et Ses Campagnes (XI^e–XIII^e S.)*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1973.
- Cheney, C.R. "Harrold Priory: A Twelfth-Century Dispute." In *Medieval Texts and Studies*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.

- Cheyette, Frederic L., ed. *Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe*. Huntingdon, NY: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co., 1975.
- . "Suum Cuique Tribuere." *French Historical Studies* 6 (1970): 287–99.
- Chibnall, Marjorie. "Ecclesiastical Patronage and the Growth of Feudal Estates at the Time of the Norman Conquest." *Annales de Normandie* (1958): 103–18.
- . *Empress Matilda*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- . "The Empress Matilda and Church Reform." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 38 (1988): 107–33.
- . "Mercenaries and the Familia Regis under Henry I." *History* 62 (1977): 15–23.
- . "Normandy." In *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, edited by Edmund King, 93–116. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Claessen, H.J.M. and P. Skalnik. *The Early State*. The Hague: Mouton, 1978.
- Claessen, H.J.M., Pieter van de Velde, and M. Estellie Smith. *Development and Decline: The Evolution of Sociopolitical Organization*. S. Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1985.
- Cockayne, G.E. *The Complete Peerage*. Edited by Geoffrey White. London, 1946. Reprint, 1982.
- Coens, Maurice. "Martyrologes Belges Manuscrits de La Bibliothèque des Bollandists." *Analecta Bollandiana* 85 (1967): 113–27.
- . "La Vie Ancienne de Sainte Godelieve de Ghisteltes Par Drogon de Bergues." *Analecta Bollandiana* 44 (1926): 102–37.
- Collier, Jane, and Michelle A. Rosaldo. "Politics & Gender in Simple Societies." In *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality*, edited by Sherry B. Ortner and Harriet Whitehead, 275–329. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Collier, Jane, and S. Yanagisako. "Is There a Family: New Anthropological Views." In *Rethinking the Family*, edited by Barrie Thorne and Marilyn Yalom, 25–39. New York: Longman, 1982.
- Cowdrey, H.E.J. "Towards an Interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 10 (1988): 49–65.
- Cramer, Thomas. "Lohengrin." In *Lexicon Des Mittelalters*, 2080–82. Munchen: LexMA Verlag, 1998.
- Cronne, H.A. "The Honour of Lancaster in Stephen's Reign." *English Historical Review* 50 (1935): 670–80.
- Crouch, David. *The Beaumont Twins*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- . "Earl William of Gloucester and the End of the Anarchy: New Evidence Relating to the Honour of Eudo Dapifer." *English Historical Review* 103 (1988): 69–75.
- . "From Stenton to McFarlane: Models of Societies of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5 (1994): 179–200.
- . "Geoffrey de Clinton and Roger, Earl of Warwick." *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 55 (1982): 113–24.
- . "The March and the Welsh Kings." In *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, edited by Edmund King, 255–90. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- . "Normans and Anglo-Normans: A Divided Aristocracy." In *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, edited by David Bates and Anne Curry, 51–67. London: Hambledon Press, 1994.
- . "Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and the Daughter of Zelophehad." *J. of Medieval History* 11 (1985): 227–43.
- Dalton, Paul. "Aiming at the Impossible: Earl Ranulf II Earl of Chester and Lincolnshire in the Reign of King Stephen." In *The Earldom of Chester and Its Charters*, edited by A.T. Thacker, 109–34. Chester: Chester Archaeological Society, 1991.
- . "In Neutro Latere: The Armed Neutrality of Ranulf II Earl of Chester in King Stephen's Reign." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 14 (1992): 39–60.
- d'Amat, ed. *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1933–1975.

- Dauzat, A. and Ch. Rostaing. *Dictionnaire Étymologique des Noms de Lieux en France*. Paris: Larousse, 1978.
- Davenport, William. "Nonlinear Descent & Descent Groups." *American Anthropologist* 61 (1959): 557–72.
- David, C.W. *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1920.
- Davies, Wendy and Paul Fouracre, ed. *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Davis, R.H.C. "The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio." *English Historical Review* 367 (1978): 241–61.
- . "The College of St Martin Le Grand and the Anarchy." *London Topographical Record* 23 (1972): 9–26.
- . "Geoffrey de Mandeville Reconsidered." *English Historical Review* 76 (1964): 299–307.
- . *King Stephen*. 3 ed. London: Longman, 1990.
- . "William of Jumièges, Robert Curthose, and the Norman Succession." *English Historical Review* 95 (1980): 597–606.
- . "William of Poitiers and His History of William the Conqueror." In *Writing of History in the Middle Ages*, edited by R.H.C. Davis and J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, 71–100. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.
- . "The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio: A Discussion." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 2 (1979): 1–20.
- de Gaiffier, Baudouin. *Études Critiques d'Hagiographie et d'Iconologie*. Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1967.
- . "Sainte Ide de Boulogne et L'Espagne." *Analecta Bollandiana* 86 (1968): 67–82.
- de Hemptinne, Thérèse and Michel Parisse. "Thierry d'Alsace, Comte de Flandre. Biographie et Actes." *Annales de l'Est* 43 (1991): 83–113.
- de Locres, Ferrai. *Histoire Chronographique des Comtés, Pays, et Ville de Saint-Paul, en Ternois*. Douai: Chez Laurent Kellan, 1613.
- de Moreau, Étienne. *Histoire de L'Église en Belgique*. 2 ed. Bruxelles: L'Édition universelle, 1945.
- Deck, Suzanne. "Le Comté d'Eu Sous Les Ducs." *Annales de Normandie* 4 (1954): 99–116.
- Delacambre, Etienne. "L'Ostrevant du IX^e au XIII^e Siècle." *Le Moyen Age* 27 (1927): 241–79.
- Delehaye, H. *Les Légendes Grecques des Saints Militaires*. Paris: Picard et fils, 1909.
- Dept, Gaston G. *Les Influences Anglaise et Française Dans Le Comté de Flandre au Debut du XII^{me} Siècle*. Paris: É. Champion, 1928.
- Dereine, Charles. "Cono de Preneste." In *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, edited by Alfred Baudrillart, 461–71. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1912–1988.
- . "Étude Critique des Chartes Accordées par Robert Ier (1072) et Robert II (1093) de Flandre à L'Abbaye de Watten." *Revue Benedictine* 93 (1983): 80–107.
- . "La Donation Par Baudouin III, Comte de Hainaut, de Saint-Saulve Près de Valenciennes à Cluny." *Sacris Erudiri* 26 (1983): 119–53.
- . "La Spiritualité 'Apostolique' des Premiers Fondateurs d'Affligchem (1083–1100)." *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* 54 (1959): 41–65.
- Derville, Alain. "Les Origines de Gravelines et de Calais." *Revue du Nord* 66 (1984): 1051–69.
- Deschamps de Pas, L. "Essai Sur L'Histoire Monétaire de Boulogne-Sur-Mer." *Revue numismatique* 3 (1838): 19–34.
- . "Etude Sur Les Monnaies de Boulogne." *Revue numismatique* (1885): 264–95.
- . "Note Sur Deux Monnoies Inédites Se Rattachant à L'Histoire de Boulogne-Sur-Mer." *Revue numismatique* 4 (1839): 284–94.

- . "Note Sur Les Monnaies de Boulogne au Nom d'Eustache." *Revue numismatique* 4 (1859): 48–59.
- De-Smet, Joseph M. "Quand Robert II Confia-t-il Saint Bertin à Cluny." *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* 46 (1951): 160–4.
- Desplanques, A. "Recherches Sur L'Abbaye de La Capelle en Calaisis." *Annales du comité flamand de France* 9 (1867): 330–82.
- Despy, Georges. "La Fonction Ducale en Lotharingie Puis en Basse-Lotharingie de 900 à 1100." *Revue du Nord* 48 (1966): 107–09.
- . "Les Actes des Ducs de Basse-Lotharingie au XI^e Siècle." *Publications de la section historique de l'Institut G.D. de Luxembourg* 95 (1981): 65–132.
- Desroches, Abbé Jean-Jacques. *Histoire de Mont Saint-Michel et L'Ancien Diocèse d'Avranches*. 2 vols. Caen: Chez Mancel, 1838.
- Déville, E. *Analyse d'un Ancien Cartulaire de Saint Etienne de Caen*. Evreux, 1905.
- Dhondt, Jan. "Bijdrage Tot Het Cartularium Van Meesen (1065–1334)." *Bulletin de la commission royale d'Histoire* 106 (1941): 95–234.
- . "Élection et Hérité Sous Les Carolingiens et Les Premiers Capétiens." *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 18 (1939): 913–53.
- . *Études Sur La Naissance des Principautés Territoriales en France*. Bruges: de Tempel, 1948.
- . "Henri Ier, L'Empire, and L'Anjou." *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 25 (1946): 87–109.
- . "La Donation d'Elstrude à Saint-Pierre de Gand." *Bulletin de la commission royale d'Histoire* 105 (1940): 117–64.
- . "Les 'Solidarites' Médiévales." *Annales E.S.C.* 12 (1957): 529–60.
- . *Les Origines de La Flandre et de L'Artois*. Arras: none, 1944.
- . "Les Relations Entre La France et La Normandie Sous Henri Ier." *Normannia* 12 (1939): 465–86.
- . "Les Seigneuries du IX^e au XIII^e Siècle." In *Histoire des Territoire Ayant Formé Le Département du Pas-De-Calais*, edited by Charles Dehaz et al., 34–83. Arras: Brunet, 1946.
- . "Note Critique Sur Les Comtes de Hainaut au X^e Siècle." *Les Annales du cercle archéologique de Mons* 59 (1945): 127–31.
- . "Note Sur Les Châtelains de Flandre." In *Études Historiques Dedicées à la Mémoire de M. Roger Rodière*, 43–51. Arras: Commission départementale des monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1947.
- . "Recherches Sur L'Histoire du Boulonnais et de L'Artois." *Mémoires de l'Académie de sciences, lettres et arts d'Arras* 14 (1941–2): 96–103, 30–45, 77–87.
- . "Une Crise du Pouvoir Capetian 1032–34." In *Miscellanea Medievalia in Memoriam Jan Frederik Niermeyer*, 137–48. Gronigen: J.B. Wolters, 1967.
- Dion, Roger. *Les Frontières de France*. Paris: Hachette, 1947.
- Dodwell, C.R. "The Bayeux Tapestry and the French Secular Epic." In *The Study of the Bayeux Tapestry*, edited by Richard Gameson, 47–63. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997.
- Doran, Charles. *The Politics of Assimilation: Hegemony and Its Aftermath*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971.
- Dorchy, H. "Godefroid de Bouillon au Duché de Basse-Lotharingie." *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 26 (1948): 961–99.
- Douglas, David C. "The Earliest Norman Counts." *English Historical Review* 61 (1946): 129–56.
- . *William the Conqueror*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.
- Duby, Georges. *The Chivalrous Society*. Translated by Cynthia Postan. Berkeley: Edward Arnold, 1977.
- . "French Genealogical Literature." In *The Chivalrous Society*, 149–57. Berkeley: Edward Arnold, 1977.
- . "Gérard de Cambrai, La Paix et Les Trois Fonctions Sociales, 1024." In *Compte Rendu des Séances de L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 136–46. Paris, 1976.

- . *La Société aux X^e et XII^e Siècles Dans La Région Maçonnaise*. Paris: A. Colin, 1955.
- . "Lineage, Nobility, and Knighthood." In *The Chivalrous Society*, 59–80. Berkeley: Edward Arnold, 1977.
- . *Medieval Marriage: Two Models from the Twelfth Century*. Translated by Elborg Forster. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.
- . "The Nobility of Medieval France." In *The Chivalrous Society*, 94–114. Berkeley: Edward Arnold, 1977.
- . "The Structure of Kinship and Nobility." In *The Chivalrous Society*, 134–48. Berkeley: Edward Arnold, 1977.
- Ducatel, Felix. "Sainte Ide a-t-elle Été Excommuniée en 1049?" *Mémoires de la société académique de l'arrondissement de Boulogne* (1896): 7–26.
- . *Vie de Sainte Ide de Lorraine*. Desclee, 1900.
- Duchesne, Andre. *Histoire Généalogique de La Maison de Béthune*. Paris: Chez Sebastien Cramoisy, 1639.
- . *Histoire Généalogique des Maisons de Guines, d'Ardres, de Gand, et de Coucy et Quelques Autres Familles*. Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1631.
- Duckett, George F. "Observations on the Parentage of Gundreda, Countess of Warenne." *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal* 9 (1886): 421–40.
- Dumas, Françoise. "Comparisons between the Political, the Economic and the Monetary Evolution of the North of France in the Twelfth Century." In *Coinage in the Low Countries (800–1500)*, edited by N.J. Matthews, 35–48: British Archaeological Society, 1979.
- . *Le Trésor de Fécamp et Le Monnayage en France Occidentale Pendant La Seconde Moitié du X^e Siècle*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1971.
- Dunbabin, Jean. *France in the Making*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- . "The Reign of Arnulf II, Count of Flanders, and Its Aftermath." *Francia* 16 (1989): 53–65.
- Dupont, Christian. "Les Domaines des Ducs en Basse-Lotharingie au XI^e Siècle." *Publications de la section historique de l'Institut G.D. de Luxembourg* 95 (1981): 217–40.
- Dupréel, Eugène. *Histoire Critique de Godefroi Le Barbu*. Uccle: Imprimerie-lithographie F. Wauters, 1904.
- Duvivier, Charles. *Recherches Sur Le Hainaut Ancien du XI^e au XII^e Siècle*. Bruxelles: Librairie ancienne de Fr.-J. Olivier, 1865.
- Eales, Richard. "Local Loyalties in Norman England: Kent in Stephen's Reign." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 8 (1985): 88–99.
- Ellington, L.R., ed. *Somerset*. Vol. 4, *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. London: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Ellington, C.R., ed. *Cambridge*. Vol. 5, *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Engels, L.J. "Once More: The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 2 (1979): 1–20.
- Enlart, Camille. "L'Église du Wast en Boulonnais et Son Portail Arabe." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 15 (1927): 1–11.
- Escalier, E.A. *L'Abbaye d'Anchin (1079–1792)*. Lille: L. Lefort, 1852.
- Estandelin, L. *Histoire des Comtes d'Eu*. Dieppe & Paris: Chez Marais fils, 1828.
- Evrard, Jean Paul. "Les Comtes de Verdun aux X^e–XI^e Siècles." *Publications de la section historique de l'Institut G.D. de Luxembourg* 95 (1981): 153–82.
- Farmer, Sharon. "Persuasive Voices: Clerical Images of Medieval Wives." *Speculum* 61 (1986): 517–43.
- Farrer, William. *Honors and Knights' Fees*. Manchester: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co., 1925.
- . "An Outline Itinerary of King Henry the First." *English Historical Review* 34 (1919): 303–82, 505–79.
- Feuchère, Pierre. "Essai Sur L'Évolution Territoriale des Principautés Françaises X^e–XIII^e Siècle: Étude de Géographie Historique." *Le Moyen Age* 58 (1951): 85–117.

- . "La Praetor Urbanus de Saint Omer." *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de la Morinie* 17 (1941-1957): 246-51.
- . "La Véritable Origine des Châtelains de Douai et Les Premiers Seigneurs d'Aubigny en Artois." *Bulletin de la société d'étude de la province de Cambrai* 42 (1947): 66-77.
- . "Les Avoués de Saint Bertin." *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de la Morinie* 17 (1941-1957).
- . *Les Castra et Les Noyaux Pré-Urbains en Artois du IX^e au XI^e Siècles*. Arras: Imprimerie Centrale de l'Artois, 1949.
- . "Les Origines du Comté de Saint-Pol." *Revue du Nord* 35 (1953): 125-49.
- . "Les Origines Urbaines de Lens-en-Artois." *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 30 (1952): 91-108.
- . "L'origine et La Formation Constitutionnelle de l'Office de Châtelain à Lens." *Bulletin de la commission départementale des monuments historique du Pas-de-Calais* 7 (1948): 463-73.
- . "L'Origine et L'Évolution Sociale des Châtelains de Saint-Omer (1042-1386)." *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de la Morinie* 17 (1951): 257-73.
- . "Notice Sur Les Premiers Châtelains d'Aire." *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de la Morinie* 17 (1941-1957): 121-23.
- . "Une Tentative Manquée de Concentration Territoriale Entre Somme et Seine: La Principauté d'Amiens-Valois au XI^e Siècle." *Le Moyen Age* 60 (1954): 1-37.
- . "'Vicecomes' et 'Vicecomitatus' en Artois aux XI^e et XII^e Siècles." *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de la Morinie* 17 (1945-52): 498-507.
- Flach, Jacques. "Le Comte de Flandre et Ses Rapports Avec La Couronne de La France du IX^e au XII^e Siècle." *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 115 (1914): 1-33, 241-71.
- Flax, Jane. "The Family in Contemporary Feminist Thought: A Critical Review." In *The Family in Political Thought*, edited by Jean Bethke Elshtain, 223-339. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982.
- Fleckenstein, Josef. *Early Medieval Germany*. Translated by Bernard S. Smith. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1978.
- Fleming, Robin. "Domesday Estates of the King and the Godwines: A Study in Late Saxon Politics." *Speculum* 58 (1983): 987-1007.
- . *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Fliche, Auguste. *Le Regne de Philippe Ier*. Paris: Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie, 1912.
- Fonvielle, R. *La Seigneurie et La Ville d'Hesdin-Le-Vieux*. Lille, 1938.
- Fossier, Robert. "Chevalerie et Noblesse au Ponthieu aux XI^e et XII^e Siècles." In *Études de Civilisation Médiévale: Mélanges Offerts à E.R. Labande*, 293-306. Poitiers: Centre d'études supérieures de civilisation médiévale, 1974.
- . ed. *Histoire de La Picardie*. Toulouse: Privat, 1974.
- . *La Terre et Les Hommes en Picardie Jusqu'à La Fin du XIII^e Siècle*. 2 vols. Paris: B. Nauwelaerts, 1968.
- . "Les Capetiens et La Picardie." *Bulletin de la société historique de Compiègne* 30 (1988): 19-21.
- . "Sur Les Principautés Médiévales Particulièrement en France." Paper presented at the Les Principautés au moyen age, communications du congrès de Bordeaux, Bordeaux 1973.
- France, John. "La Guerre Dans La France Féodale à La Fin du IX^e Siècle et au X^e Siècle." *Revue belge histoire militaire* 23 (1979): 177-98.
- France, John & William G. Zajac. *The Crusades and Their Sources. Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.

- Freed, John B. "The Counts of Falkenstein: Noble Self-Consciousness in Twelfth-Century German." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 74 (1984): 1-67.
- Freeman, E.A. *The History of the Norman Conquest of England*. 2 ed. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1873-76.
- Freeman, J.D. "On the Concept of Kindred." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (1961): 192-220.
- Frère, Hubert. "Les Noms de Lieux Sur Les Monnaies Carolingiennes de 'Belgique'." *Revue belge de numismatique* 123 (1977): 135-48.
- Fuhrmann, Horst. *Germany in the High Middle Ages c. 1050-1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Gaillard, L. "Doudeauville." In *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, edited by Alfred Baudrillart, 741-2. Paris: Let Ouzey & Ané, 1912-1988.
- Galbraith, V.H. "English Monastic Foundation Charters of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." *Cambridge Historical Journal* 4 (1934): 205-22.
- Ganneron, Dom François. *Les Comtes de Boulogne*. Boulogne: Librairie de Mademoiselle Deligny, 1891.
- Ganshof, F.L. "Depuis Quand a-t-on Pu, en France, Être Vassal de Plusieurs Seigneurs?" In *Mélanges Paul Fournier*. Paris: Recueil Sirey, 1929.
- . "Étude Sur Les Ministériales en Flandre et en Lotharingie." In *Mémoires Couronnées Par L'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe de Lettres*. Bruxelles, 1926.
- . *Feudalism*. Translated by Philip Grierson. London: Longmans, Green, 1952.
- . "La Flandre." In *Histoire des Institutions Françaises au Moyen Age*, edited by F. Lot & R. Fawtier, 343-426. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957-1962.
- . *La Flandre Sous Les Premiers Comtes*. Brussels: La Renaissance du livre, 1949.
- . "Le Roi de France en Flandre en 1127 et 1128." *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 27 (1949): 204-28.
- . "Les Avoués de Saint-Bertin." *Bulletin de la société académique de la Morinie* 16 (1948): 193-207.
- . "Les Origines de La Flandre Impériale. Contribution à L'Histoire de L'Ancien Brabant." *Annales de la société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles* 46 (1942-3): 99-137.
- . "L'Origine et L'Évolution Sociale de Châtelains de Saint-Omer (1042-1386)." *Bulletin de la société académique de la Morinie* 17 (1949): 259-73.
- . "Note Sur Le Premier Traité Anglo-Flamand de Douvres." *Revue du Nord* (1958): 245-57.
- . "Note Sur Le Rattachement Féodal du Comté de Hainaut à L'Église de Liège." In *Miscellanea Gessleriana*, 508-21. Anvers: Deurne, Drukker, C. Gouaerts, 1948.
- . "Notes Critiques Sur Les 'Annales Bertiani'." In *Mélanges Dédiées à La Mémoire de Felix Grat*, 159-74. Paris: Mme. Pecqueur-Grat, 1949.
- . "Saint-Bertin et Les Origines du Comté de Guines." *Revue belge de philologie et d'Histoire* 10 (1931): 541-55.
- Geary, Patrick. "Vivre en Conflit Dans Une France Sans État: Typologie des Mécanismes de Règlement des Conflits (1050-1200)." *Annales E.S.C.* 41 (1986): 1107-33.
- Genicot, Leopold. "Aristocratie et Dignités Ecclésiastiques en Picardie aux XII^e et XIII^e Siècles." *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* 67 (1972): 436-42.
- . "Empereurs et Princes en Basse-Lotharingie." *Revue de l'université de Bruxelles* 22 (1970): 413-31.
- . "Entre L'Empire et La France." In *Histoire de La Wallonie*, edited by Leopold Genicot. Toulouse: Priuat, 1973.
- . *Étude Sur Les Principautés Lotharingiennes*. Louvain: Publications universitaires de Louvain, 1975.
- . "La Noblesse au Moyen Age Dans L'Ancienne 'Francie'." *Annales E.S.C.* 17 (1962): 1-22.

- . *Typologies des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental: Les Généalogies*. Turnhout: Brépols, 1975.
- George, R.K. "The Contribution of Flanders to the Norman Conquest." *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 5 (1926): 81–99.
- Gilloire, Michel. "L'Atlas de Picardie et L'Histoire Régionale." *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de Picardie* 149 (1984): 296–309.
- Giry, Arthur. "Grégoire VII et Les Évêques de Téroouanne." *Revue historique* 1 (1876): 387–409.
- . "Le Boulonnais et Le Ternois." *Bulletin des antiquaires de la Morinie* 4 (1867–71): 347–59.
- . "Les Châtelains de Saint-Omer (1042–1386)." *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 35 (1874/5): 325–55.
- Gluckman, Max. "The Peace in the Feud." *Past & Present* 8 (1955): 1–14.
- Gosse, Prior Floride. *Histoire de L'Abbaye d'Arrouaise*. Lille: L. Danel, 1786. Reprint, 1951.
- Grant, Lindy. *Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis*. London: Longman, 1998.
- Grape, Wolfgang. *The Bayeux Tapestry*. Munich: Prestel, 1994.
- Green, Judith. *The Aristocracy of Norman England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- . "Earl Ranulf II and Lancashire." In *The Earldom of Chester and Its Charters*, edited by A.T. Thacker, 97–108. Chester: Chester Archaeological Society, 1991.
- . "Financing Stephen's War." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 14 (1992): 91–114.
- . "King Henry I and the Aristocracy of Normandy." In *La 'France Anglaise' au Moyen Age*. Paris: C.T.H.S., 1988.
- . "Lords of the Norman Vexin." In *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of J.O. Prestwich*, edited by J. Gillingham & J.C. Holt, 47–61. Cambridge: Boydell Press, 1984.
- . "Unity and Disunity in the Anglo-Norman State." *Historical Research* 63 (1989): 115–34.
- Grierson, Philip. *The Coins of Medieval Europe*. London: Seaby, 1991.
- . "La Maison d'Evraud de Frioul et Les Origines du Comté de Flandre." *Revue du Nord* 24 (1938): 241–66.
- . "L'origine des Comtes d'Amiens, Valois et Vexin." *Le Moyen Age* 49 (1939): 81–125.
- . "The Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 23 (1941): 71–113.
- . "The Translation of the Relics of St Amalberga to St Peter's Ghent." *Revue benedictine* 51 (1939): 292–315.
- . "The Translation of the Relics of St Donatien." *Revue Benedictine* 49 (1937): 170–90.
- . "A Visit of Earl Harold." *English Historical Review* 51 (1936): 90–97.
- Guenée, Bernard. "Les Généalogies Entre L'Histoire et La Politique." *Annales E.S.C.* 33 (1978): 450–77.
- Guyotjeannin, Olivier. *Episcopus et Comes. Affirmation et Déclin de La Seigneurie Episcopale au Nord du Royaume de France*. Geneva: Droz, 1987.
- Hagenmeyer, Heinrich. *Chronologie de La Première Croisade 1094–1100*. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1973.
- Haigneré, Daniel. "Dictionnaire Topographique de La France. . . Arrondissement de Boulogne-Sur-Mer." *Mémoires de la société académique de l'arrondissement de Boulogne* 11 (1882): ix–392.
- . *Histoire de Notre-Dame de Boulogne*. Boulogne: Berger imprimerie, 1857.
- . "Les Hommes Illustres du Diocèse de Thérrouanne Qui Après La Première Croisade Furent au Nombre des Dignitaires de La Terre-Sainte." *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de la Morinie* (1890): 1–19.
- . "Traditions Recueillies Par Les Trouvères Concernant Le Saint-Sang de Boulogne." *Le Cabinet historique de l'Artois et de la Picardie* 4 (1890–1): 1–13.

- Halkin, J. "Alberton I, Évêque de Liège 1123–8." *Bulletin de la société d'Art et d'Histoire du diocèse de Liège* 8 (1894): 321–54.
- Hallam, Elizabeth. *Capetian France 987–1328*. London: Longman, 1980.
- . "The King and the Princes in Eleventh-Century France." *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 53 (1980): 143–56.
- . "Royal Burial and the Cult of Kingship in France and England, 1060–1330." *J. of Medieval History* 8 (1982): 359–80.
- Hart, Cyril. "The Bayeux Tapestry and Schools of Illumination at Canterbury." *Anglo Norman Studies* 22 (2000): 117–67.
- . "The Canterbury Contribution to the Bayeux Tapestry." Paper presented at the Medieval Europe Conference Brugge 1997, Bruges 1997.
- Haskins, C.H. *Norman Institutions*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1918.
- Hatch, Elvin. "Theories of Social Honor." *American Anthropologist* 91 (1989): 341–53.
- Helin, Alphonse. *Le Comté de Harnes*. Arras: none, 1956.
- Heliot, Pierre. *Histoire de Boulogne et du Boulonnais*. Lille: E. Raoust, 1937.
- . *Le Wast. Guarnbecque. Lillers*. Paris: none, 1937.
- Helmrichs, Robert. "Geoffrey Plantagenet and the Siege of Montreuil-Bellay." Paper presented at the annual *Haskins Society* meeting, November 1998.
- . "King Stephen's Norman Itinerary." *The Haskins Society Journal* 5 (1993): 89–98.
- Helvétius, Anne-Marie. *Abbayes, Evêques et Laïques. Une Politique du Pouvoir en Hainaut au Moyen Age (VII^e–XII^e Siècle)*. Bruxelles: Crédit communal, 1994.
- . "L'Abbatiait Laïque Comme Relais du Pouvoir Royal aux Frontières du Royaume." In *La Royauté et Les Éléites Dans L'Europe Caroligienne*, 285–99. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Centre d'Histoire l'Europe du Nord-Ouest, 1998.
- Herlihy, David. "Family." *American Historical Review* 96 (1991): 1–16.
- Hicks, S.B. "England's King Henry I and the Flemish Succession Crisis of 1127–1128." *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 2 (1981): 41–9.
- . "From Tinchebrai to Alost: A Study of the Diplomacy and Warfare between Henry I and His Continental Rivals." Ph.D., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1974.
- . "The Impact of William Clito Upon the Continental Policies of Henry I of England." *Viator* 10 (1979): 1–21.
- Hill, Bennett D. "The Counts of Mortain and the Origins of the Norman Congregation of Savigny." In *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Strayer*, edited by W.C. Jordan, et al., 237–54. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- Hirsch, Paul. *Die Erhebung Berengars I Von Friaul Zum König in Italien*. Strausburg: C.F. Schmidt, 1910.
- Hirsch, Siegfried. *Jahrbücher Des Deutschen Reichs Unter Heinrich II*. 3 vols. Berlin: Dunker und Humblot, 1864–65.
- Hoebanx, J.J. *L'Abbaye de Nivelles des Origines au XIV^e Siècle*. Bruxelles: Palais des Academies, 1951.
- Holdsworth, Christopher. "The Church." In *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, edited by Edmund King, 207–30. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Hollister, C. Warren. "The Anglo-Norman Succession Debate of 1126: Prelude to Stephen's Anarchy." In *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions*, 145–69. London: Hambledon, 1986.
- . "The Aristocracy." In *The Anarchy of Stephen's Reign*, edited by Edmund King. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- . "The Greater Domesday Tenants-in-Chief." In *Domesday Studies*, edited by J.C. Holt. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987.
- . "Henry I and the Anglo-Norman Magnates." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 2 (1979): 93–107.
- . *The Military Organization of Norman England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.

- . "The Misfortunes of the Mandevilles." *History* 58 (1973): 18–28.
- . *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions*. London: Hambledon Press, 1986.
- . "Normandy, France and the Anglo-Norman Regnum." *Speculum* 51 (1976): 202–42.
- . "Stephen's Anarchy." *Albion* 6 (1974): 231–39.
- . "War and Diplomacy in the Anglo-Norman World: The Reign of Henry I." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 6 (1984): 72–88.
- Holt, J.C. "1153: The Treaty of Winchester." In *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, edited by Edmund King, 291–316. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- . "Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England: I. The Revolution of 1066." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 32 (1982): 193–212.
- . "Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England: II. Notion of Patrimony." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 33 (1983): 193–220.
- . "Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England: III. Patronage and Politics." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 34 (1984): 1–25.
- . "Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England: IV. The Heiress and the Alien." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 35 (1985): 1–28.
- . "Politics and Property in Early Medieval England." *Past and Present* 57 (1972): 3–52.
- . "Politics and Property in Early Medieval England: A Rejoinder." *Past and Present* 65 (1974): 127–35.
- Honeybourne, Marjorie. "The Sanctuary Boundaries and Environs of Westminster Abbey and the College of St Martin Le Grand." *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 38 (1933): 316–33.
- Huneycutt, Lois L. "Another Esther in Our Times: Matilda II and the Formation of a Queenly Ideal in Anglo-Norman England." Ph.D., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1992.
- Huyghebaert, Nicolas. "Abbaye de Notre-Dame à Messines." *Monasticon Belge* 3 (1960): 211–38.
- . "Examen des Plus Anciennes Chartes de L'Abbaye de Messines." *Bulletin de la commission royale d'Histoire* 121 (1956): 175–222.
- . "'Hugo Tornacensis Ecclesiae Cancellarius' Examen Critique de La Charte de Fondation de L'Abbaye de Phalempin." *Bulletin de la commission royale d'Histoire* 128 (1962): 183–273.
- . "La Mère de Godefroid de Bouillon: La Comtesse Ide de Boulogne." *Publications de la section historique de l'Institut G.D. de Luxembourg* 95 (1981): 43–63.
- . "Le 'Sermo de Adventu SS. Gudwali et Bertulfi' Édition et Étude Critique." *Sacris Erudiri* 24 (1980): 87–112.
- . "Les Femmes Laiques Dans La Vie Religieuse en XI^e et XII^e Siècles Dans La Province Ecclésiastique de Reims." Paper presented at the Estrato del I laici nella "societas chrisitana" dei secoli XI e XII. Ati della terza settimana inter-naZIONALE di studio Mendolo, 21–27 agosto 1967, Milan 1967.
- . "Les Origines de L'Abbaye de Saint-Jean-Au-Mont." *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de la Morinie* 17 (1956): 449–73.
- . "Une Moine Hagiographe: Drogon de Bergues-Saint-Winnoc." *Sacris Erudiri* 20 (1971): 191–256.
- Jamison, Catherine. *The History of the Royal Hospital of St Katherine by the Tower of London*. London: Oxford University Press, 1952.
- Jesse, W. Scott. "William of Ypres and the Flemish Mercenaries of King Stephen." M.A., Florida State University, 1975.
- John, Eric. "Edward the Confessor and the Norman Succession." *English Historical Review* 94 (1979): 241–67.
- Joris, André. "Transports, Voyages et Voies de Communication au Moyen Age." *Cahiers de Clio* 23 (1970): 27–40.

- Kapelle, William E. *The Norman Conquest of the North. The Region and Its Transformation, 1100–1135*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979.
- Kealey, Edward. "King Stephen's Government and the Anarchy." *Albion* 6 (1974): 201–17.
- . *Roger of Salisbury, Viceroy of England*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.
- Keats-Rohan, K.S.B. "The Bretons and Normans of England 1066–1154: The Family, the Fief, and the Feudal Monarchy." *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 36 (1992): 42–78.
- . *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066–1166. I. Domesday Book*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1999.
- Keithley, Ronald G. "Casus Belli: Early Medieval Versions of the Origins of the Trojan War." *Parergon* 30 (1981): 3–12.
- Kempe, Alfred J. *Historical Notices of the Collegiate Church or Royal Free Chapel and Sanctuary of St Martin Le Grand, London*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1825.
- Keynes, Simon. "The Aethlings in Normandy." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13 (1991): 1–34.
- Kimpen, Emil. "Zur Genealogie Der Bayrischen Herzöge Von 908–1070." *Jahrbuch für frankische Landesforschung* 13 (1953): 55–83.
- King, Edmund. "The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 34 (1984): 133–53.
- . "Dispute Settlement in Anglo-Norman England." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 14 (1992): 115–30.
- . "King Stephen and the Anglo-Norman Aristocracy." *History* 59 (1974): 180–94.
- . "Stephen of Blois, Count of Mortain and Boulogne." *English Historical Review* 115 (2000): 271–96.
- . "The Tenurial Crisis of the Early Twelfth Century." *Past and Present* 65 (1974): 110–17.
- Knowles, David. "The Case of St William of York." In *The Historian and Character*, edited by David Knowles, 76–97. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.
- Knowles, David, C.N.L. Brooks, and Vera M. London. *Heads of Religious Households in England and Wales 940–1216*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.
- Koch, A.C.F. "Actes des Comtes de Flandre de la Période de 1071 à 1128." *Bulletin de la commission royale d'Histoire* 122 (1957): 261–72.
- . "Gérard de Brogne et La Maladie du Comte Arnoul Ier de Flandre." *Revue Benedictine* 70 (1960): 119–26.
- . "L'Origine et La Formation Territoriale des Châtellanies de Cassel et Bailleul." *Revue du Nord* 29 (1947): 5–32.
- Korteweg, A.S. "Thierry II, Count of Holland, and His Wife Hildegard and Their Donations to Egmond Abbey." In *Byzantium and the Low Countries in the Tenth Century*, edited by V.D. van Aalst and K.N. Ciggaar, 146–64. Hernen: A.A. Brediusstichting, 1985.
- Kozioł, Geoffrey G. *Begging Pardon and Favor*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- . "Monks, Feuds, and the Making of Peace in Eleventh-Century Flanders." *Historical Reflections* 14 (1987): 531–49.
- Kremer, Johan M. *Genealogische Geschichte des Alten Ardennischen Geschlechtes*. Frankfurt: J.G. Fleischerischen, 1785.
- Kupper, Jean-Louis. "La Maison d'Ardenne-Verdun et L'Église de Liège." *Publications de la section historique de l'Institut G.D. de Luxembourg* 95 (1981): 201–15.
- Lapidge, Michael. "Aethelwold and the Vita S. Eustachii." In *Scire Litteras: Forschungen zum Mittelalterlichen Geistesleben*, edited by S. Kramer and M. Bernhard, 255–65. Munich: Bayerisch Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988.
- Laporte, J. "Gerard de Brogne à Saint-Wandrille et à Saint-Riquier." *Revue Benedictine* 70 (1960): 142–66.
- Laret-Kayser, Arlette. "La Fonction et Les Pouvoirs Ducaux en Basse-Lotharingie

- au XI^e Siècle." *Publications de la section historique de l'Institut G.D. de Luxembourg* 95 (1981): 133-52.
- . "Prieuré de Longlier." *Monasticon Belge* 5 (1975): 111-21.
- Laret-Kayser, Arlette and P. Bodart. "Prieuré de Bouillon." *Monasticon Belge* 5 (1975): 87-102.
- Lauer, Philippe. *Le Regne de Louis IV d'Outre-Mer*. Paris: E. Bouillon, 1900.
- Lays, Charles. "La Mort d'Arnoul de Valenciennes et L'Inféodation de Valenciennes à Baudoin IV, Comte de Flandre." *Le Moyen Age* 54 (1948): 57-75.
- Le Glay, A. *Mémoire Sur Les Archives de L'Abbaye de Cisoing*. Lille: L. Danel, 1854.
- . *Mémoire Sur Les Archives de L'Abbaye de Marchiennes*. Douai: A. Aubers, 1854.
- . *Mémoire Sur Les Archives de Saint-Amand*. Valenciennes: B. Henry, 1854.
- . *Mémoire Sur Les Archives du Chapitre de Saint-Pierre de Lille*. Lille: L. Danel, 1856.
- . *Mémoires Sur Les Archives de L'Abbaye de Saint-Jean de Valenciennes*. Valenciennes: B. Henry, 1862.
- . "Notice Sur Les Archives de l'Abbaye d'Arrouaise." *Mémoires de l'académie d'Arras* 30 (1858): 115-30.
- . *Notice Sur L'Origine du Comté de Flandre*. Lille: L. Danel, 1849.
- Le Jan, Régine. *La Famille et Pouvoir Dans Le Monde France (VII^e-X^e Siècle)*. Paris, 1995.
- Leedom, Joe. "The English Settlement of 1153." *History* 65 (1980): 347-64.
- Lefebvre, F.A. *Sainte Godeleine: Son Culte et Ses Reliques*. Arras: Sueur-Charruez, 1888.
- Leland, John. *The Itinerary of John Leland in or About the Years 1535-1543*. Edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith. 5 vols. London, 1907-10.
- Lemarignier, Jean-Francois. "La Dislocation du 'Pagus' et Le Problème des 'Consuetudines'." In *Mélanges d'Histoire du Moyen Age Dedicées à La Mémoire de Louis Halphen*, 401-10. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1951.
- . *Le Gouvernement Royal aux Premiers Temps Capétiens (987-1108)*. Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1965.
- . "Les Fideles du Roi de France." In *Recueil de Travaux Offert à M.C. Brunel*, 138-62. Paris: Société de l'École des Chartes, 1955.
- . "Les Laïques et L'Entourage Royal aux Premiers Temps Capétiens (987-1108)." Paper presented at the I Laici nella 'Societas Christiana' de secoli XI e XII atti della terza settimana internazionale di studio Mendola, 21-27 agosto 1965, Milan 1965.
- . "Political and Monastic Structures in France at the End of the Tenth and the Beginning of the Eleventh Century." In *Lordship and Community*, edited by F.C. Cheyette, 100-27. Huntington, NY: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co., 1975.
- . *Recherches Sur L'Hommage en Marche et Les Frontières Féodales*. Lille: Bibliothèque universitaire, 1945.
- LePatourel, John. "The Norman Succession, 996-1135." *English Historical Review* 339 (1971): 225-50.
- . "What Did Not Happen in Stephen's Reign." *History* 58 (1971): 1-17.
- Leroy, Antoine. *Histoire de Notre-Dame de Boulogne*. 9 ed. Paris: Le Roy-Mabille, 1839.
- Lesne, Émile. *Les Livres, "Scriptoria" et Bibliothèques*. 4 vols. Vol. 4, *Histoire de La Propriété Ecclesiastique en France*. Lille: Faculté catholique, 1938.
- Lestocquoy, Jean. *Histoire de La Picardie et du Boulonnais*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1970.
- Lauridan, T. *Notice Historique Sur L'Abbaye Saint-Christophe de Phalempin*. Roubaix, 1905.
- Levillain, Léon. "Deux Diplômes de Hugues Capet en Faveur de L'Abbaye de Corbie (987)." *Le Moyen Age* 3 (1899): 65-78.
- . "Les Niebelungen Historiques et Leurs Alliances de Famille." *Annales du Midi* 49 (1937): 337-408.
- . *Examen Critique des Chartes Mérovingiennes et Carolingiennes de L'Abbaye de Corbie*. Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1902.
- Lewis, Archibald R. *The Northern Seas. Shipping and Commerce in Northern England A.D. 300-1100*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.

- Lewis, C.P. "The Early Earls of Norman England." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13 (1991): 207–23.
- . "The Formation of the Honour of Chester 1066–1100." *The Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society* 71 (1991): 37–68.
- . "The King and Eye: A Study in Anglo-Norman Politics." *English Historical Review* (1989): 569–89.
- Leyser, Karl. "The Anglo-Norman Succession 1120–1125." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13 (1990): 225–41.
- Lobel, Mary D., ed. *Oxford. Vol. 5, Victoria History of the Counties of England*. London: Oxford University Press, 1957.
- Lognon, Auguste. *Études Sur Les Pagi de La Gaule*. Paris: A. Franck, 1869.
- Loomis, Grant. "Further Sources of Aelfric's Saints Lives." *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* 13 (1931): 1–8.
- Loprete, Kimberly. "The Anglo-Norman Card of Adela of Blois." *Albion* 22 (1990): 569–90.
- Lot, Ferdinand. *Études Critiques Sur L'Abbaye de Saint Wandrille*. Paris: H. Champion, 1913.
- . *Études Sur Le Règne de Hugues Capet et La Fin du X^e Siècle*. Paris: E. Bouillon, 1903. Reprint, Geneva, 1975.
- . "La Frontière de La France et de L'Empire Sur Le Cours Inférieur de L'Escaut du IX^e et XIII^e." *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 71 (1910): 1–10.
- . *Les Derniers Carolingiens*. Paris: E. Bouillon, 1891.
- Lotin, Alain. *Histoire de Boulogne-Sur-Mer*. Boulogne: Presses universitaires de Lille, 1983.
- Louandre, F.C. *Histoire d'Abbeville et du Comté de Ponthieu*. Abbeville: A. Alexandre, 1883.
- Loyd, L.C. "The Origins of the Family of Warenne." *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 31 (1934): 97–112.
- . *The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*. Edited by C.T. Clay and D.C. Douglas. Leeds: Harleian Society, 1951.
- Luchaire, Achille. *Histoire des Institutions Monarchiques de La France Sous Les Premiers Capétiens (987–1180)*. 2 ed. 2 vols. Bruxelles: Culture et civilisation, 1964.
- Lukes, Steven. "Political Ritual and Social Integration." In *Essays in Social Theory*, 52–73. London: Macmillan, 1970.
- . *Power: A Radical View*. Houndsmill and London: Macmillan, 1974.
- MacDonald, R. Thomas. "The Countship of Ponthieu to 1100." Ph.D., Bryn Mawr, 1971.
- . "Le Ponthieu au X^e Siècle: en Quête de Ses Origines." *Bulletin de la société d'émulation historique et littéraire d'Abbeville* 25 (1985): 59–70.
- . "Les Comtes de Ponthieu et La Politique Normand 1052–1147." *Bulletin de la société d'émulation d'Abbeville* 27 (1993): 353–67.
- Magennis, Hugh. "On the Sources of Non-Aelfrician Lives in the Old English Lives of Saints, with Reference to the Cotton-Corpus Legendary." *Notes and Queries* 32 (1985): 292–8.
- Magnou-Nortier, Elisabeth. "La Féodalité en Crise. Propos Sur 'Fiefs and Vassals' de Susan Reynolds." *Revue historique* 600 (1996): 253–348.
- Malbrancq, Jacob. *De Morinis et Morinorum Rebus*. Tournai: Nerviorum ex officina A. Quinqué, 1639.
- Maldon, H.E., ed. *Surrey. Vol. 3, Victoria History of the Counties of England*. London: Dawson's of Pall Mall, 1911.
- , ed. *Surrey. Vol. 4, Victoria History of the Counties of England*. London: Dawson's of Pall Mall, 1912.
- Mantius, Max. *Geschichte Der Lateinschen Literatur Des Mittelalters*. 3 vols. München: Beck, 1931.
- Martindale, Jane. "The French Aristocracy in the Early Middle Ages: A Reappraisal." *Past and Present* 75 (1977): 5–45.

- Maurer, Helmut. *Der Herzog Von Schwaben*. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1978.
- Mayer, Hans Eberhard. "Baudoin Ier et Godefroy de Bouillon Avant La Première Croisade." In *Mélanges Sur L'Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, 10–49. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1984.
- . "La Mort et La Succession de Baudoin Ier." In *Mélanges Sur L'Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, 73–91. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1984.
- McKitterick, Rosamond. *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987*. London: Longman, 1983.
- Meijns, Brigitte. "Chanoines et Moines à Saint-Omer. Le Dédoubllement de L'Abbaye de Sithiu Par Fridogise (820–834) et L'Interprétation de Folcuin (Vers 962)." *Revue du Nord* 83 (2001): 691–705.
- . "L'ordre Canonial Dans Le Comté de Flandre Depuis L'Époque Mérovingienne Jusqu'à 1155." *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique* 97 (2002): 5–58.
- Metcalf, D.M. "Coinage and the Rise of the Flemish Towns." In *Coinage in the Low Countries (880–1500)*, edited by N.J. Mayhew. Oxford: BAR International Series, 1979.
- Meyer, Marc A. "Women's Estates in Later Anglo-Saxon England: The Politics of Possession." *The Haskins Society Journal* 3 (1991): 111–29.
- Michel, H. "Inventaire Sommaire du Cartulaire d'Arrouaise." *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de la Picardie* 28 (1917–1919): 251–73.
- Mickel, Emanuel. "Imagining History in the *Enfances Godefroi*." In *Echoes of the Epic*, edited by David P. and Mary Jane Schenck, 175–87. Birmingham: Summa Publications, Inc., 1998.
- . "Women of Prophecy in the Initial Branches of the Old French Crusade Cycle." *Romance Philology* 52 (1999): 11–21.
- Milis, Ludo. *L'Ordre des Chanoines Réguliers d'Arrouaise*. Bruges: de Tempel, 1969.
- Moeller, Charles. "Les Flamands du Ternois au Royaume Latin de Jérusalem." In *Mélanges Paul Frédéricq*. Bruxelles: none, 1904. Reprint, Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1975.
- Monteverdi, A. "I Testi Della Leggenda Di S. Eusatchio." *Studi medievali* 3 (1910): 392–498.
- Mooers (Christelow), S.L. "Backers and Stabbers: Problems of Loyalty in Robert Curthose's Entourage." *Journal of British Studies* 21 (1981–2): 1–17.
- . "A Moveable Feast? Itinerancy and the Centralization of Government under Henry I." *Albion* 28 (1996): 187–228.
- Morant, Philip. *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*. London: E.P. Publications, 1768.
- Morgan, Marjorie. *The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1916.
- Morlet, Marie-Therese. *Les Noms de Personne Sur Le Territoire de L'Ancienne Gaul du VI^e au XII^e Siècle*. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1968.
- Morrison, Karl and Henry Grunthal. *Carolingian Coinage*. New York: American Numismatic Society, 1967.
- Mortimer, Richard. "The Beginnings of the Honour of Clare." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 3 (1980): 119–41.
- Morton, Catherine. "Pope Alexander II and the Norman Conquest." *Latomus* 34 (1975): 362–82.
- Murray, Alan V. "The Army of Godfrey of Bouillon, 1096–1099: Structure and Dynamics of a Contingent on the First Crusade." *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 70 (1992): 301–29.
- . "Daimbert of Pisa, the Domus Godefridi and the Accession of Baldwin I of Jerusalem." In *From Clermont to Jerusalem*, edited by Alan V. Murray, 81–102. Tournai: Brépols, 1998.
- . "Dynastic Continuity or Dynastic Change? The Accession of Baldwin II and the Nobility of the Kingdom of Jerusalem." *Medieval Prosopography* 13 (1992): 1–28.

- . "A Little-Known Member of the Royal Family of Crusader Jerusalem in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*." *Notes and Queries* 43 (1996): 397–99.
- . "The Origins of the Frankish Nobility of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100–1118." *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4 (1989): 281–300.
- . "Why a Bastard? A Possible Historical Origin for the Illegitimate Hero in the Bâtard de Bouillon." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 2 (1997): 179–85.
- Musset, Lucien. Aux Origines d'une Classe Dirigeante: Les Tosny, Grand Barons Normands du X^e au XIII^e Siècle." *Francia* 5 (1977): 45–80.
- . "L'unité de La Normandie." *Études normandes* (1983): 5–14.
- . "Origines et Nature du Pouvoir Ducal en Normandie." Paper presented at the Communication du congrès de Bourdeaux, Bourdeaux 1973.
- Nelson, Janet. "The Annals of St. Bertin." In *Charles the Bald, Court and Kingdom*, edited by M. Gibson and J. Nelson. Oxford: B.A.R., 1981.
- . *Charles the Bald*. London: Longman, 1992.
- . "Kingship and Empire." In *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, c. 350–c. 1450*, edited by J.H. Burns. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- . *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe*. London: Hambledon Press, 1986.
- Newman, Charlotte A. *The Anglo-Norman Nobility in the Reign of Henry I*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988.
- Nicholas, David. *Medieval Flanders*. London and New York: Longmans, 1992.
- Nicholas, Karen S. "The Role of Feudal Relationships in the Consolidation of Power in the Principalities of the Low Countries 1000–1300." In *Law, Custom and the Social Fabric in Medieval Europe*, edited by Bernard S. Bachrach and David Nicholas, 113–30. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1990.
- Nieus, Jean-François. "Le Comté de Saint-Pol des Origines à La Fin du XIII^e Siècle." Ph.D., Louvain-la-Neuve, 2001.
- Nip, Renée. "Godelieve of Gistel and Ida of Boulogne." In *Sanctity and Motherhood*, edited by Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, 191–223. New York: Garland Press, 1995.
- . "The Political Relations between England and Flanders (1066–1128)." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 21 (1999): 145–68.
- Nonn, Ulrich. *Pagus Und Comitatus in Niederlothringen*. Bonn: L. Röhrscheid, 1983.
- Norgate, Kate. "William of Ypres." In *The Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, 357. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917–1970.
- Odend'hal, Gabrielle. "Les Comtes de Boulogne de la Fin du IX^e au Debut du XII^e Siècle." *Positions des theses d'école nationale des chartes* 81 (1923): 71–74.
- Page, William, ed. *Bedfordshire*. Vol. 3, *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. London: A. Constable, 1912.
- , ed. *Essex*. Vol. 1, *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. London: A. Constable, 1903.
- , ed. *Hertfordshire*. Vol. 1, *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. London: A. Constable, 1902.
- , ed. *Hertfordshire*. Vol. 3, *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. London: A. Constable, 1912.
- , ed. *Hertfordshire*. Vol. 4, *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. London: A. Constable, 1914.
- , ed. *Kent*. Vol. 3, *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. London: A. Constable, 1932.
- , ed. *Suffolk*. Vol. 1, *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. London: A. Constable, 1911. Reprint, 1975.
- Page, William and J.H. Round, ed. *Essex*. Vol. 2, *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. London: A. Constable, 1907. Reprint, 1977.
- Page, William Granville Proby, & S. Inskip Ladds, ed. *Huntingdonshire*. Vol. 3, *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. London: The St Catherine Press, 1936.
- Parisot, Robert. *Le Royaume de Lorraine Sous Les Carolingiens (843–923)*. Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1898. Reprint, Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1975.

- Parisse, Michel, ed. *Actes des Princes Lorraines II: Les Comtes*. Nancy: Université de Nancy II, 1977.
- . "Généalogie de La Maison d'Ardenne." *Publications de la section historique de l'Institut G.D. de Luxembourg* 95 (1981): 9–42.
- . "La Lorraine du IX^e au XI^e Siècle." *Annales de l'Est* 23 (1971): 95–115.
- . *La Noblesse Lorraine, XII^e–XIII^e Siècles*. Paris: H. Champion, 1976.
- . ed. *L'Atlas de La France de L'An Mil*. Paris: Picard, 1994.
- . "Les Ducs et Le Duché de Lorraine au XII^e Siècle." *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 3 (1975): 86–102.
- . "Les Possessions des Ducs de Haute-Lotharingie (959–1033)." *Publications de la section historique de l'Institut G-D de Luxembourg* 95 (1981): 241–57.
- Parsons, John Carmi. "'Never Was a Body Buried in England with Such Solemnity and Honour': The Burials and Posthumous Commemorations of English Queens to 1500." In *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, edited by Anne J. Duggan, 317–37. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997.
- Paublan, Jules. *Histoire de Boulogne-Sur-Mer*. Calais: Imprimerie R. Martin, 1939.
- Pergameni. *L'Avouerie Ecclésiastique Belge des Origines à La Bourguigonne*. Gand: Société coopérative volksdrukkerij, 1907.
- Petersen, Holgar. "Deux Versions de La Vie de Saint Eusatche en Vers Français du Moyen Age." *Mémoires de la société néophilologique de Helsingfors* 7 (1925).
- Pfister, Christian. *Études Sur Le Règne de Robert Le Pieux (996–1031)*. Paris: F. Vieweg, 1885. Reprint, Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974.
- Philip, Brian. *Excavations at Faversham, 1965*: Kent Archaeological Research Group, 1968.
- Pierrard, Pierre. *Histoire du Nord*. Paris: Hachette, 1978.
- Pillain, P. *Histoire de L'Abbaye Royale Saint-Jean L'Evangeliste de Doudeauville de L'Ordre de St. Augustin de La Congrégation D'Arrouaise 1099–1791*. Paris: Imprimerie des orphelins-apprentis d'Auteuil, 1958.
- Pirenne, Henri. *Histoire de Belgique*. Bruxelles: Maurice Lamertin, 1929.
- Pitt-Rivers, Julian. "The Kith and the Kin." In *The Character of Kinship*, edited by Jack Goody, 89–105. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
- Platelle, Henri. "La Violence et Ses Remèdes en Flandre au XI^e Siècle." *Sacris Erudiri* 20 (1971): 101–73.
- . *Le Temporel de L'Abbaye de Saint Amand*. Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1962.
- Poey d'Avant, Faustin. *Monnaies Féodales de France*. Paris: Bureau de la Revue numismatique française, 1858. Reprint, Graz Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1961.
- Popoff, Michel. *Artois et Picardie: Beauvais, Boulonnais, Corbiois, Ponthieu, Vermandois*. Paris: Le Léopard d'or, 1981.
- Porée, Adalophe André. *Histoire de L'Abbaye du Bec*. 2 vols. Evreux: Imprimerie de C. Hérissé, 1901. Reprint, Bruxelles: Culture et Civilisation, 1980.
- Potter, Julie. "The Benefactors of Bec and the Politics of Pories." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 21 (1999): 175–92.
- Potts, Cassandra. *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1997.
- Powell, W.R., ed. *Essex*. Vol. 4, *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. London: A. Constable, 1956.
- Powell, W.R., B.A. Board & N. Knight., ed. *Essex*. Vol. 8, *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. London: A. Constable, 1983.
- Prestwich, J.O. "The Treason of Geoffrey de Mandeville." *English Historical Review* (1988): 283–317.
- . "War and Finance in the Anglo-Norman State." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 4 (1954): 19–43.
- Prou, Maurice. "Une Charte de Garin Évêque de Beauvais. L'Assemblée de Compiègne 1025 ou 1024." In *Centenaire 1804–1904. Recueil de Mémoires*, edited

- by Société nationale des Antiquaires de France, 383–98. Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1904.
- Pugh, R.B., ed. *Dorset*. Vol. 3, *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Rasnou, Ernest. *Histoire d'Ardes*. Andres: Bibliothèque pour tous, 1891.
- Reuter, Timothy. "Debate: 'Feudal Revolution'." *Past and Present* 155 (1997): 177–95.
- . *Germany in the Early Middle Ages c. 800–1056*. London: Longman, 1991.
- Reynolds, Susan. *Fiefs and Vassals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Richard, Jean. "Aux Origines d'un Grand Lignage: des Palladii à Renaud de Chatillon." In *Media in Francia: Recueil de Mélanges Offert à Karl Ferdinand Werner*, 409–18: Institut historique Allemand, 1989.
- . "Le Conduit des Routes et La Fixation des Limites Entre Mouvances Féodale. La Frontière Bourguigonne Dan La Comté de Bar-Sur-Seine." *Annales de Bourgogne* 24 (1952): 85–100.
- Riche, Pierre. *Les Carolingiens: Une Famille Qui Fit L'Europe*. Paris: Hachette, 1983.
- Richebé, Claude. *Les Monnaies Féodales d'Artois du X^e au Début du XIV^e Siècle*. Paris: Picard, 1963.
- Rigaux, Edmund. "Notes Quelques Chartes de Samer." *Bulletin de la société académique de l'arrondissement de Boulogne-sur-Mer* 6 (1900–03): 361–9.
- . "Recherches Sur Les Premiers Comtes de Boulogne." *Bulletin de la société académique de l'arrondissement de Boulogne-sur-Mer* 5 (1891–99): 151–78.
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan. *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Robert, Abbe. "Histoire de L'Abbaye de Chocques." *Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de la Morinie* 15 (1874–6): 345–568.
- Rosenwein, Barbara. *To Be a Neighbor of Saint Peter*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- Round, J.H. *Ancient Charters*. London: Wyman & Sons, 1888.
- . "Attack on Dover 1067." *The Antiquary* 12 (1885): 49–53.
- . "Bernard, the King's Scribe." *English Historical Review* 14 (1899): 417–30.
- . "The Counts of Boulogne as English Lords." In *Peerage and Family History*, edited by J.H. Round, 147–80. London: N. Nisbet & Co., 1901.
- . "The Early Charters of St John's Abbey, Colchester." *English Historical Review* 16 (1901): 2–8.
- . "The Essex Sackvilles." *Archaeological Journal* 64 (1907).
- . *Geoffrey de Mandeville: A Study of the Anarchy*. London: Longmans, Green, 1892.
- . "Great Birch, Easthorpe and the Gernons." *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* 13 (1908): 1–6.
- . "The Honour of Ongar." *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* 7 (1902): 142–52.
- . "Ingelric the Priest and Albert of Lotharingia." In *Feudal England*, edited by J.H. Round, 28–36. London: S. Sonnenschein, 1909.
- . "London under Stephen." In *The Commune of London and Other Studies*, edited by J.H. Round, 97–124. London: A. Constable, 1899.
- . "The Lords of Ardes." In *Feudal England*, edited by J.H. Round, 462–64. London: S. Sonnenschein, 1909.
- . "The Manor of Colne Engaine." *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* 8 (1903): 192–98.
- . "Normans under Edward the Confessor." In *Feudal England*. London: S. Sonnenschein, 1909.
- . "The Order of the Hospital in Essex." *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* 3 (1889): 267–72.
- . "The Origin of St Botolph's Priory, Colchester." *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* 8 (1903): 182–86.

- . "Pharamus of Boulogne." *The Genealogist* 12 (1896): 145–51.
- . "White Notley Hall." *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* 13 (1908): 1–4.
- Rud, Mogens. *The Bayeux Tapestry and the Battle of Hastings 1066*. Copenhagen: Eilers, 1988.
- Runciman, Steven. *A History of the Crusades*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951.
- Russell, Jeffrey Burton. *Dissent and Order in the Middle Ages: The Search for Legitimate Authority*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1992.
- Sabbe, Etienne. "Étude Critique Sur Le Diplôme d'Arnoul Ier Comte de Flandre, Pour L'Abbaye de Saint-Pierre à Gand (941, Juillet 8)." In *Études d'Histoire Dédiées à La Mémoire de Henri Pirenne*, 299–330. Bruxelles: Nouvelle société d'éditions, 1937.
- . "Les Relations Économiques Entre L'Angleterre et Le Continent au Haut Moyen Age." *Le Moyen Age* 56 (1950): 169–93.
- . "Notes Sur La Réforme de Richard de Saint-Vannes Dans Les Pays-Bas." *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 7 (1928): 551–70.
- Salch, Charles-Laurent. *L'Atlas de Chateaux Forts en France*. Strasbourg: Éditions Publitotal, 1977.
- Saltman, Avrom. *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury*. London: Athlone Press, 1956.
- Salzman, L.F., ed. *Cambridge. Vol. 1, Victoria History of the Counties of England*. London: Oxford University Press, 1938.
- Sassier, Yves. *Louis VII*. Paris: Fayard, 1991.
- Saunders, I.J. *English Baronies: A Study of the Origin and Descent, 1086–1327*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.
- Saur, Leon. "Entre Bar, Namur et Liège: Bouillon, Place Stratégique." *Publications de la section historique de l'Institut G-D de Luxembourg* 95 (1981): 258–83.
- Schurfranz, Robert L. "The French Swan-Knight Legend." Ph.D., University of North Carolina, 1959.
- Seaby, P.J. "Some Coins of Stephen and Eustace and Related Issues of Western Flanders." In *Coinage in the Low Countries (800–1500)*, edited by N.J. Matthews, 49–53. British Archaeological Society, 1979.
- Searle, Eleanor. *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power 840–1066*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Seaton, S. Lee and H.J.M. Claessen. *Political Anthropology: The State of the Art*. The Hague: Mouton, 1979.
- Sherman, R.M. "The Continental Origins of the Ghent Family of Lincolnshire." *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 22 (1978): 23–35.
- Shklar, Judith. "Subversive Genealogies." In *Myth, Symbol, and Culture*, edited by Clifford Geertz, 129–54. New York: Norton, 1971.
- Simons, Walter. "Jean de Warneeton, Bishop of Thérouanne." In *Nouvelle Biographie Nationale*. Bruxelles: Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, 1988.
- Sinclair, Stéphane. *Atlas de Géographie Historique de La France et de La Gaule*. Paris: SEDES, 1985.
- Sot, M. "Les Élévations Royales de 888 à 987 dans L'Historiographie du X^e Siècle." In *Religion et Culture Autour de L'An Mil*. Paris: Picard, 1990.
- Spiegel, Gabrielle. "Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative." *History and Theory* 22 (1983): 43–53.
- Sprey, Jetse. "Theoretical Practice in Family Studies." In *Fashioning Family Theory: New Approaches*, edited by J. Sprey, 9–33. Newbury Park, Ca.: Sage Publications, 1990.
- Sproemberg, Heinrich. "Clementia, Gräfin Von Flandern." *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 42 (1964): 1203–41.

- Stacy, N.E. "Henry of Blois and the Lordship of Glastonbury." *English Historical Review* 114 (1999): 1–32.
- Stahl, Alan M. "Coinage in the Name of Medieval Women." In *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History*, edited by Joel T. Rosenthal, 321–41. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1990.
- Stapleton, T. "The Barony of Arques." *Archaeologia* 31 (1866): 216–37.
- . "Observations on the History of Adeliza, Sister of William the Conqueror." *Archaeologia* 26 (1836): 349–60.
- Stephenson, Carl. *Medieval Feudalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1942.
- Strayer, Joseph. "Feudalism in Western Europe." In *Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe*, edited by Frederic L. Cheyette, 12–21. Huntington, NY: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co., 1975.
- Stringer, Keith. "A Cistercian Archive: The Earliest Charters of Sawtry Abbey." *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 6 (1980): 325–34.
- Strubbe, E.I. "La Paix de Dieu Dans Le Nord de La France." *Recueils de la société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions* 14 (1961): 489–501.
- Tanner, Heather J. "Eustace, Count of Boulogne." In *New Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- . "The Expansion of the Power and Influence of the Counts of Boulogne under Eustace II." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 14 (1992): 251–86.
- . "In His Brothers' Shadow: The Crusading Career and Reputation of Eustace III of Boulogne." In *The Crusades: Other Experiences, Alternate Perspectives*, edited by Kahlil J. Semaan, 87–103, 2003.
- . "Queenship—Office, Custom or Ad Hoc? The Case of Queen Matilda III of England (1136–52)." In *Eleanor of Aquitaine: Lady and Lord*, edited by John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler, 133–58: St Martin's Press, 2003.
- . "Reassessing King Stephen's Continental Strategies." *Medievalia et Humanistica* 26 (1999): 101–17.
- . "Stephen of Blois." In *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, edited by John France, 894. New York: Garland Press, 1995.
- . "Trial by Chronicle—Assessing the Failures of Three Rulers of England and Normandy 1070–1300." *Majestas* 4 (1996): 39–60.
- Tanner, Marie. *The Last Descendant of Aeneas*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Taylor, Arnold J. "'Belram'." *Anglo Norman Studies* 14 (1992): 1–24.
- Taylor, Pamela. "Ingelric, Count Eustace and the Foundation of St Martin-Le-Grand." *Anglo Norman Studies* 24 (2002): 215–37.
- Tefer, W. "Faversham Abbey Reconsidered." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 80 (1965): 215–20.
- Thompson, Kathleen. "The Lords of Laigle: Ambition and Insecurity on the Borders of Normandy." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 18 (1996): 153–76.
- . "Robert of Bellême Reconsidered." *Anglo Norman Studies* 13 (1990): 263–86.
- . "William Talvas, Count of Ponthieu, and the Politics of the Anglo-Norman Realm." In *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, edited by David Bates and Anne Curry, 169–84. London: Hambledon Press, 1994.
- Tiffany, Walter W. "New Directions in Political Anthropology." In *Political Anthropology: The State of the Art*, edited by S. Lee Seaton & H.J.M. Claessen. The Hague: Mouton, 1979.
- Van Acker, M.J. "Le Comté de Lens au XI^e Siècle." *Mémoires de l'académie d'Arras* 3 (1943–1944): 129–34.
- Van Houts, Elisabeth M.C. "The Anglo-Flemish Treaty of 1101." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 21 (1999): 169–74.
- . "Latin Poetry and the Anglo-Norman Court 1066–1135: The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio." *J. of Medieval History* 15 (1989): 39–52.

- . "Nuns and Goldsmiths: The Foundation and Early Benefactors of St Radegund's Priory at Cambridge." In *Church and City 1000–1500. Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke*, edited by David Abulafia, Michael Franklin, & Miri Rubin, 55–79. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- . "The Ship List of William the Conqueror." *Anglo Norman Studies* 10 (1987): 159–83.
- van Moolenbroeck, Jaap. *Vital L'Ermite, Prédicateur Itinérant, Fondateur de L'Abbaye Normande de Savigny*. Assen-Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1990.
- van Winter, Johanna Maria. "Ansried en Dirk, Twee Namen Uit de Nederlandse Geschiedenis Van de 10e en 11e Eeuw." *Naamkunde* 13 (1981): 39–74.
- . "Die Hamaländer Grafen Als Angehörige Der Reichsristokratie Im 10. Jahrhundert." *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 44 (1980): 16–46.
- Vanderkindere, Léon. *La Formation Territoriale des Principautés Belges au Moyen Age*. Bruxelles: Culture et civilisation, 1902.
- . "Le Premier duc de Basse-Lotharingie." *Bulletin académique belge, Classe de lettres* 7 (1901): 749–57.
- . "Richilde et Herman de Hainaut." *Bulletin de l'académie royale de belgique, Classe de lettres* 7 (1899): 551–75.
- Vannerus, J. "La Première Dynastie Luxembourgeoise." *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 25 (1946–7): 801–58.
- Varenbergh, Emile. *Histoire des Relations Diplomatiques Entre Le Comte de Flandre et L'Angleterre au Moyen Age*. Brussels: C. Muquardt, 1874.
- Vauchez, Andre. "Beata Stirps: Sainteté et Lignage en Occident aux XIII^e et XIV^e Siècles." In *Famille et Parenté Dans L'Occident Médiéval*, edited by Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff, 397–406. Rome: École française de Rome, 1977.
- Verberckmoes, Johan. "Flemish Tenants-in-Chief in Domesday England." *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 66 (1988): 725–56.
- Vercauteren, Fernand. "Étude Sur Les Châtelains Comtaux de Flandre du XI^e au Debut du XIII^e Siècle." In *Études Dedicées à La Mémoire de Henri Pirenne*, 425–49. Brussels: Nouvelle société d'éditions, 1937.
- . "La Formatin des Principautés de Liège, Flandre, Brabant et Hainaut, IX^e–XI^e Siècles." In *L'Europe aux IX^e–XI^e Siècles*, 31–41. Varsovie, 1968.
- Vercauteren-Desmet, Lina. "Étude Sur Les Rapports Politiques de L'Angleterre et de La Flandre Sous Le Règne du Comte Robert II." In *Études Dedicées à La Mémoire de Henri Pirenne*, 412–23. Brussels: Nouvelle société d'éditions, 1937.
- Verhulst, Adriaan. "La Fondation des Dépendences de L'Abbaye Poitevine de Charroux Dans Le Diocèse de Thérouanne: Andres, Ham et La Beuvrière." *Le Moyen Age* 69 (1963): 169–89.
- Verlinden, Charles. *Robert Ier Le Frison*. Paris: H. Champion, 1935.
- Vincent, Nicholas. "New Charters of King Stephen with Some Reflections Upon the Royal Forests During the Anarchy." *English Historical Review* 114 (1999): 899–928.
- Vos, J. "L'Abbaye de Saint-Médard ou de Saint-Nicholas-des-Prés Tournai." *Mémoires de la société historique et littéraire de Tournai* 11 (1879).
- . "L'Abbaye de Saint-Médard ou de Saint-Nicholas-Des-Prés Tournai." *Mémoires de la société historique et littéraire de Tournai* 12 (1873).
- Waltz, G. "Notes Critiques Sur Les Annales Bertiani." In *Mélanges Dedicées à La Mémoire de Felix Grat*, 159–74. Paris: Mme. Pecqueur-Grat, 1949.
- Wareham, Andrew. "The Motives and Politics of the Bigod Family, c. 1066–1177." *Anglo Norman Studies* 17 (1995): 223–42.
- Warlop, E. *The Flemish Nobility before 1300*. Translated by J.B. Ross and H. Vandermore. 4 vols. Kortrijk: G. Desmet-Huysman, 1975.
- Warnkoenig, L.A. *Histoire de La Flandre et de Ses Institutions Civiles et Politiques*. Translated by A.E. Gheldolf. Bruxelles: Hayez, 1835.

- Warren, W.L. *Henry II*. London: Eyre Methuen, 1973.
- Water, Edmond C. "The Counts of Eu." *Yorkshire Archaeological & Topographical Journal* 9 (1896): 254–302.
- Wauters, A. *Table Chronologique des Chartes et Diplômes Imprimés Concernant L'Histoire de La Belgique*. Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1886.
- Wenkenne, A. "Les Belges et La Croisade." *Les Études classiques* 55 (1987): 163–73.
- Werner, K.F. "Kingdom and Principality in Twelfth-Century France." In *The Medieval Nobility*, edited by Timothy Reuter. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1978.
- . "Les Duchés 'Nationaux' d'Allemagne au IX^e et au X^e Siècle." Paper presented at the Communications du congrès de Bourdeaux, Bourdeaux 1973.
- . "Liens de Parenté et Noms de Personne. Un Problème Historique et Méthodologique." In *Famille et Parenté Dans L'Occident Médiéval*, edited by Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff, 13–18, 25–34. Rome: École française de Rome, 1977.
- . "Royaume et Regna. Le Pouvoir en France Comme Enjeu Entre Le Roi et Les Grands." In *Pouvoirs et Libertés au Temps des Premiers Capétiens*, edited by Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, 25–55. Maulévrier: Herault, 1992.
- Wertheimer, Laura. "Adeliza of Louvain and Anglo-Norman Queenship." *The Haskins Society Journal* 7 (1997): 101–15.
- Wheaton, Robert. "Family & Kinship in Western Europe: The Problem of the Joint Family Household." *J. of Interdisciplinary History* 4 (1975): 601–28.
- . "Images of Kinship." *Journal of Family History* 12 (1987): 389–405.
- . "Observations on the Development of Kinship History 1942–85." *J. of Family History* 12 (1987): 285–301.
- White, G.H. "Companions of the Conqueror." *The Genealogist's Magazine* 9 (1944): 422–24.
- White, Graeme. "Continuity in Government." In *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, edited by Edmund King, 117–44. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- . "King Stephen, Duke Henry and Ranulf de Gernons, Earl of Chester." *English Historical Review* 91 (1976): 555–65.
- White, Stephen D. "Debate: 'Feudal Revolution'." *Past and Present* 152 (1996): 205–23.
- . "'Pactum . . . Legem Vincit et Amor Judicium' the Settlement of Disputes by Compromise in Eleventh-Century Western France." *American Journal of Legal History* 22 (1978): 281–308.
- . "Succession to Fiefs in Early Medieval England." *Past and Present* 65 (1974): 118–27.
- Wickham, Chris. "Debate: 'Feudal Revolution'." *Past and Present* 155 (1997): 196–208.
- . "Mutations et Révolutions aux Environs de L'an Mil." *Médiévales* 21 (1991): 27–38.
- Wilkinson, Bertie. "Freeman and the Crisis of 1051." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 34 (1938): 368–87.
- Willems, L. "Les Frontières de La France et de L'Empire à Gand et Dans Le Pays de Waas du IX^e au XII^e Siècles." *Annales de la société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Gand* 8 (1908): 289–324.
- Williams, Ann. "The King's Nephew: The Family and Career of Ralph, Earl of Hereford." In *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, 327–43. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989.
- Wimet, Pierre-Andre. "Un Prétendant Malheureux à La Couronne d'Angleterre au XI^{ème} Siècle: Eustache as Grenons, Comte de Boulogne." Paper presented at the Premier colloque d'Histoire local, Boulogne 1981.
- Wolfram, Herwig. "The Shaping of the Early Medieval Principality." *Viator* 2 (1971): 33–51.
- Wood, Michael. "The Making of King Athelstan's Empire." In *Ideal and Reality in*

- Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, edited by P. Wormald, 250–72. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1983.
- Wright, A.P.M., ed. *Cambridge*. Vol. 8, *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- , ed. *Cambridge*. Vol. 9, *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Yoshitake, Kenji. “The Arrest of the Bishops in 1139 and Its Consequences.” *J. of Medieval History* 14 (1988): 97–114.
- Zotz, Thomas. *Der Breisgau Und Das Alemannische Herzogtum*. Sigmaringen, 1974.

INDEX

Individuals are listed under their personal name.

- acta, 9, 11, 18, 21, 42, 47, 48, 51, 62, 65, 66, 97, 99, 108, 111, 115–117, 124–127, 142, 151, 153, 164, 166, 169, 171, 176, 189, 190, 192, 194, 199, 208, 210, 211, 226, 227, 230, 233, 236, 238, 248
- cartularies, 17, 249, 345
- charters, 1, 6, 12, 17, 18, 21, 26, 41, 42, 44, 48–51, 61–68, 70–71, 83, 84, 103, 108, 109, 111, 116–118, 120–122, 125–127, 134, 136, 141, 142, 146, 147, 149, 151–154, 158, 160, 161, 164–176, 179, 186, 188–190, 195, 202–203, 205, 207–209, 211–212, 214–215, 223, 226–228, 230–236, 238–239, 241–242, 247–249, 319, 326, 330, 345
- grant, xxiii, 1, 71, 74, 76, 88, 89, 104, 112, 117, 121, 133, 135, 140, 141, 147, 153, 155, 156, 158, 159, 161, 163–165, 173, 174, 186, 190, 196, 200–203, 205, 214, 215, 222–225, 227, 230, 231, 233–235, 239, 247, 255
- seals, 19, 165, 203, 269
- writs, 18, 101, 115, 170, 215, 235
- Ada de Warenne, 207, 223, 313, 315
- Adalulf, 30–35, 55, 57, 59, 60, 64–66, 78, 253–257, 290, 292
- Adela,
 - Adela countess of Blois, 146, 152, 178, 193, 269, 277, 279, 306, 309
 - Adela of Vermandois, countess of Flanders 34, 39, 55–56, 292, 299, 308
 - Adela countess of Flanders (daughter of Robert the Pious), 80, 83, 292, 310
 - Adela countess of Vermandois, 156, 157, 184, 297, 306, 308
- Adelaide,
 - Adelaide queen of west Francia, 28–30, 310
 - Adelaide empress of Germany, 42
- Adelaide of Maurienne, queen of France, 156, 184, 311
- Adelaide of Guines (wife of Geoffrey of Semur) 109, 124, 137, 298
- Adelaide (sister of William the Conqueror) countess of Ponthieu, Lens, and Champagne, 91, 95, 145, 256, 290, 306
- Adelaide of Ponthieu (Enguerrand I's daughter), countess of Arques, 113, 114, 290, 295, 306
- Adelelm count of Artois, 55, 57
- Adeliza of Louvain, queen of England, 162–163, 179, 182, 209–210, 306–307
- Adelulf of Merck, 108, 125, 335–337
- Adelvie (? of Gent), countess of Boulogne and Ponthieu, 76, 79, 83, 90, 113, 114, 290, 295, 299
- advocate, 7, 42, 44, 49, 65, 71, 72, 79, 82, 83, 89, 96–98, 121, 135, 136, 140, 160, 161, 171, 206, 184, 222, 223, 255, 295, 315
- advocates, 9, 13, 61, 83, 86, 96–98, 116, 118, 119, 123
- advocacy, 13, 21, 48, 155
- Agnes
 - Empress Agnes, 96, 98
 - Agnes countess of Ponthieu, 110, 146, 295
- Alan of Richmond-Penthièvre, 221, 224
- Albert,
 - Albert II count of Namur, 82, 104, 116, 265, 300
 - Albert III count of Namur, 82, 106, 131, 137, 265
 - Albert of Vermandois, 41, 43, 307, 308
- Alexander bishop of Lincoln, 217
- Alfred, son of Ethelred II and Emma of Normandy, 81, 93, 114, 205, 246, 254, 312
- alliance, 10, 12, 17, 18, 35, 37, 38, 42, 55–57, 69, 70, 75–77, 81, 85–88,

- 91, 93, 94, 96, 100, 103, 106, 112, 113, 115, 128, 129, 130, 133, 143–145, 149, 150, 152, 159, 162, 163, 171, 175, 178, 179, 182, 183, 185, 192, 208, 218, 219, 221–224, 228–230, 239, 241, 268, 269, 279, 287–289
- allies, 11, 12, 15, 17, 28, 30, 35, 37, 54, 57, 69, 76, 78, 79, 82, 86, 87, 92, 94, 96–98, 100, 102, 104, 107, 108, 114, 116, 125, 128, 129, 130, 134, 135, 145, 149, 152, 156, 159, 160, 170, 177–179, 181, 182, 185, 187, 196, 201, 218, 220–222, 225, 240, 243, 276, 284, 286, 288, 289
- ally, 16, 17, 27, 32, 33, 35, 37, 44, 57, 70, 78, 83, 87, 88, 91, 93, 95, 99–101, 106, 108, 112, 113, 115, 118, 130, 131, 134, 137, 149, 151, 152, 156–158, 160, 161, 172, 173, 178, 179, 197, 209, 217, 219, 222, 266, 270
- Alvred of Marlborough (Merleberg), 108, 125, 296, 338
- Amiens, xxiii, 3, 5, 9, 16, 18, 22–24, 30, 32, 33, 36–41, 44, 46, 48, 55–57, 59–61, 67, 69, 72, 78–81, 84, 89, 90, 92, 96, 99, 100, 103, 109–115, 120, 123, 125–128, 141, 155, 157, 161, 164, 175, 185, 188, 190, 219, 230, 241, 242, 248, 266, 320, 322, 295, 296, 303, 305, 312
- Amiens-Valois, 18, 32, 41, 44, 48, 55, 72, 79, 99, 113
- Amiens-Valois-Vexin, 32, 41, 44, 48, 55, 72, 99, 113
- Amiens-Vexin, 32, 59, 67, 78, 79, 81, 84, 90, 92, 99, 112–114, 127, 128, 296, 303
- counts see: Drogo, Gautier I, Gautier II, Gautier III, Raoul I de Gouy, Raoul IV, Raoul V, Simon
- anarchy, xxi, 3, 4
- Anselm,
 Anselm of Bec, archbishop of Canterbury, 3, 123, 125, 133, 139, 147, 149, 258
 Anselm I de Ribemont, 105, 161
 Anselm II de Ribemont, 177
 Anselm count of Hesdin, 184
 Anselm count of St Pol, 229–230, 242, 294
- anthropological model, 10
- Ardres, 9, 18, 103, 107, 108, 115, 140, 141, 172, 173, 222, 227, 247, 253
- Arnulf,
 Arnulf bishop of Lisieux, 194, 219
 Arnulf I d'Ardres, 107–108, 115, 122, 124–125, 140–141, 172, 335
 Arnulf II d'Ardes 140, 172–173, 340
 Arnulf king of east Francia, 25, 26
 Arnulf I count of Boulogne, 33, 35–36, 39–44, 51, 55–58, 60–61, 63, 64, 67, 253, 255, 290
 Arnulf I count of Flanders, 29–40, 44, 50, 55–59, 62, 67, 72, 253, 255–256, 286, 290, 292, 299, 308
 Arnulf II count of Flanders, 6, 39, 41–44, 50, 56–58, 116, 43, 44, 51, 57, 58, 61, 66, 70, 116, 253, 255–256, 292
 Arnulf III count of Flanders, 102–104, 109–110, 116, 128, 292, 307
 Arnulf of Gent (son of Thierry of West Frisia), count of West Frisia/Holland, 33, 41, 70, 71, 73, 76, 299, 301
 Arnulf of Gand (Gent), count of Guines, 222, 227–228
 Arnulf II count of Ternois, 58, 61, 63, 70–72, 74–75, 77–79, 112, 115, 253, 290
 Arnulf count of Valenciennes, 34, 41–42, 55, 73, 75, 292
- Arras, xxiii, 23, 24, 27–29, 31, 33, 38, 39, 43, 45, 46, 51, 53, 61, 65, 74, 75, 83, 85, 89, 103, 109, 111, 116, 118, 120, 134, 139, 142, 148, 152, 154, 155, 159, 161, 166, 168, 171, 175, 176, 184, 189, 190, 230, 236, 238, 239, 241, 242, 256, 320–322
- Arrouaise, 155, 223, 227, 230, 249, 320, 322, 327
- Artois, 3, 5–7, 15, 22, 24, 26–30, 32, 34, 35, 39, 41–43, 48, 53–59, 61, 62, 71, 74–76, 83, 84, 86, 89, 97, 103, 105, 108, 109, 116–118, 120, 125, 134, 161, 166, 169, 171, 179, 182, 188, 189, 238, 239, 241
- counts of Artois see: Adelelm, Ecfrid
- Athelstan, king of England, 33, 36, 312
- Aubrey,
 Aubrey II de Ver, 205, 213–214, 239, 302

- Aubrey III de Ver, 172, 200, 214,
220, 222–223, 228, 298
authority, 1, 6–10, 13–15, 17, 24, 26,
30, 31, 36–38, 40–42, 44, 48, 50,
53, 61–63, 65, 66, 69, 72, 73, 75,
77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 87–89, 96–100,
102, 103, 105, 107–110, 114, 116,
118, 121, 123, 126, 129, 134, 139,
140, 142–144, 150, 152, 153, 161,
168, 170–176, 181, 188, 194, 197,
199, 201, 202, 204, 206, 209, 215,
219–223, 225–229, 231, 232,
235–238, 240, 244, 245, 247–250,
265, 285, 286, 287
- Baldwin,
Baldwin (son of Stephen and
Matilda of Boulogne), 212,
257–258, 291
Baldwin Balzo, 33, 56, 61–63, 66,
253, 255, 290
Baldwin bishop of Thérouanne, 72,
80, 111, 119
Baldwin I count of Boulogne, 40,
62, 69–71, 74–75, 77–79, 106,
112, 137, 253–255, 257, 282, 290,
299
Baldwin of Boulogne, count of
Edessa, king of Jerusalem, 3,
106, 122, 130–131, 133, 135–138,
147, 148, 157–158, 164, 177,
202, 245, 254, 256–258, 261–262,
264–265, 271–273, 275, 279,
280–283, 287, 290–291, 300, 303,
319
Baldwin de Bourcq (Baldwin II of
Jerusalem), 131, 136, 157–158
Baldwin I count of Flanders, 21,
255, 292, 305, 310
Baldwin II count of Flanders, 5, 21,
23, 25–31, 43–46, 48, 52, 59,
256, 290, 292, 305, 312
Baldwin III of Flanders, 34, 38–39,
44, 50, 53–55, 57, 66, 253, 255,
292, 300
Baldwin IV count of Flanders, 7, 58,
62–63, 66, 69, 70–82, 84, 107,
112–113, 115, 118–120, 253, 286,
292, 306
Baldwin V count of Flanders, 6, 7,
62, 69, 70, 75, 80–88, 93–94,
96–101, 109, 111–113, 115–117,
120, 125–127, 170–173, 175, 179,
183–184, 248, 256, 292, 310
Baldwin VI count of Flanders
(Baldwin I of Hainaut), 11, 85,
87, 97, 102, 116, 126–127, 184,
250, 292, 307
Baldwin VII count of Flanders, 6,
117, 142, 149, 151–160, 168–169,
171–175, 179, 188, 246, 293
Baldwin I count of Guines, 108–109,
124, 127, 137, 172, 177, 298
Baldwin II count of Hainaut,
104–106, 113, 115, 127, 131, 134,
136, 138, 166, 170, 184, 292, 307
Baldwin III count of Hainaut, 138,
148–149, 159, 171, 184, 307
Baldwin IV count of Hainaut, 161,
184–185, 187, 189, 192, 219–221,
224, 241–242, 307
Baldwin of Osterwic (Wissant),
constable, 141, 161–162, 164, 168,
172, 193, 231–233, 323, 342
Baldwin d'Ardres, 222, 227, 231,
323, 340
Baldwin de Caieu, 234
Baldwin de Clare, 209, 316
ban (bannum), 7, 32, 154, 169, 231,
232, 269, 286
battles
battle of Cassel, 104
battle of Hastings, 3, 100, 114, 244,
266
battle of Lincoln, 195
battle of Mortemer, 95
battle of the Standard, 195, 211,
215
battle of Tinchebrai, 147
Bayeux tapestry, 19, 100, 250, 264,
268–270, 285
Beatrice, countess of Guines, 214
Beauvais, xxiii, 16, 26, 32, 45, 48, 51,
78, 81, 95, 126, 129, 175, 229
Bellebrunne, 140, 173
Bermondsey, 146, 147, 155, 156, 165,
166, 233, 258, 260, 320, 322
Bernard abbot of Clairvaux, 208, 224,
277
Boulogne, xxi, xxiii, 3–9, 13, 15–19,
21, 22, 25–32, 34–44, 46, 48, 51,
52, 54–64, 66–68, 69–72, 74–79,
81, 83–87, 89, 91, 92, 94–99, 102,
103, 106–108, 111, 112, 114,
116–122, 125, 126, 129–141,
143–147, 149–152, 154, 158, 159,
161–173, 177–180, 181, 182,
184–187, 189, 190, 192–196,

- 198–204, 206, 209–212, 214,
217–220, 222, 223, 226–236,
238–243, 244–249, 251–261,
263–265, 268, 269, 271, 275, 277,
280–282, 284, 285, 286, 287,
290–293, 295, 297, 299–303, 306,
307, 309, 311–313, 315, 319, 321,
322, 324, 326, 327, 335, 339,
340–342, 345
Boulonnais, 3, 5–7, 9, 10, 17–19,
25, 39, 41–44, 51, 57, 61–63,
67, 68, 69, 70, 73–76, 78–81,
83, 87, 88, 93, 97, 98, 100, 103,
106–108, 112, 113, 115–117, 119,
121, 122, 125, 128, 129–138,
140–142, 144, 147, 148, 151–153,
160, 161, 163, 166–174, 177–180,
181, 182, 186, 188, 190, 193,
203, 204, 210, 212–215, 220, 222,
223, 226–228, 230, 232, 234–237,
239, 241, 243, 244, 246–250, 252,
253, 256, 262–268, 271, 273–276,
279, 284, 285, 286, 287, 319, 330
counts see: Adalulf, Arnulf I,
Baldwin I, Erkengar, Eustace I,
Eustace II, Eustace III, Eustace
IV, Matthew, Stephen, William,
countesses see: Constance of France,
Goda, Ida of Lorraine, Ida II,
Isabelle de Warenne, Mary of
Scotland, Mary II, Matilda of
Boulogne, Matilda of Louvain,
and Matilda III
breast feeding
breast milk, 258, 262, 282
Marian imagery, 283
Brian fitz Count, 183, 192, 204, 216,
217
Bruges, xxiii, 46, 51, 65, 103, 120,
139, 150, 168, 184, 186–188, 236,
247, 249
Bruno archbishop of Cologne, 39, 40
bureaucracy, 12, 49, 66, 200, 288
chancery, 47, 49, 54, 65, 111, 169,
176, 215, 231, 233, 236
missi dominici, 15, 47, 67
treasury, 36, 46, 169, 193, 195, 215
Caieu, 161, 190, 227, 231, 234, 341
Cambrai, 3, 6, 9, 24, 30, 34, 36, 40,
42, 43, 48, 55–57, 61, 62, 73–78,
80–83, 98, 103, 105, 106, 112, 118,
119, 127, 134, 143, 148, 156, 161,
171, 176, 203, 248, 272
Cambrésis, 3, 73–75, 84, 106, 118,
134, 138, 148, 170, 171, 187
counts see: Isaac, Arnulf of
Valenciennes
Capelle, 140, 141, 162, 164, 165, 172,
223, 231, 248, 249, 251, 258, 259,
263, 264, 320
Carloman II, 45, 47, 48, 53
Carmen de Hastingae proelio, 19, 99, 100,
285
Carolingian governance, 2, 45
castle, 27, 43, 44, 54, 61, 71, 72,
74, 78, 80, 82, 90, 91, 94–96,
99, 101, 104, 108, 110, 118,
120–122, 132, 135, 136, 138, 146,
149, 154, 156, 157, 161, 165,
167–169, 171, 174, 175, 195, 200,
201, 208, 210, 211, 214, 226, 245,
251, 259, 324
castellan, 61, 72, 73, 76, 78, 79, 82,
83, 90, 93, 95, 98, 104, 105, 107,
110, 118, 120–122, 134, 142, 150,
159–161, 171, 172, 177, 184, 187,
188, 195, 196, 213, 216, 228,
231, 239, 241, 298
fortifying, 45
Charlemagne, 15, 251, 261, 271, 273,
275
Charles,
Charles duke of Lorraine, 42–43,
70, 265, 307
Charles the Bald, king of west
Francia, 15, 20–22, 44–45, 47–48,
53, 292, 310
Charles the Fat, king of west
Francia, 20, 24, 26, 44–48, 53
Charles the Good, count of
Flanders, 142, 151–152, 156–157,
159–163, 166, 168–169, 171–176,
179, 183–184, 187–188, 293
Charles the Simple, king of west
Francia, 24, 26–31, 34, 43–51,
53–54, 66, 78, 310, 312
Chesney, see: Robert fitz Walter,
Roger, William
Christchurch, Canterbury, 167, 190,
230, 319, 322
Clairmarais, 189, 220, 223, 227, 230,
322, 327
Clare family see: Baldwin, Richard,
Robert fitz Richard, Rohese, and
Walter
Clemence countess of Flanders 6, 62,
107, 139, 140, 142, 150, 152, 159,

- 160, 173, 186, 214, 218, 239, 293, 318
 client, 8, 9, 160
 Cluny, 123, 124, 137, 148, 166, 258, 263, 267, 298, 320, 321, 325
 Cluniac, 110, 154, 164, 260, 261
 coinage, 13, 16, 49, 51, 244, 252, 253
 coins, 19, 46, 47, 51, 52, 65, 118, 121, 139, 165, 166, 190, 232, 249–252, 258, 269, 285
 minting, 15, 47, 49, 67, 68, 286, 288
 mints, 46, 47, 51, 54, 119
 Conon (Conan),
 Conan duke of Brittany, 216, 221, 269
 Conon of Montaigu, 104, 131, 136
 Constance of France, countess of
 Boulogne, 11, 124, 196, 202, 203, 208, 221, 229, 234, 235, 241, 279, 291, 311, 323
 consuetudines, 125, 165
 bisene, 165, 171
 sewerp, 184, 185, 232
 tolls, 16, 49, 72, 81, 118, 119, 148, 164, 165, 230, 231, 237, 319, 321, 327
 counts, xxi, xxii, 1, 3–10, 13, 15–19, 21–26, 30, 41, 45–55, 57–63, 66–68, 69–72, 74, 75, 78, 79, 83–88, 90, 92, 96, 97, 99, 100, 103, 104, 106, 107, 109–118, 123, 125–128, 129–131, 134, 140, 141, 144, 145, 149, 151, 154, 157, 160, 161, 168–176, 178, 179, 182, 184, 185, 187, 188, 193, 218–221, 226–229, 231, 236, 237, 241–243, 245–249, 253, 255, 258, 264, 265, 282, 285, 286–288, 299, 345
 countess, 3, 6, 9, 19, 39, 42, 62, 71, 81, 83, 86, 87, 90, 96, 98, 101–104, 106, 107, 109, 110, 113, 114, 118, 121–123, 125, 131, 133, 134, 138–142, 146, 147, 150, 152, 155–157, 159, 161, 166, 171–173, 175, 179, 184, 186, 187, 203, 210, 214, 218, 222, 234, 236, 239, 245, 248, 251, 255, 260, 261, 268, 273, 275, 279, 282, 335, 338, 340
 viscount, 51, 121, 123, 139, 140, 154, 160, 162, 164, 173, 231, 340
 crusade, 19, 131, 135–138, 144, 164, 166, 170, 171, 174, 197, 224, 241, 257, 259, 260, 266, 271, 273, 279, 281, 283–285
 crusader, 3, 138, 251, 260, 271, 275
 First Crusade, 19, 138, 164, 170, 171, 174, 257, 259, 266, 271, 273, 285
 Jerusalem, 3, 122, 135–138, 142, 147, 157, 161, 166, 178, 218, 226, 229, 245, 251, 257–259, 261, 262, 271, 273–275, 279–284, 290, 291, 300, 345
 Crusade cycle, 279, 281, 283
Chanson d'Antioch, 280
Chanson de Jérusalem, 280
Les Enfances de Godefroi, 282
 swan-knight, 281, 282, 284, 285
 David, earl of Huntingdon, king of
 Scotland, 179, 204, 291, 312, 313
 Domesday Book, 108, 123, 125, 141
 Dover, 92, 93, 101, 102, 143, 144, 149–151, 170, 171, 187, 193, 199–201, 203, 207–209, 211, 214, 216, 217, 246, 276
 Drogo,
 Drogo bishop of Théroutanne, 80–81, 107, 109, 115, 119, 123, 127, 248
 Drogo (Dreux) count of Amiens and Vexin, 78–79, 81, 89–90, 112, 114, 296, 312
 dyke building, 165, 171
 ecclesiastical appointments, 91, 248
 Ecfrid count of Artois, 22, 27, 28
 Eleanor countess of Aquitaine, queen
 of France, queen of England, 225, 306, 311
 Elisabeth de Vermandois, countess of
 Flanders, 293, 316
 Elstrude countess of Flanders, 254–256, 290, 292, 312
 Emma,
 Emma de Tancarville, countess of
 Guines 143, 149, 178, 239, 298, 332
 Emma of Normandy, queen of
 England, 81, 113, 246, 306, 312
 Emma queen of France, 41–43, 50, 310
Encomium Emmae, 246
 England, xxiii, 3, 5, 6, 8, 34, 69, 79, 81, 88, 91–94, 100–103, 107, 108, 113, 114, 119, 120, 122, 123, 125,

- 128, 129, 130, 132, 134, 138, 140,
143–145, 147, 149, 150, 155, 159,
162–165, 167, 170, 178, 179, 181,
182, 185, 191–194, 196–199,
201–208, 210, 214, 215, 218–221,
226, 229, 230, 232, 235, 238–243,
244, 246, 247, 249, 250, 252, 257,
260, 263, 268, 277, 284, 286–288,
296, 304, 306, 307, 309, 312, 313,
345
- Enguerrand,
Enguerrand count of Hesdin, 174
Enguerrand count of St Pol,
137–138, 177, 182, 224, 228,
241–242, 294
Enguerrand (of Abbeville) I count of
Ponthieu, 72, 78–79, 83, 89,
112–114, 125–126, 290, 295, 299
Enguerrand II count of Ponthieu,
83, 87, 91, 95, 113–114, 126,
295, 306
- Erkengar count of Boulogne, 21–31,
45, 46, 52–54, 64
- Ermenfroi count of Amiens, 30
- Eusemia de Ver, countess of Oxford,
328, 340
- Eustace,
Eustace I count of Boulogne and
Lens, 51, 62, 69–70, 74–76,
79–80, 82–85, 97, 109, 111–113,
115–121, 127, 141, 248–250,
252–254, 256–258, 265, 286, 290,
307
Eustace II count of Boulogne and
Lens, 3, 5, 6, 19, 62, 69–70, 75,
79–81, 85–88, 90–95, 97–128,
130–133, 135–137, 140–141, 145,
167–168, 171–172, 177, 245–248,
250, 252, 256–258, 261, 264–270,
273–275, 281–283, 285–287, 290,
300, 302, 312, 319, 321, 335,
337, 338, 345
Eustace III count of Boulogne and
Lens, 6, 19, 62, 100, 106, 108,
121–122, 124, 128, 129–135,
137–138, 141, 143–175, 177–180,
181, 190, 200, 230–232, 245–252,
256–262, 265, 268, 271, 273, 275,
277, 280–284, 287, 290, 291, 300,
313, 319–321, 327, 339, 343, 345
Eustace IV count of Boulogne and
Lens, 9, 181–182, 194, 196–200,
202, 206, 208, 219–227, 230–235,
240–243, 250, 252, 257–258, 260,
277–279, 282, 287, 291, 311, 322,
323, 345
Eustace (illegitimate son of Eustace
III), 130, 158, 161–162, 178, 291
Eustace of Breteuil, 133, 145, 177,
304
Eustace of Merck (or Oye), 140,
162, 164
Eustace abbot of Luxeuil, 253–254
Eustachie de Champagne, countess of
St Pol, 229, 242, 294
- Faramus (Pharamus) of Boulogne, 179,
195, 200, 201, 203, 209, 214, 217,
227, 231, 233, 234, 240, 275, 291,
302, 308–310, 324, 339, 340–342
- Faversham, 198, 199, 208, 233, 258,
260, 261, 278, 282, 324, 326, 327,
329
- feudalism, xxi, 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 12, 286,
288
feudo-vassallic ties, 4, 7, 58, 63
fief, 1, 5, 6, 59–62, 87, 117, 143,
148, 201, 227, 228, 286
vassal, 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 33, 60, 76, 79,
248, 256, 267
fidelity, 7, 36, 38, 39, 44, 47, 53, 56,
67, 72, 210, 238
fidelis, 26, 35, 42, 51, 70, 220
Fiennes, 9, 122, 141, 168, 190, 227,
231, 247, 302
- Flanders, xxi, 3–7, 9, 11, 15–19, 22,
24–27, 29–32, 35, 36, 38–45, 48,
50–52, 55, 57–64, 66–68, 69–73,
76, 78, 80–83, 86, 87, 89, 91, 93,
94, 96–98, 102–104, 106, 107,
109–113, 115–120, 123, 125, 126,
128, 129, 131, 134–136, 138, 139,
143, 148, 151, 152, 154, 155, 157,
159–163, 168–170, 172, 176,
181–184, 187, 189, 190, 192, 198,
199, 201, 203, 212, 214, 217–220,
222–226, 228–230, 236, 238, 239,
241–243, 246–248, 253, 256, 259,
279, 281, 285, 286–288, 290–293,
297, 299–301, 305–308, 310, 312
- Flemish, xxi, xxii, 5–9, 15–17, 27,
29, 33–36, 39, 41–44, 51, 53–55,
57, 58, 60–63, 66–68, 69–72,
74–85, 87, 88, 91–94, 96–99, 103,
105, 106, 109, 111, 112, 114–120,
123, 126, 127, 131, 133–135, 140,
142, 148–150, 152, 154, 156,
159–161, 163, 166, 168–175, 179,

- 183, 184, 186–189, 199–201, 204,
214, 220, 222–224, 227, 228,
230–232, 236–238, 241–243,
246–249, 253–256, 265, 286–288
- counts see: Arnulf I, Arnulf II,
Arnulf III, Baldwin II, Baldwin
III, Baldwin IV, Baldwin V,
Baldwin VI, Baldwin VII, Charles,
Philip I, Robert I, Robert II,
Thierry of Alsace, William Clito,
- countess see: Adela of Vermandois,
Clemence, Elisabeth of
Vermandois, Jeanne de
Maurienne, Judith, Marguerite of
Clermont, Matilda of Saxony,
Ogive, Rosala-Susanna, Richilde,
Sybilla of Anjou
- France, xxi, xxiii, 1, 3, 4, 9, 14–17,
22, 32, 46, 49, 54, 59, 69, 70, 74,
81, 85, 87, 89, 93, 111, 113,
125–128, 129, 133, 138, 143, 151,
155, 157, 164, 175, 176, 179, 181,
183, 186, 187, 197, 204, 208, 218,
225, 228, 229, 232, 237, 240, 241,
243, 253, 259, 266, 288, 291, 292,
299, 306, 308–310, 325
- French kings, xxii, 15, 17, 69, 149,
183
- Frederic of Luxembourg, duke of
Lower Lorraine, 82, 85–86, 88, 98,
115, 290, 301
- friendship, 12, 18, 69, 84, 87, 89–92,
116, 119, 127, 130, 132–134, 139,
143–145, 147, 149, 150, 161, 172,
174, 177, 178, 192, 193, 204, 205,
213, 215, 219–221, 228, 239, 240,
242, 247, 256, 258, 274, 286
- friends, 10–12, 99, 104, 114, 115,
123, 128, 151, 160, 177–179, 194,
204, 216, 218, 240, 284, 286,
288, 289
- amicitia, 12, 150
- Fulk,
Fulk abbot of St Peter's Gent, 98,
107
- Fulk archbishop of Reims, 25–26,
28, 45–48
- Fulk bishop of Amiens, 72, 80–81,
111–112, 114–115, 123, 126, 296
- Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou, 71
- Fulk V count of Anjou, 157–158,
162, 279
- Furness, 189, 193, 202, 210, 215, 238,
240, 260, 277, 324, 331–333
- Gautier,
Gautier I count of Amiens, 32, 37,
40, 43, 56, 58, 60, 62, 79, 81,
296, 305
- Gautier II count of Amiens, Valois,
and Vexin, 71, 72, 79, 81–82, 89,
98, 111–112, 296
- Gautier III count of Amiens-Vexin,
90, 92, 95, 98–100, 113–114,
125–126, 296
- Gautier count of Hesdin, 103, 108,
127, 156, 157, 159, 161
- genealogy, 19, 31, 60, 64, 66, 79, 87,
88, 113, 130, 135, 140, 172, 184,
211, 220, 253, 255, 256, 258,
264–266, 271, 279, 282
- Geoffrey,
Geoffrey of Boulogne (Eustace II's
illegitimate son), 101–102, 115,
122, 125, 164, 167, 247, 290–291,
302,
- Geoffrey Greymantle, count of
Anjou 39, 308
- Geoffrey II Martel, count of Anjou,
90, 96
- Geoffrey V le Bel, count of Anjou
185, 187, 191–192, 195, 206–207,
211, 216, 219–226, 236–237, 306,
313
- Geoffrey I de Mandeville, 102, 167,
195, 196, 302
- Geoffrey II de Mandeville, 195, 196,
205, 210–214, 302, 340, 342
- Geoffrey III de Mandeville, 200,
202, 212, 213, 230, 302
- Geoffrey of Nantes, 201, 225–226
- Geoffrey of Semur, 109, 137, 298
- Gerard abbot of Brogne, 39
- Gerberga,
Gerberga queen of France, 36,
38–39, 41, 250, 310
- Gerberga duchess of Lower Lorraine
(daughter of Eustace I), 82, 86,
98, 131, 255–256, 290, 301
- Gervase abbot of Arrouaise, 184,
187, 196–199, 201, 208, 212, 225,
226, 260, 278, 291, 326, 328, 340,
341
- Gilbert,
Gilbert duke of Lorraine, 30, 35, 36,
307
- Gilbert of Brionne, 89, 114, 123
- Gilbert de Gant, earl of Lincoln,
197, 206, 221

- Gisele (Gisela),
 Gisele, wife of Evrard de Friuli, 21, 53, 305
 Gisele, countess of Ponthieu (daughter of Hugh Capet), 43, 295, 310
- Goda (Godgiftu), countess of Amiens and Boulogne, 5, 79–81, 91, 101, 113–114, 258, 290, 296, 312
- Godehilde de Tosny, wife of Baldwin of Boulogne, king of Jerusalem, 133, 136, 257, 290, 291, 303
- Godfrey,
 Godfrey bishop of Paris, 3, 80, 85, 97, 103–105, 109–110, 115, 117, 124, 137, 148, 151, 166, 172, 256–257, 290
 Godfrey the Captive, count of Verdun, 41–42, 56, 58, 74, 76, 292, 300
 Godfrey I duke of Lower Lorraine, 75–76, 82, 113, 131, 148, 159
 Godfrey of Bouillon (of Boulogne) king of Jerusalem, 3, 106, 115, 122–123, 130–131, 134–138, 141, 148, 177, 245, 256–259, 262, 264–265, 268, 271, 273, 279–282, 284–285, 287, 290–291, 300
 Godfrey of Louvain, duke of Lower Lorraine, 138, 148–149, 159, 162–163, 185–187, 218, 307
 Godfrey II the Bearded, duke of Lower Lorraine 84–88, 98, 112–113, 115, 128, 245, 261, 265, 300
 Godfrey III the Hunchback, duke of Lower Lorraine 103–106, 113, 115–116, 131, 261, 265, 271, 273–274, 279, 300
 Godfrey nothus, (illegitimate son of Eustace III), 137, 291
- Godwin, 81, 88, 91–94, 96, 114, 312
 government, xxi, 1, 2, 4, 7, 14, 47, 49, 68, 102, 193, 195, 207, 208, 213, 218, 289
 assembly, 23, 25, 28, 30, 46, 47, 64, 78
 bailli, 236
 comital government, 49
 councils, 15
 fisc, 6, 45, 58, 61, 62, 65, 116, 153, 174, 227
 institutions, xxi, 1, 3, 4, 10, 12, 16, 51, 52, 55, 64, 66, 118, 236, 244, 248, 286, 288
 royal government, 195, 208, 213
 taxes, 8, 13, 16, 45, 46, 49, 52, 118, 165, 236, 237, 278, 288
- Gozelon
 Gozelon I duke of Lower Lorraine 74, 82, 84, 300
 Gozelon II duke of Lower Lorraine, 84–85, 300
- Guines, xxi, 5, 7, 9, 18, 58, 62, 65, 67, 97, 103, 107–109, 115, 117, 124, 127, 135, 137, 140–143, 149–151, 157, 171–173, 177–179, 182, 184, 187, 188, 213, 214, 219–223, 226–228, 239, 241, 243, 246, 248, 249, 253, 256, 282, 294, 298, 325, 337
 counts see: Arnulf of Gand, Aubrey II de Ver, Baldwin, Manasses, Manasses II, Roger
 countesses see: Beatrice, Emma of Tancarville
- Guy,
 Guy bishop of Amiens (d. 1074), 99, 103, 126–127, 266, 295
 Guy I count of Ponthieu, 95–96, 98–99, 100, 103, 105, 107, 109–110, 112, 114–115, 125–127, 131, 137–138, 153–154, 241, 269, 295
 Guy II count of Ponthieu, 188, 220, 224, 241 295
 Guy of Spoleto, 25, 53
 Guy of Brionne, 90
- Hainaut, 3, 11, 24, 42, 43, 73, 75, 77, 82–87, 96, 97, 103–106, 108, 112, 113, 115, 116, 127, 131, 134, 136, 138, 148, 149, 159–161, 178, 179, 184, 185, 187, 189, 192, 219–221, 224, 241, 242, 291–293, 300, 303, 307
 counts see: Baldwin II, Baldwin III, Baldwin IV Baldwin VI of Flanders, Herman, Regnier II, Regnier III, Regnier IV
 countesses see: Ida, Richilde
- Harnes, 6, 42, 58, 61, 63, 86, 96–98, 108, 109, 115, 116, 121, 171, 227
- Harold,
 Harold, Earl Godwin's son, king of England, 93, 96, 99–100, 115, 266, 268–269
 Harold of Ewias, 90, 108, 125, 168, 178, 209, 296
- Hector, 266, 267, 273

- Heiliwich countess of Ostrevant, 22, 53, 296, 305
- Helgaud count of Ponthieu, 32, 33, 55, 295
- Henfrid dapifer of Boulogne, 164, 173, 190, 246, 247
- Henry,
 Henry bishop of Liège, 131
 Henry bishop of Winchester, 192–193, 195–196, 198, 204–205, 212, 225, 240, 260, 278, 309
 Henry de Sully, 194, 207, 240
 Henry (of Scotland) earl of Huntingdon, 201, 207, 215, 217, 223, 313
 Henry of Anjou (Henry II of England), 181–182, 197–203, 207, 211, 217–218, 224–226, 229–231, 235–236, 240–243, 260, 278–279, 306
 Henry of Babenburg, 20, 24
 Henry count of Champagne, 207, 223–225, 240, 241
 Henry I king of England, 129–130, 143–147, 149–159, 162–163, 166–167, 169–170, 172, 175, 178–179, 182–183, 185–188, 191–192, 194, 196, 199, 204–206, 209, 215, 218–219, 225, 236, 238, 242, 246, 268, 277, 287, 304, 306, 313, 319–323, 339
 Henry of Essex, 200, 213
 Henry I king of France, 72, 77, 84–88, 90, 95–97, 125–126, 296, 310
 Henry I king of Germany, 30–31, 34
 Henry II king of Germany, 73–78, 301
 Henry III king of Germany, 84–88, 91, 96, 98, 113, 116, 136, 323, 312
 Henry IV king of Germany, 104–105, 131, 148, 265, 274
 Henry V king of Germany, 148–150, 162–163, 166, 171, 182, 306
- Herbert,
 Herbert I count of Vermandois, 20, 25, 27–28, 54, 308, 310
 Herbert II count of Vermandois, 28, 30–37, 39, 40, 44, 46, 55–57, 67, 306, 308, 309
 Herbert III le Vieux count of Vermandois, 37, 40, 50, 58, 78, 308
- Herbert IV count of Vermandois, 110, 127, 296, 308
- Herluin count of Ponthieu, 33, 35–38, 56, 57, 88, 123, 133, 295, 306
- Herman count of Hainaut, 74, 77, 86, 87, 101, 102, 112, 113, 168, 184, 186, 187, 307
- Hervey Brito, 211, 214, 221, 291
- Hesdin, 5, 7, 18, 84, 97, 103, 108, 115, 127, 153, 156, 157, 159, 161, 165, 174, 182, 184, 186, 188, 190, 228, 241–243, 249
 counts see: Gautier, Ingelramn
- honors, 8, 11, 22, 23, 27, 47, 49, 52, 54, 55, 57, 58, 63, 67, 122, 205, 265, 273, 278, 345
- Honour
 Honour of Boulogne, 129, 133, 141, 145, 146, 167, 168, 178, 181, 190, 193–196, 202, 203, 210–212, 214, 227, 232–235, 240, 257, 326, 335, 340
 Honour of Eye, 152, 211, 214, 235, 257
 Honour of Lancaster, 205, 214, 235
- household officers, 65, 120–122, 127, 164, 169, 176, 215, 232, 237, 247
 butler, 120, 125, 126, 159, 164, 176, 185, 210, 233, 247
 camerarius, 125, 164, 167, 232, 318
 chamberlain, 29, 120, 125, 126, 164, 167, 176, 194, 205, 211, 213, 214, 217, 232, 233, 239, 259, 341
 constable, 120–122, 126, 141, 161, 162, 164, 168, 176, 193, 194, 206, 209, 213, 217, 231–233, 247
 dapifer, 150, 164, 167, 184, 188–190, 194, 227, 231, 232, 241, 302, 316, 341
 marshal, 120, 164, 194, 217, 231, 340
 seneschal, 108, 120–122, 124–126, 140, 141, 176, 222, 225, 236, 237, 247, 284
 steward, 107, 121, 210, 211, 213, 214, 217, 227, 232, 246, 247
- Hubert,
 Hubert armiger (camerarius), 211, 214, 232, 326, 328, 341
 Hubert bishop of Thérouanne, 107, 123, 248
- Hucbald count of Ostrevant, 22, 24, 26, 27, 30, 52–54, 296, 305
- Hugh,
 Abbot Hugh, 22–24, 47

- Hugh abbot of Cluny, 123–124, 137, 258, 263
 Hugh advocate of St Riquier, 43, 72, 295
 Hugh archbishop of Rouen, 194, 205, 212
 Hugh Bigod, 194, 197, 200–202, 208, 213, 217, 340
 Hugh bishop of Noyon and Tournai, 75, 83, 117
 Hugh Capet, 39–43, 44, 50, 67, 70–72, 84, 113, 295, 307, 310
 Hugh the Black duke of Burgundy, 34, 50, 57
 Hugh II count of Ponthieu, 71, 89, 125–126, 294–295
 Hugh I (II) count of St Pol, 100, 105, 107, 109, 112, 114–115, 127, 135, 137–138, 158, 160, 174, 177, 266–268, 294
 Hugh II (III) Candavene, count of St Pol, 109, 151, 155–161, 174–175, 182, 184, 186, 188, 189, 191–192, 219–220, 222, 224, 238, 241, 294
 Hugh III (IV) count of St Pol, 152, 174, 182, 189, 224, 241, 294, 309
 Hugh IV (V) count of St Pol, 242, 294
 Hugh earl of Bedford, 216, 314
 Hugh the Great, 30–33, 35–39, 44, 50, 51, 55, 57, 67, 297, 306, 310, 312
 Hugh Tirel, 190, 239
- Ida,
 Ida of Lorraine, countess of Boulogne, 3, 5, 6, 19, 86, 98, 109, 113, 118, 121–125, 128, 131, 133, 135, 139–141, 147, 166, 171–172, 245, 247, 251, 258, 261–263, 265, 266, 268, 271, 273, 274, 279, 281–283, 285, 290, 300, 319, 328, 335, 338
 Ida, Canon of Montaignu's wife (?daughter of Eustace II), 136
 Ida countess of Louvain, 104
 Ida II countess of Boulogne, 164, 203, 257, 291, 319
 Ida countess of Hainaut, 138, 148, 307
 Ida d'Avesnes-sur-Helpe, countess of St Pol, 242, 294
- identity, 18, 102, 136, 137, 244–246, 249, 252, 255, 258, 260, 264, 282, 285
 Ingelramn count of Hesdin, 84, 97, 103
 Isaac count of Cambrai and Valenciennes, 31, 34, 36, 40, 42, 51, 55, 56, 292
 Isabelle de Warenne, countess of Boulogne, 217, 291, 315, 332
- Jean de Warneton, bishop of Théroouanne, 139, 155
 Jeanne de Maurienne, countess of Flanders, 186, 306
 John of Sudeley, 193, 209, 240, 296
- Judith,
 Judith (daughter of Charles the Bald) countess of Flanders, 21, 53, 292, 305, 310
 Judith sister of Baldwin V of Flanders, 93, 256, 296
 Judith (daughter of Lambert II of Lens) wife of Earl Waltheof, 95, 145, 178, 256, 290–291, 295
 Judith (Gerberga of Boulogne and Frederic of Lower Lorraine's daughter) 82, 255–256, 290, 301
 Judith (daughter of Earl Waltheof) wife of Raoul II de Tosny, 145, 178
- justice, 1, 7, 8, 13, 16, 49, 62, 69, 115, 120, 139, 154, 165, 168, 169, 176, 184, 212, 235–237, 286, 288
 capitulary, 52
 échevins, 120, 236
 jurisdiction, 6, 15, 16, 61–63, 65, 98, 118, 171, 172, 176
 placita, 35, 47–50, 67
 scabini, 168, 169
- Kent, 101, 159, 165, 166, 193, 195, 199, 201, 209, 211, 213, 214, 269, 270, 276, 337, 339, 341
- kinship, 3, 4, 9–12, 14, 18, 22, 24, 50, 52–58, 63, 67, 68, 69, 82, 86, 87, 90, 99, 103, 111, 115, 117, 119, 127, 128, 136, 137, 145, 176–178, 186, 204, 205, 208–210, 214, 216–219, 226, 229, 240, 243, 264, 266, 286, 288
 ad hoc, 4, 10, 12, 115, 117, 127, 128, 136, 199, 204, 226, 240, 286, 288

- kin-based action groups, 10, 12–16,
111, 112, 171, 177, 286, 289
kindred-based action groups, 4, 9,
10
Knights Templar, 211, 260
Knights of St John, 161, 166, 167,
345
Lambert,
 Lambert abbot of St Bertin, 135,
 139–140
 Lambert bishop of Arras, 139, 142,
 148, 154–155, 166
 Lambert I count of Lens, 6, 62,
 85–86, 97, 112–113, 115,
 256–257, 265, 290
 Lambert II count of Lens, 86–87,
 95, 97, 115, 145, 256, 290, 295,
 306
 Lambert I count of Louvain, 73–76,
 307, 310
 Lambert II count of Louvain, 82,
 265, 300, 307
lay abbacy, 6, 10, 14, 19, 29, 34–36,
40
 lay abbot, 4, 6–9, 14, 19, 24, 30,
 34, 46, 257
Le Wast, 123, 124, 140, 141, 165,
166, 172, 211, 248, 249, 258, 259,
261, 263, 321, 340, 341
Lens, 6, 7, 9, 42, 43, 51, 52, 58,
61–63, 69–71, 74, 75, 77–79,
82–87, 95, 97, 98, 103, 105, 109,
112, 113, 115–122, 134, 137, 144,
145, 148, 150, 151, 154, 159–161,
165, 166, 168, 169, 171, 179, 181,
187, 188, 190, 192, 201–203, 220,
223, 226–228, 230–232, 234, 236,
238, 239, 242, 246, 247, 249, 250,
252, 256, 257, 265, 286, 290, 295,
306, 319, 323
 counts see: Arnulf I of Boulogne,
 Eustace I, Eustace II, Eustace III,
 Eustace IV, Lambert I, Lambert
 II, Stephen, William
Liège, 82, 104, 106, 124, 131, 134,
136, 138, 149, 177, 268
lineage, 17, 66, 128, 245, 250, 253,
256, 257, 261, 271, 274, 276, 277,
279, 283, 285
 naming pattern, 136, 245, 253, 256,
 258, 285
Liutgarde, 55, 299, 306
London, 124, 144, 148, 166, 167, 192,
193, 195–197, 202, 205, 208, 210,
212, 213, 233, 239, 276, 277, 284,
319–321, 323, 345
 Londoners, 193, 195, 196, 212, 276
Longvilliers, 190, 230, 249, 260, 321
Lorraine, 5, 8, 19, 42, 43, 51, 70, 73,
75, 76, 78, 84–86, 88, 97, 98, 100,
103, 106, 109, 112, 113, 123, 125,
128, 129–131, 135, 137, 138,
148–150, 159, 162, 170, 171, 177,
179, 184–186, 245, 253, 255–258,
265, 266, 268, 271, 273, 284, 285,
286–288
Lotharingia, 21–23, 28, 30, 31, 33,
35, 36, 40, 41, 43, 44, 50, 57, 66,
70, 73, 82, 83, 103, 119, 256,
274, 284
 dukes see: Frederic, Gilbert,
 Godfrey the Bearded, Godfrey
 the Hunchback, Gozelon,
 Gozelon II
Lothar,
 Lothar I king of east Francia, 20
 Lothar II king of east Francia, 20
 Lothar IV king of France, 38–42,
 44, 50–51, 56–57, 60–63, 65–67,
 310
Louis,
 Louis I the Pious, king of west
 Francia, 15, 20, 21, 305
 Louis II the Stammerer, king of west
 Francia, 20–22, 24, 46, 47, 310
 Louis III, king of west Francia,
 22–23, 44, 46, 47, 48, 53, 55,
 310
 Louis IV, king of France, 30, 34–38,
 50–51, 57, 66, 310
 Louis V, king of France, 42–43,
 50–51, 310
 Louis VI, king of France, 9, 129,
 149, 151–157, 159, 162–163,
 175–176, 178–179, 184, 186–189,
 195, 204, 218–219, 226, 237–238,
 242, 279, 311
 Louis VII, king of France, 138, 182,
 185, 198, 200–202, 206, 220–226,
 228–230, 237, 240–241, 243, 309,
 311
Manasses,
 Manasses, son of Roger count of St
 Pol, 78, 108–109, 294
 Manasses I count of Guines,
 108–109, 135, 298

- Manasses II (Manasses-Robert)
count of Guines, 109, 137, 143,
149–151, 157, 172–173, 178, 184,
187–188, 228, 239, 241, 298
- Margaret queen of Scotland, 167, 178,
229, 260, 277, 279, 282, 312–313
- Marguerite of Clermont, countess of
Flanders, 157, 293, 294
- Marian relics, 124, 141, 251, 258, 259
- Mary,
Mary of Scotland, countess of
Boulogne 19, 130, 145, 147–148,
155, 165, 178, 258, 260, 275,
277, 282, 290, 291, 312, 343–344
- Mary (daughter of Stephen and
Matilda) abbess of Lillechurch,
countess of Boulogne, 17, 182,
200–203, 218, 229–230, 257, 278,
282, 291, 293, 313
- Matilda,
Empress Matilda, countess of Anjou,
149–150, 162–163, 179, 182–183,
185, 191, 194–198, 200, 204–205,
208–213, 215–217, 225, 236, 240,
245, 276–278, 306, 313
- Matilda of Louvain, countess of
Boulogne, 74–76, 79, 83, 112,
131, 250, 258, 265, 290, 307
- Matilda countess of Boulogne, queen
of England, xxiii, 3, 9, 17,
129–130, 133, 163–164, 179–182,
193–197, 199, 205, 207–209,
211–214, 217, 219–223, 227,
230–231, 233, 238–239, 250–251,
257–258, 260, 263, 268, 275–278,
287, 291, 306, 309, 313, 321–323,
326–327, 330, 343–345
- Matilda (daughter of Stephen and
Matilda of Boulogne), 212, 216,
257–258, 291
- Matilda III countess of Boulogne,
203, 257, 281, 291
- Matilda of Saxony, countess of
Flanders, 39, 292, 300
- Matilda of Tuscany, duchess of
Lower Lorraine, 106, 300
- Matilda of Flanders, duchess of
Normandy, 89, 91, 93, 110, 121,
183–184, 279, 292, 306
- Matilda II of Scotland, queen of
England, 158, 178, 257, 277, 306,
312
- Matilda, wife of Simon I de Senlis
and David king of Scotland,
178–179, 291
- Matilda, sister of Simon II de Senlis,
214, 291, 313
- Matthew count of Boulogne, 142, 182,
201, 203, 218, 227, 229, 232, 250,
291, 293, 318, 345
- Merck, 6, 7, 60, 62, 97, 107, 108,
117, 125, 140–142, 154, 158, 160,
162, 164, 170–173, 179, 223, 227,
234, 247, 248, 319, 320, 322, 327,
335–339, 340, 341
- Miles of Gloucester, 194, 197, 209,
216, 217
- military, 1, 7, 12, 13, 15, 24, 37,
45–47, 49, 55, 58, 64, 65, 70, 96,
100, 116, 122, 138, 142, 151, 152,
160, 161, 165, 170, 176, 177, 182,
186, 194–196, 206, 209, 211, 243,
245, 250–252, 254, 255, 258, 261,
262, 264, 270, 274, 279, 285, 287,
288
- military skill, 55, 64, 206, 243, 274,
279
- monastic reform, 39, 50, 64, 65, 89,
118
- Montreuil, 3, 36–38, 41, 43, 71, 79,
95, 110, 112, 153, 154, 164,
173–175, 186, 189, 190, 203, 225,
231, 239, 241, 284, 295
- Mortain, 132, 145, 147, 152, 163, 177,
181, 182, 189, 190, 199, 204, 206,
210, 228, 232, 235, 239, 240, 257,
268, 269, 306, 315
- Neustria, 23, 30, 31, 48, 53, 67, 310
- Nigel bishop of Ely, 183, 192, 215,
217, 318
- Normandy, 3, 4, 8, 15, 16, 18, 19, 30,
31, 34, 36–38, 40, 42, 44, 50, 51,
69, 71, 72, 74, 78–81, 87–89, 91,
92, 94–96, 99, 102, 106, 109, 111,
113–115, 129, 130, 132–135, 143,
145–147, 149–152, 155–157, 159,
163, 168–170, 176, 178, 179,
181–183, 186, 188, 191–195,
197–199, 202, 204–207, 216,
218–226, 228, 229, 231, 236, 237,
240–243, 244, 259, 270, 285, 286,
288, 290, 292, 295, 304, 306, 309,
310, 316
- Norman, xxii, 6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 17,
19, 31, 32, 36–38, 69, 70, 72, 81,
88–96, 98–101, 103, 105, 109,
110, 113, 114, 123, 125, 128,
129, 130, 133–135, 137–139, 145,
147, 149–152, 155–158, 162, 163,

- 166, 170, 175–180, 181–183, 187,
188, 190–193, 195, 198, 200, 204,
209, 218, 220, 222, 226, 236–239,
242, 244, 251, 267, 268, 270,
276, 277, 279, 286–288, 345
dukes see: Eustace IV, Geoffrey le
Bel, Henry I, Henry of Anjou,
Richard I, Richard II, Robert I,
Robert Curthose, Stephen,
William the Conqueror, William
Longsword, William Rufus
duchessess see: Eleanor of Aquitaine,
Matilda of Flanders, Matilda of
Scotland, Matilda of Boulogne,
Empress Matilda,
Northmen, 21–27, 29–33, 45, 46, 59,
67
Vikings, 1
Notre Dame de Boulogne, 251, 258,
282
Odo,
Odo bishop of Bayeux, 132, 177,
268–270, 306
Odo I count of Blois, 70–72, 111,
307
Odo II count of Blois-Chartres, 72,
77–78, 307
Odo count of Paris, king of west
Francia, 24–28, 44–48, 53–54,
310
Odo, son of Herbert II of
Vermandois, 36
Ogive countess of Flanders, 78, 81,
292, 301
Osbern Pentecost, 93, 108, 125
Osmund bishop of Astorga, 123, 337
Ostrevant, 2, 6, 7, 10, 12–14, 19, 21,
34–38, 40, 43, 49, 71, 74–76,
84–86, 103, 105, 118, 125, 160,
161, 166, 170, 187, 224, 297, 306
Otger lay abbot of St Amand, 39, 56,
296, 305
Otto I king of Germany, 35, 36, 43,
65, 250, 310, 312
Otto III king of Germany, 70
Otto-Henry count of Louvain, 82, 112,
265, 307
pagus, 21, 22, 24, 45, 61, 89, 120,
245, 246
pagi, 7, 8, 15, 22, 26, 31, 45, 59,
73
Paris, xxiii, 3, 6, 17, 23, 25, 26, 30,
37, 45, 51, 60, 62, 77, 97, 103–105,
109, 110, 117, 118, 120, 121, 126,
140, 141, 148, 151, 163–167, 172,
174, 175, 201, 230, 247, 248, 256,
279, 282, 290, 324, 325
patronage, 13–15, 38, 46, 49, 50, 52,
57, 58, 65, 67, 70, 119, 123, 128,
140, 141, 145, 152, 156, 166, 173,
174, 177, 193, 202, 204, 205, 212,
213, 215, 216, 218, 220, 229, 233,
249, 253, 258, 260, 263, 265
Peace of God, 119, 131, 168, 236,
244, 249
Philip,
Philip count of Flanders, 182, 203,
218, 228, 236, 243, 293
Philip I king of France, 3, 75, 97,
103, 104–105, 109–110, 126, 134,
175, 237, 299, 310, 311
Picardy, xxi, xxii, 3, 4, 6–9, 15–17, 19,
24–26, 32, 33, 35, 45, 55, 59, 60,
67, 68, 69, 77, 79, 91, 92, 94, 98,
99, 102, 109, 110, 113, 114, 119,
125, 126, 129, 155, 174, 181, 218,
228–230, 237, 238, 243, 284, 286
Picard, 6, 7, 10, 11, 68, 69, 72, 80,
88, 112, 113, 126, 129, 229, 241,
284
Ponthieu, 3, 5, 9, 16, 18, 26, 28, 32,
33, 35–41, 44, 53, 55–57, 65, 67,
69, 71, 72, 79, 83, 84, 87, 89–91,
95, 96, 98–100, 102, 105, 107, 109,
110, 112–115, 123, 125–128, 129,
130, 135, 137, 138, 144–146, 149,
151, 153, 155, 157, 163, 174, 178,
179, 186, 188, 190, 191, 204, 216,
220, 224, 226, 228, 229, 239, 241,
242, 247, 250, 266, 267, 269, 287,
290, 294, 295, 299, 306, 311
counts see: Enguerrand I,
Enguerrand II, Guy I, Guy II,
Helgaud, Herluin, Hugh advocate
of St Riquier, Hugh II, Robert of
Bellême, Roger, William II Talvas
countesses see: Adelaide of
Normandy, Adelvie, Agnes, Gisele,
power, xxi, 1–5, 7–10, 13–17, 19, 26,
27, 29–32, 35, 37–39, 41, 48–50,
52, 53, 58, 65, 66, 68, 70, 73–75,
77, 79, 80, 82, 83, 86–91, 93, 94,
96–99, 102, 105, 109, 111, 114,
117–119, 125, 126, 128, 129, 134,
136, 155, 160, 163, 168, 169,
171–173, 175–179, 181, 183, 186,
187, 192, 193, 200–202, 209, 210,
216–219, 223, 225, 226, 228–230,

- 237, 238, 240–242, 255, 261, 265,
269, 286–288
- Ralf earl of Hereford, 90, 92–94,
96, 101, 108, 113, 114, 125, 257,
296
- Ralph (Ralf) of Merck (Marcy/Marci),
108, 335, 336, 338, 342
- Ranulf earl of Chester, 197, 201,
205–207, 215, 218
- Raoul,
Raoul (Eustace III's illegitimate son),
130, 158, 161–164, 178, 257, 291
Raoul abbot St Bertin and St Vaast,
23, 25, 44–45, 53, 305
Raoul, brother of Baldwin II of
Flanders, 26–27, 53–54, 292
Raoul I de Gouy, count of Amiens
and Ostrevant, 29, 31–32, 55–56,
60, 296, 305
Raoul II de Tosny, 133, 145, 177,
257, 291, 303
Raoul III de Tosny, 145–147, 178,
257, 303
Raoul II count of Valois, 36–37,
55–56, 296, 305
Raoul III count of Valois, 78, 296
Raoul IV count of Valois, 95–96,
99–100, 109, 114, 125–127, 296,
308
Raoul V count of Vermandois, 155,
157, 163, 175, 184, 220–225, 297,
308
Raoul of Burgundy, king of France,
30–31, 33–34, 50–51, 310
Reginald de Warenne, 234, 315
Regnier,
Regnier II count of Hainaut, 29, 36,
307
Regnier III count of Hainaut, 41,
307
Regnier IV count of Hainaut, 73,
75, 82, 84, 307
Regnier V count of Hainaut, 76–77,
83, 86, 112, 300, 307
religious houses see: Arrouaise,
Bermondsey, Capelle, Christchurch
Canterbury, Clairmarais, Cluny,
Faversham, Furness, Knights of St
John, Knights Templar, Le Wast,
Longvilliers, Notre Dame de
Boulogne, Rumilly, Samer, Savigny,
St Berta Blangy, St Bertin, St
Bothulph's Colchester, St John's
Colchester, St Josse sur Mer, St
Martin le Grand, St Omer, St
Peter's Gent, St Riquier, St Vaast,
St Wulmer
reputation, 18, 244, 269, 271, 275,
285, 287
Richard,
Richard de Lucy, 195, 200, 208,
211–214, 218, 234, 316, 323, 340
Richard I duke of Normandy, 33,
36, 40–43, 50, 72, 79, 81, 250,
304, 306, 310, 316
Richard II duke of Normandy, 72,
74, 78, 89, 113, 114, 306
Richard de Clare, 194, 209,
213–214, 316
Richard de Anstey, 211, 232, 318,
341, 342
Richgard, queen of east and west
Francia (wife of Charles the Fat), 21,
25
Richilde countess of Flanders and
Hainaut, 86, 87, 102–105, 113, 134,
292, 307, 309
Robert,
Robert count of Dreux and Perche,
225, 240–241
Robert Curthose, duke of
Normandy, 110–111, 129–133,
135, 137, 143, 145, 147, 151,
156, 177, 179, 182, 281
Robert de Sackville, 210, 211, 232,
234
Robert the Strong, duke of Neustria,
25
Robert, duke of Francia, lay abbot
of St Amand, king of France, 26,
29–31, 50, 53, 57
Robert earl of Gloucester, 182–183,
192, 196–197, 204, 209–210, 213,
216–217
Robert earl of Leicester, 11, 192,
205, 218, 222, 240
Robert fitz Richard de Clare, 194,
213–214, 291, 313, 316
Robert of Bellême, count of
Ponthieu, 110, 130, 132, 137,
138, 144–147, 150–152, 174,
177–178, 295
Robert of Ewias, 168, 193, 209,
240, 342
Robert I count of Flanders, 11, 70,
79, 83, 102, 103–107, 109–110,
113–116, 120, 125–126, 131,

- 133–134, 136, 139, 142, 149, 166,
168, 172–173, 184, 187, 248, 292,
293, 299, 308, 310, 314–316
- Robert II count of Flanders,
134–135, 138–140, 142–144,
148–152, 159, 166, 168–175,
187–188, 246, 248, 259, 280, 292,
293, 297, 303, 306, 314
- Robert I duke of Normandy
80–81, 114, 259
- Robert the Pious, king of France 50,
71–79, 111–112, 118
- Robert de Ver, 194, 213
- Robert fitz Richard de Clare, 194,
213–214
- Robert de Ferrars, 194
- Robert d'Oilli, 194, 217
- Robert fitz Walter de Chesney, 194
- Roger,
Roger bishop of Salisbury, 183,
192–193, 204, 215–216, 240
- Roger de Sumeri (Sombres), 108,
125, 167, 335, 336
- Roger II de Sumeri, 167
- Roger III de Tosny, 191, 205, 207,
220–222, 303, 307
- Roger of Caieu, 161, 227, 231, 234,
341
- Roger count of St Pol, 78, 83–84,
88, 91, 97–98, 100, 107–108, 115,
119, 127, 253, 298
- Roger I count of Laon, 55, 296,
305
- Roger II count of Laon, 30, 33,
35–36, 38, 50, 55–57, 296, 305
- Roger count of Ponthieu, 37, 39,
56–57
- Roger d'Oilli, 197
- Roger de Chesney, 211
- Rohese de Clare, 206, 316
- Roman road, 17, 37, 118, 121, 232
- Rozela-Suzanne (Rozela-Susanna),
countess of Flanders and queen of
France, 58, 71, 292
- Rumilly, 148, 163, 164, 166, 248, 249,
258, 260, 321
- Samer, 60, 118, 122, 147, 148, 174,
190, 249, 258, 263
- Savigny, 240, 332
- Savignac, 190, 208, 240, 260
- spheres of influence model, 7, 8
- external zone, 8
- hegemony, 8
- Simon,
Simon count of Amiens and Valois
109–110, 126–127
- Simon I de Senlis, 144, 178–179
- Simon II de Senlis, earl of
Northampton, 179, 193, 195–196,
201, 205, 208–209, 214, 218, 240
- Simon III de Senlis, 201, 217
- St Berta, Blangy, 46, 63, 64, 77, 88,
89, 91, 164, 174, 249
- St Bertin, 7, 22, 24, 26–30, 34, 39,
46, 48, 53–55, 59, 60, 62, 64–67,
70, 77, 79, 80, 83, 84, 97, 98, 107,
109, 116, 117, 119, 134, 135, 139,
140, 142, 158, 162, 170, 173, 179,
208, 227, 255, 257, 264, 292, 305,
315, 319, 321
- St Botulph's Colchester, 146, 148, 327
- St Eustace, 253, 254
- St Eustace abbot of Luxeuil, 254
- St Godelieve, 173, 246
- St John's Colchester, 166–168, 193,
211, 233–235, 321–323, 326–328
- St Josse sur Mer, 154
- St Martin le Grand, 124, 141, 146,
166, 193, 212, 233, 319, 321,
323–324, 327–330, 336, 336, 337
- St Omer, xxiii, 9, 17, 18, 51, 65, 77,
96, 97, 100, 103, 104, 117, 119,
120, 122, 139, 142, 152, 157, 160,
168, 184, 185, 187, 188, 208, 223,
232, 236, 239, 242, 248, 250, 254,
260, 322
- St Peter's Gent, 21, 26, 39, 53, 61, 62,
64–67, 79, 86, 96, 98, 121, 171,
255
- St Pol, xxi, 5, 7, 9, 16, 18, 63, 69,
72, 74, 75, 78, 84, 88, 91, 97–100,
102, 103, 107–109, 112, 115, 119,
123, 127, 135, 137, 138, 149, 151,
153, 155–161, 164, 173, 174,
177–179, 182, 184, 186, 188–192,
219–222, 224, 228, 229, 238,
241–243, 247–249, 253, 294, 295,
298
- counts see: Anselm, Enguerrand,
Hugh I, Hugh II Candavene,
Roger
- countesses see: Eustachie de
Champagne, Marguerite of
Clermont
- St Riquier, 18, 24, 39, 41, 43, 44, 53,
64, 66, 72, 78–80, 89–91, 112, 126,
188, 295, 310

- St Vaast, 24, 26–29, 34, 46, 48,
53–55, 64, 73, 74, 78, 161, 171,
174, 175, 241, 305
- St Wulmer, 7, 62, 118, 122, 146–148,
154, 158, 162, 164, 166, 174, 190,
230–232, 247, 249, 258, 263, 319,
320, 322
- Stephen of Blois, count of Boulogne,
king of England, 2, 3, 9, 11, 19, 14,
129, 147, 152, 157, 159, 163, 164,
178, 180, 181–199, 201, 204–217,
219–228, 230–235, 237–243, 245,
247, 250, 251, 257, 258, 260, 268,
276–279, 287, 290, 291, 295, 301,
307, 309, 310, 314, 321–323,
327–329, 331–332
- succession, 11, 23, 26, 27, 29, 30, 38,
39, 41, 45–48, 51, 53, 55, 56, 58,
67, 70, 78, 79, 83, 100, 106, 120,
125, 129, 131, 132, 135, 151, 159,
162, 176, 181–183, 187, 188, 191,
192, 194, 198, 204, 206, 212, 214,
218, 219, 242, 265
- inheritance, 11, 13, 16, 31, 38, 55,
58–60, 97, 106, 122, 131, 136,
163, 164, 183, 199, 204, 205,
215, 216, 243, 255, 262, 264,
266, 275, 284
- minor heirs, 55, 286
- Suger abbot of St Denis, 149, 151,
152, 155, 159, 163, 169, 206, 221,
222, 224, 225, 253
- Sybilla countess of Flanders, 201, 236
- Ternois, 6, 7, 15, 22, 24, 32, 34, 35,
38, 39, 41, 48, 55–63, 66, 67,
69–75, 77–80, 84, 89, 103, 107,
111, 112, 115, 116, 119, 245, 253,
255, 290
- counts see: Adalulf of Boulogne,
Arnulf I of Flanders, Arnulf II of
Ternois, Baldwin II of Flanders
- territorial principalities, xxi, 1, 3, 69
- Theobald,
Theobald II count of Blois-Chartres,
182, 192–193, 206–207, 219–224,
226, 240
- Theobald archbishop of Canterbury,
195, 198, 208
- Théroutanne, 22, 24, 39, 59, 64, 65,
71, 72, 77, 79–81, 105, 107, 109,
111, 115, 119, 123, 126, 127, 137,
139, 143, 153, 155, 177, 184, 211,
223, 248, 249, 254, 263, 298, 320
- bishops see: Drogo, Hubert, Jean de
Warneton
- Thierry,
Thierry of Alsace, count of Flanders,
182, 184, 186–188, 198–199, 201,
203, 214, 217–220, 222–231,
236–238, 241–243, 248, 293, 324
- Thierry II of West Frisia (of Gent,
of Holland), 33, 35, 38, 41, 42,
50, 55–56, 58, 62, 65–66, 70–71
- Thierry III of (West Frisia) Holland,
73, 76
- Thierry IV of (West Frisia) Holland,
85, 106, 112
- Thierry V of Holland, 134, 136
- Thomas,
Thomas of Coucy, count of Amiens,
185, 188, 219, 238
- Thomas of Marle, 155, 159, 175
- Thurstan archbishop of York, 193,
194, 214, 215, 240
- Tingry, 122, 167, 169, 178, 179, 147,
302
- Tostig, Earl Godwin's son, 93, 100,
292
- Treaty of Dover,
First Treaty of Dover, 143
- Second Treaty of Dover, 149–151,
171
- Third Treaty of Dover, 199, 203
- tribute, 25, 26, 32, 46
- Valois, 16, 18, 32, 33, 37, 38, 41, 44,
48, 55, 56, 72, 78, 79, 95, 96, 99,
109, 113, 125–127, 178, 296, 305,
308
- counts see: Gautier I, Gautier II,
Raoul I de Gouy, Raoul II, Raoul
III, Raoul IV, Simon
- de Ver, see: Aubrey II, Aubrey II,
Eusemia, Robert, and William
- Vermandois, 3, 15, 16, 22, 26, 28, 29,
31–34, 40, 41, 44, 47, 54–57, 67,
110, 113, 118, 127, 129, 155–157,
163, 175, 178, 184, 218, 220–225,
228, 243, 249, 292, 293, 296, 297,
299, 306–310, 314, 315
- counts see: Herbert I, Herbert II,
Herbert III le Vieux, Raoul V
- countesses see: Adele (daughter of
Robert the Pious)
- Vexin, 16, 32, 33, 41, 44, 48, 55, 56,
59–61, 67, 72, 78, 79, 81, 84, 87,
89, 90, 92, 97, 99, 109, 110,

- 112–114, 125–128, 138, 150–152, 156, 157, 162, 169, 175, 183, 204, 220, 226, 296, 303, 305
 counts see: Drogo, Gautier I,
 Gautier II, Gautier III, Raoul IV,
 William Clito
Vita S. Idae, 253, 261, 282, 285
- Waleran of Meulan, 11, 192, 195, 204, 207, 216, 220–222, 224–225, 240
- Walter fitz Robert de Clare, 214, 316
- Walter Tirel, 161, 316
- Waltger count of Laon, 53
- Warenne,
 counts see: William II, William III,
 William IV of Boulogne,
 Warenne, and Mortain
 see also: Ada, Reginald
- Warner of Grez, 131
- West Frisia, 22, 23, 36–38, 44, 47, 70–71, 73, 76, 85, 112, 300
- White Ship disaster, 159, 162
- William,
 William aethling (Henry I of
 England's son), 156, 158, 162,
 225, 277
 William of Corbeil, archbishop of
 Canterbury, 192–194, 213, 240
 William count of Arques, 88–91, 94,
 95, 113, 114, 149, 172
 William II d'Aubigny, 210, 213
 William of Aumale, earl of York,
 197, 201
 William count of Boulogne,
 Warenne, Mortain, 9, 181–182,
 198–202, 209, 217–218, 226,
 228–235, 240, 242–243, 257–258,
 278–279, 282, 287, 302, 323–324,
 332–333, 345
 William of Boulogne and Tingry
 (son of Geoffrey, grandson of
 Eustace II), 122, 164, 167,
 178–179
 William of Breteuil, 133, 177
 William de Chesney, 211, 214, 317,
 318, 340, 342
 William Clito, count of Flanders,
 151, 156, 159, 162, 172, 182–188,
 192, 204, 214, 218, 219, 232,
 238, 242
 William Longsword duke of
 Normandy, 31, 35–36, 50–51,
 304, 306
 William the Conqueror, duke of
 Normandy, king of England, 83,
 87–92, 95–100, 102–106,
 109–111, 115–116, 123–128,
 130–131, 145, 155, 251, 255,
 257, 266, 268–269, 273, 277, 279,
 287
 William fitz Osbern, 104, 133,
 304
 William Martel, 194–195, 200, 208,
 211, 213, 234
 William Rufus, 129, 132–135,
 138–139, 143, 146
 William II Talvas count of Ponthieu,
 146, 151–152, 158, 163, 174, 186,
 188, 191, 204, 216, 220, 239,
 295, 315
 William de Ver, 198
 William II de Warenne, 145, 147,
 150, 192, 207, 220
 William III de Warenne, 195–196,
 207, 213, 220–222, 224, 240
 William of Ypres, 159–160,
 184–185, 195, 197, 201, 208,
 214, 218, 220–221, 231, 276
- Wissant, 17, 81, 102, 119, 122, 123, 132, 137, 139, 144, 148, 164, 165, 185, 190, 193, 201, 213, 231, 232, 239, 247, 252, 319, 321, 322, 340

THE NORTHERN WORLD

NORTH EUROPE AND THE BALTIC C. 400-1700 AD
PEOPLES, ECONOMIES AND CULTURES

Editors

BARBARA CRAWFORD (St. Andrews)

DAVID KIRBY (London)

JON-VIDAR SIGURDSSON (Oslo)

INGVILD ØYE (Bergen)

PRZEMYSŁAW URBANCZYK (Warsaw)

ISSN: 1569-1462

This series provides an opportunity for the publication of scholarly studies concerning the culture, economy and society of northern lands from the early medieval to the early modern period. The aims and scope are broad and scholarly contributions on a wide range of disciplines are included: all historical subjects, every branch of archaeology, saga studies, language topics including place-names, art history and architecture, sculpture and numismatics.

1. Schutz, H. *Tools, Weapons and Ornaments*. Germanic Material Culture in Pre-Carolingian Central Europe, 400-750. 2002
ISBN 90 04 12298 2
2. Biggs, D., S.D. Michalove and A. Compton Reeves. *Traditions and Transformations in late Medieval England*. 2002. ISBN 90 04 12341 5
3. Tielhof, M. van *The 'Mother of all Trades'*. The Baltic Grain Trade in Amsterdam from the Late 16th to the Early 19th Century. 2002.
ISBN 90 04 12546 9
4. Looijenga, T. *Texts & Contexts of the Oldest Runic Inscriptions*. 2003.
ISBN 90 04 12396 2
5. Grosjean, A. *An Unofficial Alliance*. Scotland and Sweden 1569-1654. 2003. ISBN 90 04 13241 4
6. Tanner, H.J. *Families, Friends and Allies*. Boulogne and Politics in Northern France and England, c. 879-1160. 2004.
ISBN 90 04 13243 0
7. Finlay, A. *Fagrskinna, A Catalogue of the Kings of Norway*. A Translation with Introduction and Notes. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13172 8
8. Biggs, D.L., S.D. Michalove & A.C. Reeves. *Reputation and Representation in Fifteenth Century Europe*. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13613 4
9. Etting, V. *Queen Margrete I (1353-1412) and the Founding of the Nordic Union*. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13652 5
10. Lockhart, P.D. *Frederik II and the Protestant Cause*. Denmark's Role in the Wars of Religion, 1559-1596. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13790 4